

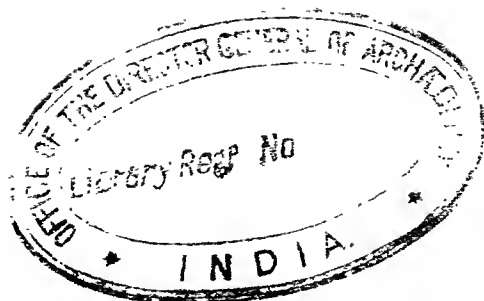
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1925

THE SAFEGUARDING OF MINORITY RIGHTS IN INDIA

BY DR. ZIA UDDIN AHMED, C.I.E.

(Member of the Legislative Council ; Principal of the Muslim University,
Aligarh)

IN bringing before readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW the causes that have led to the present political position of the Muhammadans in India, I feel I cannot do better than choose as my starting-point the year 1865. It was about that time that the Court language was changed definitely from Persian to English. The effect was that the Muhammadans suffered from a handicap in obtaining appointments from Government, and were generally left behind in the public services. The first efforts to counter this unfavourable position of the Muhammadans took the shape of trying to popularize the study of English. The most notable example of this was the establishment of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1874. Public attention was drawn to the position of the Muhammadans in the public services by the National Muhammadan Association in 1883, and two years later Lord Dufferin's Government passed a resolution for the better representation of the Muhammadans in those services.

It was in the same year that the Congress was established. The Muhammadans, however, did not join it, as they considered that their interests would not be adequately safeguarded by that body. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great leader of the Muhammadan community, considered that the Muhammadans should concentrate their attention on education. It was for this reason that he organized the Educational Conference in 1887.

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A new situation developed in 1906, when the Minto-Morley Reforms began to be discussed.

We now reach what may be termed the political era, which is marked by the address presented on October 1, 1906, by the Muhammadans, under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan, to Lord Minto, from which I take the following passages as being points that were emphasized in the address.

1. The Muhammadans should have a fixed number of seats in councils and in all local bodies, such as municipalities and district boards, and that the seats should be in excess of numerical strength. About local bodies they said: "We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Muhammadans entitled to seats on municipal and district boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community."

2. The Muhammadans should have a separate electorate. This recommendation was expressed in the following words: "As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any Muhammadan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by electoral bodies as now constituted, unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority, on whose goodwill they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality. Still, it cannot be denied that we Muhammadans are a distinct

community, with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented, even in the provinces in which the Muhammadans constitute a distinct majority.”

3. The demand for a fixed share in Government service was formulated as follows: “We, therefore, pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that, both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces, a due proportion of Muhammadans shall always find place. Orders of like import have, at times, been issued by local governments in some provinces, but have not, unfortunately, in all cases been strictly observed, on the ground that qualified Muhammadans were not forthcoming.”

Before leaving the matter contained in this address I will also quote the following from the same address: “The Muhammadans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterized their rulers, and have, in consequence, abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing; but earnestly as we desire that the Muhammadans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Muhammadans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.” The warning given in the last sentence proved to be true, as will be indicated later on.

Lord Minto in his reply signified his agreement, and gave the following assurance: “You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Muhammadan candidate, and that if by chance they did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such candidate’s views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your position should be estimated

not merely in your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely with you. In the meantime I can only say to you that the Muhammadan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganization with which I am concerned, and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His Majesty's Indian Empire."

The deputation that waited on Lord Minto in 1906 did not disperse when their mission was over, but transformed themselves into the Muslim League. They held meetings annually and organized branches in every province. There was also a branch in London.

On February 23 Lord Morley, speaking in the House of Lords, specifically said that "the Muhammadan demands of election of their own representatives to the councils in all stages, and the grant of a number of seats in excess of their actual numerical proportion of the population, would be met to the full." The pledge was unequivocally repeated on his behalf by Mr. Buchanan, the then Parliamentary Under-Secretary, on April 1, when he said that from these solemn promises the Government could not go back, ought not to go back, and would not go back.

The London branch of the Muslim League, under the leadership of the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, sent a deputation to Lord Morley on January 25, 1909, and emphasized the three points referred to above, and added that "the unqualified pledges for separate electorates and representatives in excess of strict numerical proportion should be carried out to the full in the letter and in the spirit."

There followed the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1910. The unsettlement of this "settled fact" perturbed the Muslim mind, which had no time to formulate a new policy under the changed conditions before it again became

disturbed by the outbreaks in rapid succession of Tripoli, the Balkans, and the Great War.

The result is well summarized in Section 27 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which states: "Younger and keener minds, touched often with some fervour of pan-Islamism, were no longer willing *stare super antiquas vias*. The advanced party prevailing in the counsels of the Muslim League, in 1913 it proclaimed its adoption of the cause of colonial self-government of a kind suited to India, and was warmly eulogized by the Congress for so doing. So far as pan-Islamic feelings affected the situation, that factor did not tend of course towards union with the Hindus, but at the time stronger causes were at work to bring the advanced parties on both sides together."

In 1916 the Muslim League and the Congress met together and adopted the compact, and agreement was arrived at on the Muslim demands in the following section:

"Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Muhammadans should be represented through separate electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions :

Punjab	50 per cent. elected Indian Members.
United Provinces	...	30	" " "
Bengal	...	40	" " "
Behar and Orissa	...	25	" " "
Central Provinces	...	15	" " "
Madras	...	15	" " "
Bombay	...	33½	" " "

"Provided further that no Bill or any clause thereof nor a resolution introduced by a non-official Member affecting one or the other community shall be proceeded with if three-quarters of the Members of that community oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

"In the Imperial Legislative Council one-third of the Indian elected Members should be Muhammadans elected by separate Muhammadan electorates in the several provinces."

Mr. Montagu and his colleagues visited India in 1917 to enquire into the wishes of the people of India. This was

at a time when the separate identity of the Muslim League had ceased to exist and the Mussalmans did not sufficiently press their demands, with the result that their influence was not felt to the extent of the importance the community deserved.

These new Reforms were initiated at a very unpropitious juncture. It was a time when the country was plunged in the non-co-operation movement, and the boycott of every British institution was being freely preached. The Muslim mind was affected by the Khilafat movement and utterly disregarded Indian problems. The result was that the Muhammadans did not join the counsels, and a substantial portion of the Hindus also refrained. I quite agree with what Mr. S. R. Das wrote in this connection in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. The Reforms were not given a fair trial.

It is significant that during the war the Mussalmans of India actually fought against the Turks, and that the agitation only began after the war was over and as a concomitant of the circumstances that then prevailed. The Treaty of Lausanne, however, eased the situation considerably, and the action of the Turks against the Khalif changed the general outlook on the whole question. In short, the policy of the British Government, coupled with the urgency of various home affairs, changed the general attitude of the Mussalmans, as anticipated by responsible officials of the time who had detailed knowledge of conditions prevailing in India.

The Muslim League assembled again in June, 1924, after several years of oblivion, but its reorganization has not yet been completed. The League emphasized the safeguarding of Muslim interests as a fundamental basis in any scheme which may ultimately be agreed upon. The sentiments expressed by the Muslim League were expressed more explicitly and in greater details by various meetings held in Northern India. The gist of these resolutions is that the Mussalmans of India are ready to co-operate with every section of the Indian community and the British

Government to obtain Swaraj within the British Empire, as promised by Mr. Montagu on August 20, 1917. They consider that Swaraj should be obtained by constitutional methods, by the process of evolution and not by the process of revolution. The support of the Mussalmans to any form of constitutional advance is subject to the condition that the interests of the Mussalmans will be adequately safeguarded in the following manner; and a guarantee is given that they will continue to be safeguarded till the Mussalmans consider them to have become unnecessary.

1. The mode of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every province, subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality (The latter part is a modification of the Muslim League and Congress Compact of 1916.)

2. The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats is unacceptable to Indian Muslims, on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion, and also of being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effective representation of various communal groups. The representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present.

3. No Bill or Resolution or any part thereof affecting any community shall be passed in any Legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of that community in that particular body oppose such Bill or Resolution or part thereof. (This is in the Congress and Muslim League Compact, but it is not included in the Government of India Act.)

4. The proportion of the Mussalmans in all public services and in all departments, including the posts recruited by competitive examinations, should be fixed. The proportion of the Mussalmans in the public services being much lower than the proportion fixed for the representation in provincial and central legislature, it is necessary that it

should be increased in every grade of service, without, of course, impeding its efficiency. (It has now been recognized that efficiency in the Civil Service examinations is not affected by the inclusion of a definite proportion of Indians, and the appointments are often distributed on a provincial basis. The Mussalmans desire that the principle may further be extended. One-third of the appointments reserved for Indians should be set apart for the Muhammadans, provided they attain a minimum qualification. This method of recruitment is working satisfactorily in the United Provinces in India for the recruitment of the provincial services, to which the Government, Hindus, and Muhammadans have given their united assent.)

5. Special facilities should be provided in education. Various Education Commissions and Conferences have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Indian and provincial Governments to the importance of providing special facilities to the Mussalmans in education. In 1913 the Government of India invited the attention of the local governments to the backwardness of the Mussalmans in education, and asked them to recommend special measures. Committees were appointed in each province, who reported to the local governments, but on account of the financial stringency that followed the war these recommendations could not be carried into effect. It is desirable that these recommendations, subject to such modifications that changed circumstances may warrant, should now be adopted.

I have now summarized the safeguards which are necessary to secure Hindu-Muslim unity. They may be regarded as a transitional provision for obtaining Swaraj, based on Indian nationalism.

Finally, I wish to add that I personally agree with the views expressed by Mr. S. R. Das in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, to the effect that we need a stable Government in India, and I would add that it will not remain stable unless equal facilities are given to every community and the interests of the minorities are adequately safeguarded.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AND THEIR POSITION IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN

BY H. DUNLOP

I

EVER since the days of Napoleon, when Dutch world-power had been eclipsed for a time, to be revived to but a modest extent after Waterloo, Holland and her great Eastern dependencies have led an unobtrusive, albeit prosperous, and what might be called a highly respectable existence.

Holland, as an integral part of Western civilization, to which she has contributed her share, and perhaps a larger share than her size would seem to warrant, has been one of the most important civilizing influences in the Far East. That is saying a great deal, but it is no exaggeration, and it is rather a striking comment on quite an extraordinary colonial development. When, indeed, the Dutch Republic stood at the height of its power in the seventeenth century, and when later on, after having made up its quarrels with Great Britain, Holland was still counted amongst the Great Powers, even the mere notion of carrying European civilization eastward was not seriously contemplated by the Dutch, or indeed by any European Government. The Eastern establishments of the European Powers had no other object than material gain, to be obtained by exploiting the natives as much as possible. None of them so much as dreamt of any idealistic motives when their sailors and soldiers set out on their foolhardy journeys of discovery. The castles which they built along unknown coasts were not castles in the air, but solid counting-houses. As compared with our matter-of-fact ancestors, we modern Europeans are sentimentalists indeed.

It was not in her time of power and glory that Holland

came to the East as a civilizing element. She took that task upon her shoulders after having abdicated, of her own free will, as a Great Power. Her present sovereign claim as mistress of her Eastern domains now does not rest upon material strength, but on the solid foundations laid by the practical idealism of good government.

During by far the greater part of the nineteenth century the efforts of the Dutch Government were concentrated chiefly on Java, by no means the largest of the Malay islands. The population of Java and also that of the other islands has increased enormously under Dutch rule, as the following figures will show :

	1805.	1818.	1845.	1893.
Population of Java and Madura	4,615,270	5,020,000	8,281,000	24,596,020
Population of the other islands (estimated) ...	2,000,000	3,000,000	6,726,000	8,208,000
Total	6,615,270	8,020,000	15,007,000	32,804,000

	1905.	1917.	1920.	1924 (estimated).
Population of Java and Madura	30,360,667	34,157,383	34,984,171	37,500,000
Population of the other islands (estimated) ...	7,710,115	12,993,672	14,366,663	15,500,000
Total	38,070,000	47,151,055	49,350,834	53,000,000

The increases in the revenue and in the volume of trade are not less remarkable, the revenue having risen from f. 14,850,000 (£1,237,750) in 1818 to f. 96,561,135 (£8,046,750) in 1845, f. 136,000,000 (£11,333,000) in 1885, and f. 637,000,000 (£53,000,000) in 1924. The total volume of trade, which may be estimated at f. 20,000,000 (£1,750,000) in 1818, rose to f. 324,000,000 (£27,000,000) in 1885, and to f. 1,148,895,000 (£95,740,000) in 1922; whilst during the boom year, 1920, it even rose to f. 2,238,000,000 (£186,500,000).

It is due to the memory of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles to remind the reader of the interval of British rule in Java from 1811 to 1816. That island had been conquered by England in 1811, as a state of war then existed with Holland, which had thrown in her lot with France, and had been temporarily incorporated in Napoleon's empire. Raffles, by his administrative genius, succeeded, during those few years, in greatly increasing the revenue and in putting through several measures of much public benefit. He rendered a singular service to his country in founding Singapore in 1819 by obtaining the then uninhabited and almost unknown territory from the Sultan of Johore. Java, with many other Eastern possessions, was returned to Holland in 1816.

The expansion of the Dutch administration over the interior of the larger islands outside Java is of comparatively recent date. Formerly the Government had limited themselves mainly to the coastal regions of Sumatra, Celebes, and to those of the Dutch parts of Borneo and New Guinea. In Sumatra, where meanwhile (since about 1880) the tobacco estates started their work of settling the territory of the Sultan of Deli, they were compelled to carry on a struggle of about forty years' duration against the unruly and warlike Atchinese, whose chief occupations were raids on peaceful populations and piracy off the coast. In order to avoid international complications, Acheen had to be conquered at all costs, and it was not until the strong hand of the late General Van Heutsz (afterwards Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies) had finally restored peace and order on the north coast of Sumatra (during the first decennium of the present century) that the financial strain caused by this protracted war disappeared. Thus the development of the "Outer Possessions," as they are called in official terms, could be taken in hand by Van Heutsz, and his immense energy and courage in carrying out that task place him on a level with the greatest pro-consuls known during the three hundred years of Dutch

rule in the East. His recent death gave occasion to sincere national mourning, and a monument is to be erected in honour of his memory.

II

In a short article like the present, only the main outstanding facts and figures can be adduced to illustrate the importance of Holland's Eastern dependencies within the framework of international economic intercourse.

Since the political recasting of the map of the world after Waterloo, when Holland was permanently reinstated in the Malay Archipelago, two other Great Powers have arisen in the Pacific Ocean, the United States and Japan ; whereas the British Dominions whose shores are washed by the Pacific have grown from mere settlements to large and growing states, which claim a voice in the affairs of the British Empire.

The antagonism between the first-named two powerful states, which has recently assumed a more or less acute aspect owing to the immigration question, could not fail to cause apprehension to the Dutch Government. The Malay islands, more than a century ago, were scarcely more than a myth to most nations ; but in our time, as has been shown by the figures, they occupy an important place in world economy. They supply large quantities of petroleum, rubber, sugar, fats, etc., and after China and British India, they are amongst the largest markets for Manchester goods. Whereas up to the world war the Netherlands East Indian markets were shared about equally between the mills of Lancashire and Holland, Japan has succeeded of late years in securing a considerable share. Having assumed most of the ways of Western civilization, she has, however, also taken upon herself its immense burdens and unavoidable aspirations.

The brighter the flame of Western civilization burns, the more irresistible becomes its attraction for the alien races that did not evolve it. The aboriginal savages of America

and Australia mostly succumbed before they could even attempt to assimilate it. The Russians, always alien to the West, were driven by it from bewilderment to complete mental aberration and self-slaughter. Japan originally, and as if her soul looked far beyond the events of the day, vigorously resisted the idea of abandoning her isolation which had secured to her for centuries a peaceful and serene life of great charm and distinction. She was content to be forgotten by a bustling world which she profoundly distrusted. But she had to empty the cup that was pressed to her lips by the very hands of those who now stand aghast at the effects of the stimulating draught upon the recalcitrant recluse. Oh, the irony of history, which is but the irony of that hidden but awful spirit whose unseen hand guides nations and races whither it wills, and uses them as tools wherewith to mould shapes and forms as yet unknown to mortal man! . . .

Japan, once determined to make European ways her own, started upon an amazing career of glory and conquest. In quick succession she overcame China and Russia. Perhaps she forgot that China was but a shadow of ancient power, and that Russia was already staggering under the burden that Peter the Great had laid upon her unstable frame. But Japan had pushed on to the front rank amongst the Powers, and she entered the doors of the world's council chambers which the alliance with Great Britain had opened to her. She took her place with dignity and discretion, and only once she seemed to forget that a wise player does not show his hand, when she tried to press her famous twenty-one demands upon China. She has also shown her interest in international endeavours for securing peace, and in European affairs she has often shown disinterested moderation and even the utmost generosity—*e.g.*, when she presented the Louvain University with a priceless collection of books a short time ago. She evidently wishes to prove her determination to take an active part in the modern civilization she has adopted.

In doing so she has, however, also to assume the consequences. Modern knowledge and hygiene have combined in Japan, as they have everywhere in similar cases, to create the hothouse atmosphere in which human beings multiply greatly. Japan is now face to face with the thousand and one difficulties that confront the Western nations : over-population and its consequences ; the need of industrializing the country, and of finding markets for its manufactured goods and outlets for its teeming multitudes ; the necessity of securing constant and abundant supplies of raw materials and of food ; labour difficulties and popular clamour for emancipation and better social conditions, with revolutionary leanings ; the question as to whether popular attention should be diverted from many burning questions of the kind by a constant appeal to patriotism and the chauvinistic and imperialistic tendencies which follow in its wake. Japan is a constitutional and parliamentary state mainly in name, and the leading classes do not care to relinquish their influence in government affairs, as they feel little sympathy with modern ideas as to the blessings resulting from democratic government.

These are the issues that press themselves to the attention of Japanese statesmen, and from which there is no escape. For a return to the olden days of patriarchal rule is impossible. Onward, then, Nippon ! For better or for worse, onward to thy destiny !

III

The immigration question has been so much discussed in the press of late that it is superfluous to go over the ground again here.

To Japan, as is well known, it is not so much a question of immediately pressing need—although it may certainly assume that aspect ere long—as of honour. It would be of great immediate importance if the Japanese people themselves really clamoured for it. But in point of fact they do not, as they are said to be extremely difficult to please in

the matter of climate and surroundings and passionately attached to their native land. They cannot work in the fields in the tropics like the Chinese; they cannot support the cold climate even of the Japanese island of Hokkaido. To Korea, in spite of Government aid, only a few thousand families emigrated since the annexation of about twenty years ago, and at present there are only some 332,000 Japanese in Korea against over 17,000,000 of Koreans. And as Korea is now a part of the Japanese Empire, it appears more and more difficult to keep Korean work-people out of Japan than to get Japanese into Korea. To Mongolia and Manchuria, although here again the Government did all they could, only some 40,000 families emigrated from 1907 to 1916. With Brazil, Chili, Peru, and Mexico immigration arrangements were made; the Argentine Republic offers land gratis. But to none of those countries a considerable stream of emigrants could hitherto be directed. Moreover, the Japanese are not liked in the East. They are neither Oriental^s nor Westerners, and nowhere in the East can they hold their own against Chinese workpeople or tradesmen. The very countries where they need not fear competition from Chinese or other Asiatics—viz., the United States and the British Dominions already mentioned—are closed against Japanese immigration. As has already been pointed out in this *Review*, the exclusion of the Japanese is looked upon by them as a question of honour, because, on account of their truly immense achievement in adapting themselves to Western ways in a few generations only, they claim equality with the whites, and their recent exclusion from the United States was felt in Japan as an unbearable insult.

The question, therefore, appears to be not so much whether the Japanese really desire to emigrate on a large scale. So far the evidence is rather the other way, and it is often asserted that the propaganda which the Japanese make for immigration rights is merely the putting forward of a grievance wherewith to work up other schemes—in this

case on the adjoining continent of Asia, and possibly also in a southerly direction across the seas. That Japan should contemplate the proclaiming of a sort of Monroe doctrine over Eastern Asia would appear unlikely, as it would not be in accordance with the prudent and reticent ways which Japan has generally shown so far. Moreover, it would assuredly endanger their friendly understanding with the United States and the British Empire, as these countries would be almost sure to claim the principle of the open door, especially in view of the enormous potentialities of the Chinese markets, which they cannot ignore on account of their own industrial development.

Be that as it may, the immigration question has undoubtedly shown that the question of the supremacy of races in the Pacific is gradually becoming acute. If the recent world war had not proved that war in general is now scarcely more detrimental to the vanquished than to the victors, the question would certainly result in one or more armed conflicts. As it is, the prospect of this appears more or less remote, and will remain so as long as the Japanese will continue showing their usual wisdom and moderation in not asking too much. They might, in regard to immigration, consider further that their own laws as to the admission of aliens are very strict, and that with regard to the open door they have practically closed it by high tariffs, as far as their own territories are concerned, although it must at once be admitted that other nations, Holland and the Netherlands East Indies excepted, have not set them a good example.

At Geneva they have clearly shown that their point of view as to immigration is the same as it was in Paris in 1919. They have obtained something in Geneva, inasmuch as Article 5 of the Protocol alludes to disputes as to whether some law adopted by a state belongs to the exclusive competence of that state or to international law being referred to the International Court of Justice. In ordinary parlance this might be called "the thin end of

the wedge." That it is indeed taken in that sense is proved by the opposition against the Protocol in the British Dominions, not to speak of the United States. The fact that the British Delegation did not at once sign the Protocol also deserves attention. The inclusion in the Unionist Cabinet of Lord Cecil of Chelwood would tend to mitigate the impression created by that abstention, but it remains to be seen whether Lord Cecil will succeed in finding some way out of a difficult situation, although running with the hares and hunting with the hounds appears a very heavy task even for the cleverest statesman. Much as Great Britain is almost frantic in her desire to promote the peace of the world, she hesitates before the prospect of a rupture within the Empire. As Mr. Lloyd George declared before the Washington Conference, Downing Street does not any more rule the Empire, but is ruled by it. It is useless speculating further on the outcome of the Protocol difficulty, but there cannot be the least doubt as to the determination of the United States and the Dominions to keep their territories closed against Asiatic immigration. And M. Tchitcherin's remark in his recent report on Russia's foreign affairs regarding the "Anglo-Saxon bloc" affords food for thought to those who think that Japan has succeeded in throwing a bone of contention between various Powers represented at Geneva.

IV

A few days after the exclusion of the Japanese from the United States had been officially announced, a Japanese of good family, in order to show his despair in an ostentatious manner, committed Harakiri in Tokio, and another Japanese committed suicide by hanging himself for the same purpose. This was in the early summer of this year. It coincided with an official diplomatic protest and with diplomatic mutations showing irritation. On November 10 last it was announced by *The Times* correspondent at Tokio that the

body of the first-named Japanese was to be exhumed and buried in the military cemetery, with the approval of the Minister for War, next to the most glorious dead. *The Times* correspondent expected solemn national demonstrations of protest against the American immigration laws.

In the present article I shall have to speculate upon the possibility of armed conflicts in the Pacific Ocean. But let me not be misunderstood. In speaking of such conflicts I merely assume what is a distant possibility, not a likelihood or a necessity by any means. It would be a gratuitous insult to all the interested nations to do more than refer to remote possibilities, which, however, have to be taken into account when the situation in that part of the world is to be studied seriously.

Japan's attitude in 1919 in Paris, in 1924 at Geneva, together with the symptoms of public despair in Tokio mentioned above, are danger-signals in the international situation. And although Japan, as we have repeatedly pointed out, has generally shown great moderation, it appears to be a fact that many Japanese consider their nation not only equal but even superior to the whites. Again, Europe clearly abhors war, as was shown by the dealings with Turkey at Lausanne and lately at Geneva. But does Japan? It should not be overlooked that Japan, unlike Europe, has reaped considerable territorial advantages from war. Moreover, for reasons already indicated, she means to keep nationalism going strong. Private societies in Japan are making propaganda for imperialism in various Asiatic lands, and especially for the furtherance of Japanese influence in the Netherlands East Indies.

And this brings us back to the international situation of the Netherlands East Indies and to their strategic and economical significance. We have already briefly alluded to the latter, especially as a purveyor of such valuable products as oil, rubber, edible fats, sugar, etc., in huge quantities. These products are paramount necessities to modern states, which are "slaves to a thousand wants."

It is their task to make sure of regular supplies in peace time as well as in time of war.

Although the immigration question has been put forward by Japan as her main grievance, the Chinese question is another very important element in international politics in the Far East. Fortunately, it is not a question of honour, but of finance and economy. China holds about a fourth of the total population of the world, and her markets offer such immense prospects that no trading nation can afford to neglect them. So far, trade in China does not appear to have suffered from the civil war, neither are the lives of foreigners in serious danger. Hence outside interference would not appear immediately necessary. But the future is by no means bright. Yet not even the rivalry for the Chinese markets need cause international conflicts. Japan, owing to her proximity, occupies a very favourable situation, as her goods are not saddled with trans-oceanic freight charges, and Japanese wages are low and working hours long. As Japan thus possesses a most valuable start, and none of the other powers will claim unfair advantages, not even the Chinese question ought to bring conflicts about. National honour not being involved in this case, common sense ought to be appealed to as the only safe guide.

Of course, an international conflict in the Pacific would be unwise and illogical. But great nations are sometimes moved mainly by sentiment and passion and not by logic. It is obvious that Japan's strategical position, after the Washington Conference, has become almost impregnable, and that if she ventured outside that position further eastward, she would unduly weaken herself. If she wished to attack the United States, her chief aim, so it is alleged by some, although no doubt wrongly, would be to take Hawaii by a sudden attack, and from that point of vantage to make a dash for the Panama Canal, in order to destroy the entrance and thus prevent the American Atlantic Fleet, for which there is no base on the route round Cape Horn, from protecting the Pacific coasts. She does not require the

Netherlands East Indies for that purpose. An adventure as suggested above would, however, be of such an extremely hazardous kind that the Japanese, if ever they harboured such a design, have doubtless given it up long ago. For America's supplies to Japan of various raw materials, such as cotton, oil, iron, etc., would suddenly cease, as would Japan's enormous exports to the United States. This would mean economic ruin to Japan; but not to the United States, and the latter country, even if Japan succeeded in a rash enterprise of the sort, would never make peace, and the only result would be a protracted naval struggle in which Great Britain, owing to the dislocation of her enormous trade which passes Singapore, could hardly remain neutral for long.

Evidently in case of conflict Japan would have to look to the Netherlands East Indies for securing supplies, and as the notion of contraband is very elastic, Holland could hardly allow supplies without giving up her neutrality. It is her aim, therefore, to keep her naval forces on such a level as to enable her to maintain her neutrality, and this she claims to be able to do effectively with the forces she can afford to keep up and which it is calculated would hardly ever have to oppose more than a small squadron which the belligerents could afford to detach from their main fleets.

In a protracted war the Netherlands East Indies would be of great strategic value to the state or states at war with Japan. Firstly, of course, with a view to the withholding of supplies, and secondly, as a base for attacking Japan. The Malay islands are much nearer to Japan than to the United States, and whereas they are chiefly of economic value to Japan, they would be of great strategic and economic value to her enemies. Holland in the East occupies much the same position as in Europe, where during the world war she proved an almost ideal buffer state. Strong enough to be left alone, not so strong as to be dangerous, she is above all almost passionately pacific.

What do the interested parties expect of her? Obviously,

if Holland can be relied upon to withhold supplies of contraband produced in the Netherlands East Indies from Japan, and if she is able to safeguard the passage of merchantmen through the several straits between the Sunda islands, thus keeping open the sea-routes between Australia and other American and British possessions and Singapore, this would be of so much value to the belligerents that they would respect Holland's neutrality in the East. As it behoves England to have a strong naval base at Singapore, so it behoves Holland to maintain sufficient naval forces in the Netherlands East Indies. For if—which I do not by any means wish to assert—Japan ever harboured any designs like those which her detractors ascribe to her, she would at once be convinced of the hopeless prospect of an armed conflict. England's right to fortify Singapore is one of the principles on which the Washington treaties are based. Japan has taken it into account when she adhered to them. It has been laid on the scales which came into equipoise there. When, therefore, England shows her determination to hold Singapore as a fortified base, and Holland hers to maintain her neutrality, peace in the Pacific may remain undisturbed for a very long time to come, and in the meantime other solutions for the questions at issue may be found and tried for the welfare and contentment of all mankind.

THE HAGUE,
December 1.

THE EXPANSION OF INDIA'S TRADE*

(Contributed by the Indian Trade Commissioner)

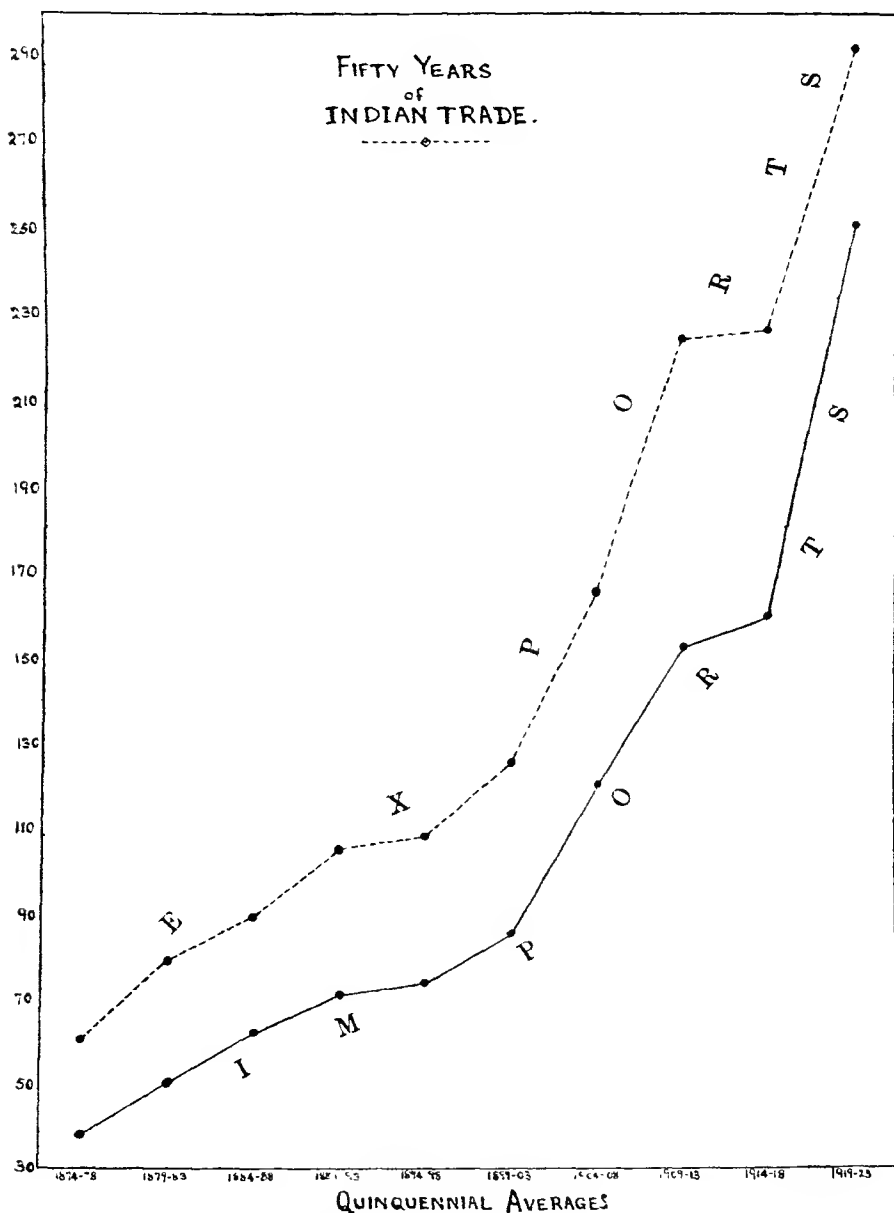
THE accompanying diagram illustrates the expansion of Indian trade during the last fifty years, 1874 to 1923. The upper curve indicates the value of exports of merchandise from India, and the lower curve the value of imports of merchandise into India. You will notice that the exports have always exceeded the imports in value. The margin between the two lines represents the balance of trade favourable to India—that is to say, the aggregate of sums held to India's credit abroad, on the strength of her surplus of exports over imports, and utilized to pay interest at the source on foreign capital invested in India and to liquidate other foreign claims. For the sake of simplicity I have shown, not the separate values of each single year, but the average annual value of each five years of trade.

The two curves show that the general upward tendency, representing expansion of trade, is gradual during the first half of the period and more rapid during the second half, culminating in a very steep rise indeed—the average of the five years which have succeeded the war. It will also be noticed that at two places the upward curve flattens out, representing two temporary checks to the upward movement. The first of these checks covers the last five years of the nineteenth century, and the second represents the five years of war, 1914 to 1918.

The explanation of these tendencies is comparatively simple. At the beginning of the period world conditions

* Extract from a lecture on Indian Trade delivered by Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, Indian Trade Commissioner, at the City of London College.

were generally favourable to Indian trade. The Suez Canal had been opened only a few years previously, in 1869, and by 1874 its success was assured. It quickened and



cheapened the marketing of Indian goods in Europe and of European goods in India. In fact, modern trade with India may be said to date from the opening of the Canal. With the development and improvement of ocean transport,

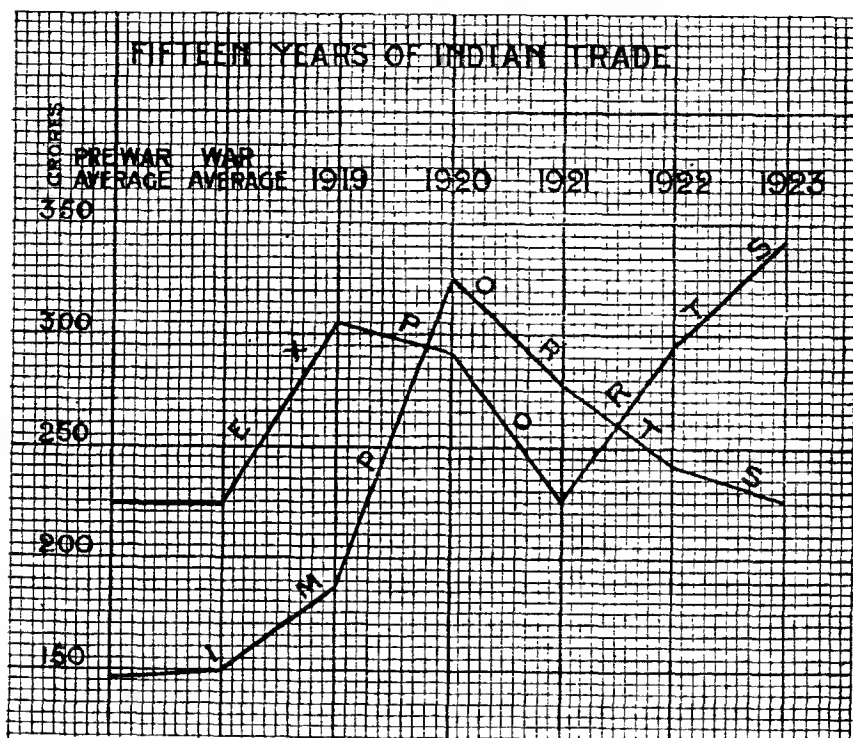
posts and telegraphs, Indian goods became better known, and the demand for them increased. Capital was invested in India, and roads, railways, and canals increased. Cotton and jute mills were erected and agriculture extended and improved.

Unfortunately, while general conditions were favourable to India's trade during the last quarter of last century, one condition was adverse, and it was a condition of vital importance. With the fall in the world price of silver, which occurred during the last half of the nineteenth century, the value of the rupee also diminished. From 2s. it fell in the seventies to 1s. 9d.; in the eighties to 1s. 4d.; and in the middle of the nineties it reached its lowest point of approximately 1s. The uncertainty of exchange proved a serious handicap, and accounts for the slow development of trade between 1874 and 1900. The lowest point of depression was reached during the five years 1895 to 1900. Although these five years witnessed the gradual recovery of Exchange from 1s. to 1s. 4d., they also saw India devastated by serious outbreaks of famine and plague, which retarded her industrial and commercial expansion.

With the turn of the century we enter on an entirely new phase. Exchange is now stabilized at 1s. 4d.; education, transport, and communications have improved, and with them the ability to combat famine and plague. The results are apparent in the expansion of trade which took place during the fifteen years preceding the outbreak of war. During the years 1905-10, in particular, the mileage of Indian railways was greatly increased. Cultivation was actively extended; new cotton mills, with 1 million additional spindles, were erected and new jute mills containing a quarter of a million spindles; the output of coal and mineral oils increased. Hence the rapid expansion of trade which was checked by the outbreak of war, but gathered new strength during the boom which followed the conclusion of peace. In 1913 India's total trade was just double what it had been in 1901.

The following diagram compares the annual average values of India's exports and imports, in crores of rupees, during the five years immediately preceding the war (1909-1913) and during five years of war (1914-1918), with the values of her imports and exports during each of the five subsequent years (1919-1923).

The absence of any expansion of trade during the war was due partly to the scarcity of tonnage and partly to



Government control of exports and imports. The year 1919, which saw the beginning of the post-war boom, saw in consequence a stimulus given to India's exports in excess of that given to her imports. This is shown in the steeper rise of the export over the import curve in that year. Naturally, a shortage of, and increased demand for, manufactured goods during a boom is immediately reflected in a keen demand for the raw materials from which such goods are made.

In the middle of 1920 the slump began, and this is

indicated in the fall of the export curve from 1919 to 1920. But the enormous credits secured by India in foreign countries against heavy exports during 1919 and the first half of 1920 enabled her to purchase large quantities of goods abroad. These orders naturally took time to execute, for, even after the slump had set in, manufacturers found their books full of orders for delivery when possible. Hence the record imports of 1920 and the excess of imports over exports during both 1920 and 1921. The full effect of the slump, with its resulting fall of prices, is strikingly illustrated in the steady decline in the value of imports which took place between 1920 and 1921, between 1921 and 1922, and again, more gradually, between 1922 and 1923.

The strength of India's trade position as a producer of goods which are essential to the rest of the world, if existing standards of life are to be maintained, is illustrated in the rapid recovery of her export trade during 1922 and 1923. The decline in exports from India which had occurred during 1920 and 1921 indicated the gradual liquidation of foreign stocks of Indian goods. In the conditions of trade which obtained during the two succeeding years, 1922 and 1923, stocks were nowhere built up, for price levels have not even yet been stabilized. Foreign purchases from India during 1922 and 1923 represent purchases for immediate consumption, and indicate the extent to which Europe, America, Africa, and Australia depend on India for their most vital requirements. A trade boom now would mean a colossal demand for Indian goods, far in excess of the level reached in 1919-1920, which has, indeed, already been exceeded, in spite of lower prices, in 1923.

THE ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT ON THE LEE REPORT

BY SIR REGINALD H. CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

THE recent communiqué stating in general terms the decisions of His Majesty's Government on the proposals of the Lee Commission must have given general satisfaction to the Indian Services.

The Commission's recommendations do not represent in any sense the full measure of relief required to raise the pecuniary attractions of the Services to the standard which prevailed thirty years ago. They could not, for example, be exempted from the higher taxation which British subjects in all parts of the Empire have to bear as a consequence of the war.

The Royal Commission was studiously moderate. Its proposals represent bare justice, but no more than this. They give relief where it is most required—namely, in respect of help to pay the costly passages to and from Home which the climatic conditions of India necessitate, and they lighten the burden of the Home charges, and offer protection against the heavy loss which the depreciation of the rupee entails upon officers who have to remit money to Europe, as a normal consequence of their service abroad. They also raise to a moderate extent the exiguous pensions to which members of services other than the Indian Civil Service have been hitherto entitled, and make some improvements in invalid pensions.

As regards basic pay, only that of the Police has been improved, again to a moderate extent, and it was really common ground that, in proportion to its increased responsibilities, that service was not sufficiently remunerated. It is a matter for regret that the Government could not see their way to grant the overseas privilege in the case of

higher salaries up to the limit recommended by the British members of the Commission, and that they have cut down that qualification to salaries not exceeding 3,000 rupees, thereby reducing the relative attraction to appointments with pay slightly exceeding that limit. It is also regrettable that the Government have not conceded the higher pensions recommended for the benefit of Governors and Members of Council drawn from the Indian Civil Service. I can with a clear conscience express an opinion on this, as, though I would have been trebly qualified for such a concession if I had still been in the service, the terms of the Commission's recommendations only applied to officers who were actually in the Service in April, 1924. By reason of this refusal on the part of the Government, the Indian Civil Service appears to be the only Service in India or in England in which the rank or emoluments of an officer at the time of his retirement have no bearing on the pension which he should enjoy. The rank and file of the Service have always feared that the grant of such higher pensions might be used as an argument for reducing their own, a course for which there would have been no justification at all; but even if the rank and file are comparatively indifferent, the fact that the highest responsibilities involving long service could earn for the most successful a larger retiring pension would certainly have proved attractive to ambitious young men hesitating about entering the Indian Civil Service. The extra cost of the two concessions that have been refused was insignificant. With their rejection, however, the last remnant of criticism that the recommendations of the Commission imposed on an Indian taxpayer a single superfluous rupee is absolutely removed. The Council of State recognized the moderation of the proposals, but the Legislative Assembly proved impervious to reason. I do not know whether anyone was sanguine enough to believe that the latter body would do anything else, since the majority who refused the relief were men who have consistently briefed them-

selves to argue that the officers of the higher Services are already overpaid, that their grievances exist only in their own imagination, and that, in any case, the Indian revenues could not bear any extra expenditure, while the official work of the country could be carried out with equal efficiency by Indians on two-thirds or less of the pay. It is scarcely worth while expending powder and shot in demolishing most of these allegations, but there are one or two matters connected with them which are worth discussion, since they either bear on other recommendations made by the Commission and accepted by the Government, or might lead persons unacquainted with the true facts, to feel some misgiving about the rights of the matter.

First, as regards the cost: the immediate expenditure involved is less than three-quarters of a million sterling per annum, or three-farthings per head of the population of British India. The cost is shared between the Government of India in respect of Central Services paid from Central revenues and nine Major Provinces, and some smaller ones, in respect of the Services which are paid from Provincial revenues. The expenditure can be met without an increase of taxation from developing sources of revenue, but even if taxation were necessary it would be no more than I have said, equal to one third-class railway fare for a distance of three miles, and less than the postage due on one letter. And what is the alternative to this extra cost? The extinction of the All-India Services and a decline in efficiency entailing the loss of many millions of revenue. The Indians in the All-India Services appreciate this even if the politicians choose to blind themselves to the facts, for the Indians in the superior Services know that the Provincial and subordinate services, although they can produce some excellent men, would fall immensely in general standard if the supervision of the All-Indian services were withdrawn. The masses of the people would also readily appreciate this fact.

This leads also to the question of Indianization. The advanced politician will assert that the proposals of the Commission in this respect do not go far enough. Some Conservative journals in England fear that they go too far. Under the proposals accepted by Government the proportion of British and Indians in the Indian Civil Service will become half and half in fifteen years' time, and in the Police in twenty-five years' time. I am quite ready to admit that these proposals approach the limit of safety within any time regarding which a reasonable forecast can be made; but I am not prepared to admit that they go beyond that limit. If I were, I would not have been a signatory to the Report.

I have also seen the line taken in an English weekly that as the Reforms have not been successful, the policy of Indianization which accompanied them should also be revised. I do not propose to deal with the question of the success or non-success of the Constitutional Reforms, but the admission of a much larger Indian element into the services has really no connection with the Political Reforms. If there had been no reforms it would have been just and expedient to have increased that element. The danger of a collapse of government lies not in the admission of official Indians into the services (subject to the retention of an adequate British proportion), but to the gift of power to non-officials entirely untrained in the administration of the country. Nominally, these men are responsible to electorates of citizens, but in reality they are at the beck and call of certain organs of the Press which if they are honest are not logical, and if they are logical are not honest. This means that the more governing power that is committed to them the more governing power is exercised by a small group of discontented men with a minimum stake in the country. The official Indian, on the other hand, is very thoroughly trained under British supervision, and he is the first to recognize how impossible are the counsels of perfection advocated by the Press, and how utterly irresponsible their criticism. I am firmly of opinion that the lowest pro-

portion of British officers that will suffice to maintain the standards of the Security Services is one-half. In the case of those Non-Security Services which under the new orders will be provincialized, the right proportion is left to the discretion of the Local Governments. It is an experiment, but it is an experiment the failure of which would not entail irremediable consequences to the country at large, as would be the case if law and order went by the board.

There are some other concessions recommended by the Commission and accepted by the Government in respect to medical attendance and high house-rents, but these, though of great importance in cases of individual hardship, cannot be estimated pecuniarily for the Services as a whole.

JAPAN AND INDO-CHINA

BY AUGUSTE BRUNET

(Deputy in the French Chamber, Vice-President of the Colonial group of the French Chamber of Deputies.)

MR. JOHN DE LA VALETTE, in the course of his excellent article entitled "Industrialism and the Pacific," which was published in the October issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, was able to show how Japan, on account of her ever-increasing industrial development, found it necessary to seek markets outside her own country. The author proceeded to show that this clever and competent race had found her efforts and economic expansion checked by American competition and by the opposition shown by the European Powers which were established on the borders of the Pacific in that part which geographers liked to call the Chinese Mediterranean.

The object of this article is to show one aspect only of this problem—namely, the relations between France and Japan as affected by the Indo-China market. I propose to show with what continuity of purpose and obstinate tenacity Japan has, ever since 1911, pursued this aim of its general policy, and how, in that respect also, she has found her way barred by the theory of economic protection—that sacred egoism of those peoples who want to live, and who, in order to live, must defend their own interests.

On August 19, 1911, the French and Japanese Governments signed a commercial treaty according the most-favoured-nation treatment to French products entering Japan and *vice versa*. This treaty gave an implication that these arrangements might, in the future, be extended, in whole or part, to the French colonies. During the same year such facilities were extended to Algiers, and on February 28, 1912, they were applied to all the other French colonies, with the exception of Indo-China.

In short, Indo-China has remained to the present day the privileged market for France. It is a country of 720,000 square kilometres, with 16,000,000 inhabitants, 10,000 kilometres of roads, 1,800 kilometres of railways, and a system of river traffic served by "branch boats" and Annamite "Sampans."

This colony is composed of five vast provinces: Cochin China, Cambodia, Annam, Laos, and Tonkin, which together constitute the Indo-Chinese union. Her trade has grown from year to year, and her two ports, Saigon and Haiphong are able to show a remarkable development in their traffic. As a result of the application of the home system of tariffs, French products are admitted duty free, whilst the fall in the franc has increased the purchasing power of the local coinage which is the Indo-Chinese piastre. Clearly French industrial and commercial firms do not show any inclination to abandon an advantage which is accorded to them by the exceptionally favourable tariff advantages. If the most-favoured-nation treatment were granted to Japan, the result would be that the latter's industries could compete with, and probably soon supplant, French industry in the Indo-Chinese market. The reason for this is clear. Indo-China is only a fourth of the distance from Japan that separates it from France, so that freightage would be much lower. Also, the conditions of production are greatly in the favour of Japan. These arguments did not fail to impress the Indo-Chinese Chambers of Commerce, and the cry was taken up by the Chambers of Commerce in France, which were most closely interested in Far-Eastern trade. At any rate they pressed the Government to exclude the great French possession in Asia from the commercial agreements of August 19, 1911, and February 28, 1912.

Matters rested as they were until 1915 when M. Stephen Pichon, writing in the *Petit Journal*, and M. Georges Clémenceau in the *l'Homme Libre*, warmly recommended Japanese intervention in European war. As a result

negotiations were opened between M. Delcassé, who was then at the head of the Foreign Office, and Count Okuma, Prime Minister of Japan, with regard to the advantages that should be granted eventually to our chivalrous allies. Hence the question of throwing open the Indo-Chinese market to Japanese imports was again considered, with the same result—viz., lively protestations from French commercial circles as represented by the Comité du Commerce de l'Industrie et de l'Agriculture de l'Indochine.

There matters rested whilst the Japanese continued, in co-operation with the British fleet, to fulfil her duties of guarding the seas.

The Washington Conference gave Japan a fresh opportunity to demand the same concessions. She declared that this was not a question of economic advantage, but of national prestige. Once again negotiations failed to lead to any result.

At the present moment this problem, which has so often been discussed and then postponed, is about to enter on a new phase. The occasion for reopening the debate was provided by the recent voyage of the Governor-General of Indo-China, M. Merlin, to Tokio on an official visit to the Japanese Government to open the hospital which French residents in the Far East had offered to the Japanese people in connection with the great earthquake, and in order to lay the foundation-stone of the new French Embassy.

What were the conversations that then took place? What transactions were discussed? To what point were they pressed?

To these questions no answers are available, for the reason that no precise information has been supplied on these different points to the French Chamber. What has happened, however, is that drawing the worst conclusions from cables of a like nature transmitted from Hano in Tokio, indicating that an accord in principle had been reached on the basis of the most-favoured-nation treatment,

the Colonial Association above referred to have again become perturbed. As before, the Colonial Commissions and the Colonial Group of the Chamber of Deputies have given voice to the liveliest protestations which have been taken up by the Colonial newspapers.

Thereupon M. Klobukowski, a former ambassador, and late Governor-General of Indo-China, raised the cry of alarm by putting the question in this drastic form: "Is Indo-China's commercial future to be surrendered to the Japanese?" After developing the arguments regarding the conditions under which a disastrous competition for French industry would be brought about on account of the industrial organization of Japan and the advantage she had on account of her proximity to the Indo-Chinese market, he adds: "Am I not right in saying that such a condition of affairs would be more than sufficient to bring about the mastery of Japan in the Far East, thanks to the most-favoured-nation treatment to be accorded to her on all the imports which we can ourselves supply. Would not this bring about the destruction of the market which we have created for ourselves at such a gigantic sacrifice of lives and money? Japan can produce as well as we can, for a machine can do its work just as well at Tokio, Yokohama, and Kobé as Lyons, Rouen, and Roubaix, and, what is more, it can produce more cheaply. The cost of freightage between Japan and Indo-China is 10 per cent. of what it would cost to send the same article from France. Even though our commerce and industries quintupled their present efforts, their resistance to Japanese competition would soon be reduced to zero."

There is nothing paradoxical in this forecast of the situation. It need only be recalled that since the agreement of August 19, 1911, which accords the most-favoured-nation treatment to Japan in France, the imports from that country, thanks to the activity of her merchant marine, have been more than half a million francs, of which 425,600,000 francs in 1922 are classed under the general heading of silk.

This, then, is the problem and the state of feeling that it has excited in the most competent French circles. On the one side there is the sentiment among certain French politicians that the war effort of our allies has forged between France and Japan such firm links of solidarity that it is necessary for the former, even at the cost of sacrifices, to have regard for the necessities of the latter's economic expansion. On the other hand there is, among French manufacturers, the legitimate anxiety to preserve for France the markets which her colonial possessions offer her, particularly at a time when, in the midst of her ruins and the collapse of her exchange, she is accomplishing the most difficult and meritorious effort to assure the restoration of her devastated provinces and the recovery of her industry, and, moreover, especially at a time when Alsace regained has need of new markets for her cotton-mills to make up for those which Germany has closed to her. Finally, there is the anxiety among the colonials at the sight of French business houses succumbing in an unequal battle to the Japanese rivals which would bring with it the surrender of the economic control of that great colony of a people who are admired unreservedly for their industry and magnificent national discipline. Moreover, perhaps, these same colonials espy behind the economic preponderance of Japan political domination, even though still distant, in virtue of the celebrated action of Sir Charles Dilke: "Where the interests lie, there the rights are also."

My only desire in writing this article has been to give to the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* the actual details of a complex problem in which the two standpoints are sincerely and vigorously in opposition. In considering the difficulties of competition in the Pacific, it is important that students should note the facts impartially and trace the guiding principles of what Mr. John de la Valette so justly describes in his article as the "dynamic forces," and then gauge their consequent reactions.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE LEE COMMISSION'S REPORT—A REPLY TO THE RIGHT HON. EARL WINTERTON

SIR,—It cannot be gainsaid that the Report of the Lee Commission, no less than the circumstances that led up to its appointment, has created strong feelings in India. It would be equally impossible to deny grave discontent amongst the Services. While much that has been said and written by the Indians in this connection might well have been left out without detracting a jot or tittle from the soundness of their arguments, not a little that has been said or written by, or on behalf of, the Services should not have been given expression to by means of tongue or pen. The present letter is intended not so much as a presentation of the Indian point of view, as an attempt to reply to Lord Winterton's admirably lucid article on the Lee Commission Report, which appeared in the July number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

The question of the Services is inseparably connected with the question of the future Government of India. The Services stand for irresponsibility. I do not use that word in a disparaging sense. What I mean is that the Services are not amenable to control by the Legislatures of the country, nor are they appointed, or can be dismissed, by any power within the country. Whether in the pre-reform days or at the present time, nowhere in the world is to be found a Service which enunciates policy which it itself carries out unfettered by the local Legislatures or by men who are responsible to those Legislatures. Even the Dyarchy which transferred certain functions to popular control, and, as the Montford Report laid down, "in respect of these . . . English commissioners, magistrates, doctors, and engineers will be required to carry out the policy of Indian Ministers," left the position of the Services almost unaffected. Apart from the fact that there cannot be proper control without the power of appointment and dismissal, Lord Chelmsford, in his opening speech at the Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1919, made it clear how light the control is that has been given to the Ministers under the Reforms:

"But to suppose, as has been alleged, that we proposed to place the Services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and, possibly, hostile Ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect, is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. . . . In the first place, we hope to get as Ministers responsible men who will realize how greatly the Services can help them. . . . Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handling of the Services wholly to the Minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the Services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards their disintegration. The

head of every department under Ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute; and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and, finally, by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly, we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments by Minister's order."

And, finally, to leave no doubt as to the fact that the status and prestige of the Services remained unaffected by the introduction of the Reforms, Lord Chelmsford assured the Services in conclusion that "the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the Services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged."

Apart from the fact that the utterance quoted above *in extenso* was of a Viceroy and Governor-General of India while in office, its authoritative character is enhanced by another fact—viz., Lord Chelmsford was one of the two signatories to the Report referred to as the Montford Report. The utterance, if analyzed, reveals (1) that the Ministers are to be responsible to the Legislatures for the policy they would pursue, as well as for the execution of that policy; but the execution of that policy would have to be entrusted to those over whom he would have practically no control; (2) that the "heads of the departments," for the proper working of which the Ministers would be accountable to the Legislatures, would have direct access to the Governor in case of difference of opinion between the said "heads of departments" and the Ministers; (3) that to minimize the chances of these differences of opinion, only such men are to be appointed "who realize how greatly the Services can help them"; (4) that the Minister will not have the power to determine the extent and personnel of his staff, nor to reduce it if he considers such reduction necessary in the interests of economy without being detrimental to efficiency, because the Governor is specifically authorized to disallow proposals that aim or tend towards the "disintegration" of the Services; (5) lastly, that the fitness of the Indians to govern themselves would be judged by the criterion as to how they treat the Services.

But whatever may be the cause or causes of the failure of the Reforms, or perhaps, as Lord Winterton would have it, failure on the part of the Indians to accept the Reforms in the spirit in which it was granted, it is for the future historian to judge. For the present it is enough to have the high authority of Lord Winterton to state that "many British members of the Service feel they cannot work under Indians." It is best, as he rightly pointed out, to state one's views frankly, even if they are unacceptable to many. But Lord Winterton is at some pains to point out that this inability or unwillingness to serve under Indians is not due to any "racial objections to the Indians on the score of their intelligence or pigmentation of their skins, but because they (the British members of the Indian Services) do not believe that any Asiatics can ever attain to the high standard of efficiency to be found in the old Civil Services in India."

Mr. Al. Carhill, in his remarkable book "The Lost Dominions," writes : " It soon (after the Reforms came into operation) became obvious that there was no place for Europeans in the agency under the constitution as it stood. Indeed, their existence was obviously incompatible with the theory on which the whole scheme rested. A European directory and an Indian agency, an Indian directory and an Indian agency—all these are logical enough ; but an Indian directory and a European agency was obviously preposterous."

If Mr. Al. Carhill finds the idea of Europeans carrying out the directions of their Indian superiors as "preposterous," there may be people who might quite conceivably gather the impression that the question of the "pigmentation of the skin" has not a little to do with the unwillingness of the Europeans to serve under Indians. But personally I would rather accept the authoritative statement of the ex-Under-Secretary of State for India that the unwillingness springs from a belief, right or wrong, that Asiatics can never attain the standard of efficiency to be found in the old Civil Services in India. If it is accepted that the declaration of August 20, 1917, about "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire" was meant to be acted upon, if it is accepted that the Labour Ministry as representing the British nation were sincere when Lord Oliver on their behalf laid down that Dominion status is the goal to which Britain is leading India, Indians would more and more have to be allowed to assume the direction of affairs, and to that extent the Services would find themselves reduced to an agency—*i.e.*, to the position of what in England and other similarly constituted countries is known as the Permanent Service. It is because I accept the statement so frankly made by Lord Winterton that the question of "the pigmentation of skin" does not arise that I make bold to ask him what he would have thought in case the British Civil Service objected in a body to serve the Labour Cabinet, which certainly have not the experience of the two older British parties—*viz.*, the Liberal and Conservative—nor the efficiency and tradition of the Permanent Civil Service.

Lord Winterton does an injustice to "certain Indian extremists," who, he says, "claim that British civil servants in India are shameless alien exploiters of a suffering people." As an Indian who is fairly in touch with the press and platform of his country I may be permitted to say that no Indian of note has ever been so unfair as to characterize the Services in that way. It may not be known to our late Under-Secretary that even the Indian "extremists" have more often than not referred to the culture, honesty, and efficiency of the Services as a whole, though their sense of duty to their country might have compelled them to criticize somewhat strongly the action and conduct of some particular official or officials.

The question which urgently demands an answer from Britain is not on the relative efficiency of the Indian or British officials, but is as to whether the British people are ready to face the logical implications of the pledge

which they have given to India. The present system in which the Services play the part of irresponsible administrators cannot continue side by side even with the limited responsibility granted by the Reforms. Further concessions, whatever their extent might be, can never be satisfactorily worked out with the Services acting as practically the initiators of policy which they themselves carry out. The Lee Commission's report is unsatisfactory in this, that it has failed to face the facts boldly as they are, and have only recommended minor changes here and there without touching the main issue involved. Of course, for this its terms of reference are to some extent responsible.

I have not hitherto taken up the question of the pecuniary grievances of the Services, because in India it has been sought to be impressed on us that the Services care more to be informed where they stand rather than for additions to their salary, though without these additions it is impossible to maintain the level of efficiency—so long the wonder of the world. I have already shown from the authoritative pronouncement of Lord Chelmsford that the Reforms has not in any important respect altered the position of the Services. I shall briefly attempt to consider the case for increment of their pay, pension, and allowance.

It is admitted that the pay, pension, and allowance of the Services has already been fixed on a scale far more liberal than is allowed by any other State to its servants. It cannot be denied that Great Britain and America—the two richest countries in the world—allow their public servants far less than what is paid to the Services in India. But apart from the question of salary the power and prestige enjoyed by the members of Services in India has hardly any parallel in any part of India. The Governor of a Province, and excepting in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the Governors of all the other Provinces, are recruited from the European members of the Indian Civil Service, and exercise in certain respects powers wider than even the Premier of the British Empire, who is subject to the control of Parliament and is compelled to act in deference to the views of his party, while they enjoy salaries equal to or even higher than that drawn by him. Then there are the memberships of Executive Councils—Indian and Provincial—with salaries equal to British Cabinet Ministers and powers greater than the latter enjoy, being responsible to and subject to the control of Parliament. The Commissioner of a division has several districts in his charge, some of which far exceed many European countries in area and population. His work is far from heavy. He acts as a conduit pipe between the district official and the Provincial Government. The abolition of these posts has been urged in practically all the provincial Legislatures, having the support of unanimous public opinion.

There was a time when the district magistrate might be truly described as a hard-worked official. But with the introduction of the Reforms, his duties are practically confined to the collection of revenue, supervision over the police in its duty of maintaining order and trying criminal cases. The insistent popular demand for the separation of judicial and executive, so long ignored by the Government, when conceded to will further lighten

his labour and responsibility. Once the separation has been effected, the district magistrate remains responsible only for the collection of revenue and maintenance of order. Therefore we see that the demand of increase of salary on the ground of increase of work is untenable. The second ground on which the demand for increase is based, is the increased cost of living. Just before the Reforms was introduced, increment was given to the Services. Perhaps the increment was justified, because prices were ruling high. But now the price level has come down. Indeed, in some of the Government departments, and many of the mercantile offices, grain allowances to Indian employees have been discontinued in view of the descending price level. In England military officers have had to undergo a reduction in their salary.

One word more, and I have finished. The Commission was proposed by Lord Peel, just after he had refused to give effect to the resolution of the Assembly for the need of granting further instalment of Reforms. He refused that on the ground that the matter cannot be considered before the expiry of ten years. But it was laid down in the Joint Committee's report that the question of the Services would be taken up along with the question of further instalments. Why was the Commission appointed to inquire into the one question, while the other was not taken up? The fact is that Earl Winterton has fought shy of the real issue, and has based his conclusions throughout on premises, the correctness of which can only be beyond doubt if we accept the infallibility of one who propounds them. But in this the Earl is not alone. Whatever may be the differences of opinion that the Earl and his party may have with the Liberals and Labourites, they are all at one with the Earl's conclusion, and never seek to test the validity of the premises on which the conclusions are based. The reason for this is, we are told, that India is outside party politics. Whatever that may mean, the fact that the Conservative author's views are acceptable to all British parties and to no party in India cannot be overlooked. It would be well if the British people, instead of compelling India to retain the Services on terms practically dictated from Whitehall, would trust to the sense of justice and goodwill of Indians. This compulsion is, I am afraid, calculated to breed a feeling towards the Services which would not be very helpful to them in the discharge of their legitimate functions.

KISHORI LAL GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

(*Vakil, High Court, Calcutta*).

THE INDIAN TRADE REPORT*

BY P. PADMANABHA PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

(Fellow of the Royal Economic Society)

THIS volume, which is included by the Department of Overseas Trade in its regular series of Trade Reports, is from the pen of His Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon, and contains a valuable and interesting résumé of the conditions and prospects of British trade in India. The importance of the Indian market to British manufacturing interests is evident from the fact that the share of the United Kingdom in the total volume of the Indian trade was 41 per cent. in 1913-14 ; including the share of other British possessions, it was 52 per cent. In the year under review, however, the share of the United Kingdom fell to 38 per cent., while the British possessions maintained their own, so that the total had fallen from 52 per cent. to 49 per cent. As contrasted with this decline, the share of the United States has increased, during the same period, from 6·2 to 7·9 per cent., that of Japan from 6·4 to 11 per cent, and that of Italy has nearly doubled itself. The dislocation of business caused by the war and its aftermath has had much to do with these changes, and the special conditions in India at the present day are sufficient to account for the rest.

Nevertheless, there are now apparent favourable symptoms of a new trade revival. The successive deficits with which the Indian Government was faced during recent years were arrested by the bold and far-sighted policy of Sir Basil Blackett, who, in his first financial statement, stood out against what he called "the rake's progress"

* "Report on some Aspects of British Trade in India during the Fiscal Year April 1, 1923, to March 31, 1924, Revised to June, 1924." By Thomas M. Ainscough, O.B.E. (Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.) Pp. 220. 3s. 4d. post free.

of the preceding five years, and the balanced budgets of 1923-25 have helped greatly to restore the old policy of financial caution. A halt has also been called to the increase of Customs duties, which had been going on from year to year, and had resulted in a considerable advance in the cost of living. The exchange question is technically still unsettled, as the legal ratio of Rs. 10 to the £ has not been altered; but in practice exchange has steadied more or less at its pre-Babington-Smith report level, the year under review having opened with a rupee rate of 1s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and closed with a rate of 1s. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. But the most hopeful symptom of trade revival is the increased purchasing power of the people of India. Indian finance has often been referred to as a gamble in rains, but for the last three years the monsoon has been uniformly favourable and the harvests good, though the floods of 1924, especially in the southern part of India, have wrought serious havoc. Clear evidence of the accumulated purchasing power of the country is provided by the balance-of-trade returns, which show that during the past three years there has been a net import into India of Rs. 6,758 lakhs' worth of gold and Rs. 5,150 lakhs of silver. "Had it not been for the high prices of imported goods and a feeling of distrust in their stability, there is little doubt that a very considerable portion of these sums would have been invested in piece goods, yarn, and other imports. As it is, the bulk of these amounts have been hoarded until such time as purchases can no longer be postponed." The attitude of the Indian business community is also one of the encouraging features of the present situation. "The opinion is frequently expressed by Indian dealers that they are tired of politics, and desire nothing more than a period of tranquillity, during which they may once more extend their business, and make good the heavy losses which most of them sustained during the last few years." The tension caused by the crisis of 1920-21, when exchange rose to dizzy heights and then fell remorselessly, and Indian importers

were unable to fulfil their contracts, has altogether passed away ; and cordial relations have once more been established between the Indian and European mercantile communities. Mr. Ainscough's optimism in believing that the depression which set in at the close of 1920 has spent itself out seems, on these grounds, to be justified.

Mr. Ainscough divides his report into five chapters. The first chapter gives a general review of the period : here we have a summary of the various efforts made by the Government towards economic development, such as the great irrigation projects of the Punjab, the development of the port of Karachi, and the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee. The more important Acts of the Indian legislature having a direct bearing on industrial productions are also passed under review, and the results of various enquiries into industrial conditions briefly summarized. The second chapter deals with the present policy of the Government of India in regard to the purchase of Government stores, and should be studied in detail by all firms who have previously done business in this line. The third and fourth chapters give an exposé of the tariff policy of India with special reference to the efforts made to encourage the indigenous iron and steel industry ; and the fifth chapter is devoted to a detailed examination of the leading articles of the import trade. From the contents it is clear that business interests which have already established connections in India, or are desirous of doing so, cannot afford to neglect the information which the Overseas Trade Department has supplied in this handy and convenient volume—information which, it may be added, is rather difficult to obtain, as it lies scattered in the pages of many a Blue-Book or other document.

It seems impossible nowadays to discuss any aspect of Indian life without a reference to political conditions. Much has been made of the effect of the political situation, of the strained feelings between India and England on the Indian import trade, and attempts have even been made to

show that the recent decline of the British import trade is due to the alleged Indian hostility to the Britisher. Unfortunately, the boycott movement of 1921 has lent some colour to this view. The principal imports into India are cotton manufactures, which averaged 36 per cent. of the total import trade in the pre-war period 1909-14. The year of the boycott was certainly a black year for Manchester, for in 1921-22 we notice that cotton manufactures had gone down to 21 per cent. as against the pre-war average of 36 per cent. That the business with India suffered a serious decline in the year is, of course, evident; but the statistics of the Lancashire export trade to other countries show that this decline was due neither to the Gandhi boycott nor to the Indian import duty of 11 per cent. Comparing the position in 1921 with that in 1913, it has been estimated that, whereas the total decrease (in quantities) in the Indian trade was 58.1 per cent., the twelve leading Continental customers of Lancashire reduced their imports by 56.4 per cent., China by 65.7 per cent., Japan by 73 per cent., Central and South America by 66.2 per cent., and the various British colonies by 54.7 per cent. The principal reason for the decline in business has, of course, been the phenomenal rise in cotton prices.* Mr. Ainscough's table at page 109 shows that cotton prices in 1920-21 were about thrice as much as they were before the war. The import statistics show clearly, and Mr. A. C. Conbrough has emphasized the fact in his "Notes on the Indian Piece Goods Trade," that importing merchants in India are able to dispose of imported piece goods to an annual value of approximately 45 crores of rupees (£30,000,000 at an exchange of 1s. 4d.); but when the price of these goods rises, the consumption falls off practically in proportion. There is therefore ample reason to believe that the effect of politics in this connection has been unduly exaggerated. However that may be, Mr. Gandhi

* See the article "What is the Matter with the Cotton Industry?" page 253, *Textile Mercury*, March 14, 1923.

has now called off the boycott, and that question is therefore practically laid at rest.

What causes even greater agitation in British industrial circles is the present policy of the Government of India in regard to Indian industrial regeneration. Ever since the publication of the Holland Report on Indian industries, the Government has been actively interesting itself in this behalf; and the Fiscal Commission, with its plea for discriminating protection, has given it a powerful weapon with which to stimulate and encourage local production. Mr. Ainscough would interpret this move of the Government as due to political feeling; but it has to be noted that this policy has been adopted in order to give India some sort of economic stability, and that there is really no political motive in it at all. When, in 1859, Sir Alexander Galt vindicated Canada's right to fiscal freedom, there was no suggestion that he was prompted by anti-British feelings; and the circumstances under which India has been granted fiscal freedom are identical. The passing of the Indian Steel Industries (Protection) Act will naturally affect the British and other steel interests adversely; but the discussion on the Bill has shown that the Legislative Assembly is by no means unanimously protectionist in sympathies. The agricultural and labour groups are asserting themselves; and though the Steel Bill was passed with but little difficulty, Mr. Ainscough tells us that the national sentiment will not be so strong in the case of other industries. Even as regards the steel industry, there is reason to believe that the demand for protection will not last long. The Report does not give us any information regarding the Cammel Laird developments in India's iron and coal region; but when this mammoth corporation starts functioning, Tata's may have to take a second place. Nor are other European concerns wanting who are preparing to compete with Tata in the Singhbhum area itself.

Mr. Ainscough devotes one important chapter to the development of purchases *in India* by the Indian Stores

Department. During the last forty years, the Government of India has made several attempts to get the rules for the purchase of stores altered, in order that indigenous industries might be encouraged ; but the India Office, which had the controlling hand, was unable, for some reason or other, to relax them. In 1919, a committee was appointed to make detailed enquiries and recommendations on the matter, since "the most obvious and direct form of assistance which the Government can give to the industries of the country is by the purchase of supplies required for the public services so far as possible in the country itself." The present tendency of the stores policy is clear from the fact that during the complete financial year 1922-23, the total purchases of the Stores Department were Rs. 16,478,000, of which no less than 92 per cent. represented goods manufactured in India. Public opinion in India is in favour of what is known as "the rupee tender in India," and it is only a question of time before Government bows to public opinion.

On these and various other kindred matters, Mr. Ainscough gives clear and accurate information ; and his report therefore will be welcomed, not only by business houses having connections with India, but also by the layman interested in India's economic development.

TWO SONNETS

By J. C. JOHNSTON

(Author of "The Book of the Beloved.")

NANGA PARBAT

(THE EASTERN MYSTIC)

ON the still flank of Nanga Parbat, snows,
 The roar of snow-filled waters in mine ears,
 Beneath, the winding, fenceless track that goes
 Leaguelong by Brazil to the grey Pamirs.
 I know each cleft, each torrent, each ravine.
 The pine-hung steep, the glacier I have trod,
 Where Nanga Parbat bringeth to Yassin,
 Yassin unto the very arms of God!
 These are the semblance, for, as winds are flung
 From this ravine to churn this blue-green lake,
 Yet lies unmoved, the lily-roots among,
 Some monster hill-trout, drowsing wide-awake—
 So I have watched here, so, unmoving, trod
 The fenceless Road into the arms of God.

THE CLOCK OF TIME

(THE WESTERN MYSTIC)

The clock of Time we see not nor regard.
 Moons, epochs, æons run their destined race,
 Civilizations fall, without a trace
 Save wall or pyramid or mounded shard,
 Back to the sands which gave them. Doubly barred,
 Man's prison-house, where lust and greed deface
 The stream and power of Beauty's inner Grace.
 So is God's Name blasphemed, His Image marred,
 His purpose frustrate. Ah, but ye who scan
 Time's broken hour-piece, what know ye of Time,
 Whose each pulsation is God's indrawn Breath,
 Each age His Heart-beat? What think ye of Man?
 An apelike creature, groping from the slime?
 Apelike! Nay, Godlike! Thus the Redeemer saith!

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA AND BURMA: SOME CONTRASTS

BY SIR REGINALD H. CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

As we all know comparisons are odious, and yet comparisons of things and people are a natural process of the mind, but we may contrast things without comparing them, for in contrasts there is no inherent suggestion of the superiority of one over another of the things contrasted which always creeps into comparisons. I shall endeavour, therefore, to keep clear of such comparisons, for things, or men and women, are of infinite variety, especially women, and one may point out differences without weighing them in a scale in an attempt to decide which is the better. It is in this spirit that I approach the subject of my paper. You will have nothing erudite, for I cannot lay claim to erudition, and though I am fond of statistics, I will make but little use of them. For many people they are extremely boring. I warn you also that this paper will be of a rambling description.

Here is one contrast. Those who have only lived or served in Burma know very little about India; but those who have only lived and served in India and have not visited Burma know nothing at all about Burma.

That was precisely my position when I found myself appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. I tried, during short war-time leave in England and a rather hectic voyage round the Cape on troopships, to read up something about my new charge, but the impressions which stuck in my mind were generally those which were either inaccurate or required immense qualification. To appreciate a description one must first know the thing described. And now, after

five years spent in governing Burma, I still feel that a great deal of the knowledge I acquired was superficial, and not to be compared with the knowledge I had of my old Province—the Central Provinces. Still, I will give you my impressions of the contrasts between India and Burma for what they are worth.

Now, there are over 800,000 Indians settled in Burma, and the annual migration to and fro is about 300,000, but there are very few Burmans in India. A few students seek technical or professional education there, and that only for want of facilities in their own country (a deficiency which, I am glad to say, is being rapidly made good). Besides these a few monks and pilgrims visit Buddhist shrines in India.

Here is another very important contrast. For the most part, when you talk of a Burman you mean a man who is a Burmese Buddhist, a man whose mother-tongue is Burmese; but when you talk of an Indian you may mean a man belonging to one of many different races and creeds, speaking one of many different languages, and who may also be physically and temperamentally the antithesis of another man equally entitled to the common name Indian.

The Burmese Buddhists in Burma constitute about seventy per cent. of the whole population, but in India there is no race, caste or clan which has a similar preponderance over all others. This contrast is most important in assessing the relative strength of national feeling in India and Burma. In India intermarriage between the different castes, classes and creeds is so small as to be negligible. In Burma there is a constant mixture of blood, not that the Burmese man often travels outside his race to find a wife, but the Burmese woman will mate with a man of any race—Siamese, Chinese, British, German, Dane and Indian of every race. I once heard of a case in which a man, who in the West Indies would be called a "Quadroon"—with both Irish and French blood in him—married the daughter of an Englishman by a Burmese wife. I do not know what would prove to be the racial characteristics of any offspring

born to such a union. It is alleged that the Burmese woman has discovered that while a Burmese husband makes her do all the hard work for him, the alien husband works hard for her, and certainly the alien finds in the Burmese wife a most excellent housekeeper. However this may be, there is growing concern in Burmese intellectual circles lest these constant mixed marriages may in time affect the purity of the blood of the Burmese race, and I do not think that this concern is altogether groundless. Among all these mixtures it is said, and I believe it to be true, that the Chino-Burman is the best, the offspring combining the best qualities of both parents. It is correct to say that the endogamy of the Indian races and the exogamy of the Burmese afford a striking contrast between them, and when upon this are superimposed the restrictions of caste in India and the absence of all caste in Burma, one can see the enormous possibilities of the evolution of new types in Burma as contrasted with India. And while in Burma the new types are all absorbed by one race, in India the growth of caste differentiation has always tended to separation rather than to unity. I may mention that the children of a Hindoo and a Burmese wife are almost invariably brought up as Buddhists, while the children of a Muhammadan and a Burmese wife are almost invariably Muhammadans.

The national costume of the Burmese, their bright silks and their many-coloured umbrellas make, under the sunny sky, a scene of gaiety and beauty which cannot be surpassed in any country in the world. Alas! that the tendency of the young men towards the more sombre European raiment should grow so rapidly that dull coats and trousers should take the place of bright Oriental garments, that gloomy-looking hats should replace the *gaungbaung*, and that the drab Occidental umbrella should supersede the beautiful indigenous article. There are few Englishmen in India who do not regret the gradual disappearance of the picturesque Oriental costume in India itself, and it would be a thousand pities if Burma were to go the same way, but I

think it will be a long time before in real Burma, as distinct from the semi-Indian seaport towns, the distinctive joyousness of the Burmese crowd and its beautiful costumes disappear. You may feel quite gay in a lounge suit and a bowler hat, but it is impossible to look it. Though, as anyone knows, the Indian can enjoy his gala days and festivals, he does not look to be happy and free from care as does the Burman. Nor, indeed, is he. The Englishman is said to take his pleasures sadly, but the Indian always seems to take them even more sadly. Not so the Burman. He seems to enjoy every minute of his time. His *pwees* (acting and dancing) are ubiquitous. They are to be seen at all hours of the day and night and generally go on all night, and it is the custom for the star actor or the prima donna not to come on the stage before the small hours. Of course, if you can take your bedding to the theatre and ask someone to wake you when Act XI. begins, you may be able to combine late nights and beauty sleep. There is, therefore, something to be said for this practice.

There is no such thing as authorized courtship in India. It is the parents who arrange these things when the boys and girls are small. But in Burma the time after lamps have been lit is described as "courting time," and the Burma youth and maid know all about it.

The Indian wedding seems to last for a week of nights and days; the relatives of both families have to be entertained, and numerous caste-fellows and friends. It is not the guests that give presents, but the hosts who give the presents to the guests. In contrast, the Burmese wedding is a very simple affair. There is no regular religious ceremony, there is merely rejoicing of friends and relations, and a brief afternoon festivity will cover the proceedings. While in India, outside the Muhammadans, formal divorce is either entirely unknown, or confined to a few of the lower castes, in Burma divorce is easy; a declaration of mutual incompatibility of temper made before the village headman and elders will often do the needful. Consequently, in

Burma there is little temptation to poison a husband, and the thing is not done. On the other hand, in Burma a divorced wife is liable to be stabbed, or sometimes cut to pieces, if she refuses to return when her ex-husband wants her back again, as he not infrequently does. I leave it to you to decide whether the risk of being a husband in India is greater than the risk of being a wife in Burma. At any rate, there appears to be no hesitation about taking the risk in either country, for, except in the case of religious orders, there is practically no celibacy in both.

Both in India and Burma there are people who indulge in gambling. The Indian gambles only if he happens to be fond of a gamble, while the Burman is fond of a gamble because he is a Burman. Even your little girl caddies on the golf links will put something on the golfers whose clubs they are carrying, and be proportionately excited at his good or bad play. I recollect a case in Burma in which a very zealous policeman ran in the mourners at a Burmese funeral for relieving the monotony of the proceedings by gambling among themselves, but I never came across such a case in India nor in England, but I don't know what may happen in the Irish Free State.

Pony-racing, boat-racing, and every kind of racing is very popular in Burma, but in India one seldom sees racing outside that organized by the European turf clubs. In the Central Provinces I used to see some bullock-racing, but it was the most unorganized sport I have come across : it was a sort of go-as-you-please affair at which the drivers had hairbreadth escapes. There seemed to be no organized start or finish, but everybody seemed to enjoy themselves, and some lucky persons were awarded prizes.

There are, of course, jugglers and acrobats in both countries, but I have not seen in India any counterpart of the famous Chinlon which has amused and pleased so many spectators at Wembley.

Indians and Burmans have both taken kindly to football and tennis, but the Burman does not like cricket—it is too slow for him—while the Indian appears to be the only non-

Anglo-Saxon who likes cricket, and excels at it. Sustained attention for a long period is not the Burman's strong point. He does not like sentry-go. The Indian sentry is almost as stolid as the British, but the Burman as a sentry is not in his element. I was told of one who, finding it tedious, put his rifle against a wall and went off to a *pwe* in the village. He got back in time for his relief, and found his rifle where he had left it, but his presence at the play had been noticed, and he got into trouble. He was very indignant at being punished. He said, "What harm did I do? Nothing happened to my rifle, nothing happened to the place I was guarding. I could understand you being angry if anything happened to them. I merely went off to see the play, and there was no harm done. Why should I be punished?"

It is this hatred of routine and dull monotonous occupation that explains why even the Pagoda authorities prefer Indians as watchmen over the Pagoda premises, and why British police officers employ Indian military police to escort prisoners and treasure. Not because the Burmese would not be equally honest, but simply because they take risks in pursuit of pleasure like our friend the sentry whose case I have described. For the same reasons, the warder staff in the prisons are almost entirely Indian. Indians fill the post-offices and the accounts offices and the large offices in Rangoon, and the railways are largely manned by them. Here again it is because discipline and routine are so irksome to the Burman; he wants more pay and more play than his Indian competitor.

When I told a mission schoolmaster that it was often difficult in India to keep the Indian student from overworking, and asked him how he found the Burmese student, he laughed more than any missionary I have met. On the other hand, to say that the Burman will never work hard is a libel. The cultivator in Upper Burma has a hard time contending with drought, and the Delta cultivator, who has however long holidays between crops, yet spends very

arduous days with floods and insect pests when he is actively cultivating his rice. The lot of the day labourer working for other people is not attractive to the Burman, hence the large immigration of Indian labour from Madras and Orissa.

It was a complete puzzle to me how the Burman manages to be, or at least to appear, so much better off than men of the same social status in India. He does not seem to earn very much, he never seems to save, yet he never seems to cease spending. He seems able to produce nice silk clothes for every festive occasion, and every possible occasion he will make festive; in fact, to an observer from India, Burma does not seem to produce those extremes of great wealth and severe poverty which are so common in every part of India.

Go into the bazaars of the small Indian towns and you will not see much except small indigenous articles of food, clothing, cheap trinkets and glass bangles, but in the bazaars of quite small places in Burma you will find crockery, glass, patent medicines, oilman's stores, silks, and every kind of imported article. In India, even in the large towns, except where there is a large European or Anglo-Indian population, you do not find branches of European shops, but in Burma you will find such branches in every considerable place doing a thriving business amongst the local population. Yet I very much doubt whether the Burman can be so much better off as outward appearances suggest; the one readily raises his standard of comfort and loves to do himself well, while the Indian is fond of hoarding his money and lending it out to other people. I have known an Indian millionaire who always wore simple cotton clothes and slept on the floor. He would spend huge sums on particular occasions like weddings in his family, but otherwise practised very strict economy. I was once told by a missionary of certain old women in a remote district of the Central Provinces who in the famine of 1900 were given two rupees a month as gratuitous relief. They kept alive on one rupee and lent the other at interest and thus

started small money-lending businesses on which they have thrived ever since. Cases like this must be very rare in Burma. In India when villages have been raided by dacoits it is astonishing what lists of stolen ornaments were put in by persons living in apparent poverty, and yet these lists were quite possibly correct, for things are not always what they seem in India. The Burman is far too fond of a swank and takes too great a pride in his possessions to hide them under bushels. They say that every Burman can draw, and that every Burman has an artistic sense, and most Burmans mechanical aptitude. There are persons and communities in India who have such special capacities and talents, but caste and occupation have divided them from their fellows into small compartments of persons possessing particular hereditary skill. No Burman would ever have invented the *Gandhi* cap or the *Khaddar* raiment, and if anyone were to prescribe so absolutely repellent a costume no Burman would obey the direction to wear it.

The Burman is of course a rice-eater and there are many rice-eaters in India, but he knows how to vary his diet with such things as curried chickens; in fact to curry and eat your neighbour's chicken is a form of petty theft which I have come across in Burma but not in India. The meal of the Burman is not complete without the famous *Ngapi*, which some benighted people insist on calling "rotten fish." We may call it by courtesy "salted fish"; to the foreign nose garlic is sweet-smelling by comparison. The Burman, although a Buddhist, will eat fish and meat provided he has not had anything to do with the killing of it, but there are many Burmese fishermen, and they, I am told, solace themselves against a breach of the prohibition against taking life by explaining that they did not kill the fish; they merely took them out of the water and if the foolish things died it was not their fault. The Burman will not milk his own cow because he thinks it wrong to deprive the calf of its natural food, but he has no similar compunction for the calves in Switzerland and simply loves tinned milk of the

sweetest kind. You can make no more welcome present to a monastery than Huntley and Palmer's biscuits and Nestlé's milk. The Burman has no use for Indian food. He will not consume *ghee*, and dislikes *Átá Dál*, which is the staple diet of such millions of Indians. The village tea-shop and refreshment-stall are features of life in Burma, which you look for in vain in Indian villages, though even in India the consumption of tea has gained ground rapidly in the large cities and at the railway stations. Of course there have always been Muhammadan eating-houses in the large towns in India. In caste-free Burma there are no obstacles to the spread of the cooked food refreshment-stall.

The Indian builds his mud hut with next to no plinth, but on as high ground as he can find ; it is not always as high as can be wished. The Burman makes his house of wood and bamboos, but does not seem to mind much whether the ground is low or high, but he makes up for low ground by building on piles ; and when one sees a Burmese house in places where there is great liability to flooding, they can only be described as houses on stilts. This habit is not confined to low-lying ground liable to flooding, but is almost universal in Burma, even in hilly places like the Shan States. The practice is universal where wooden houses are concerned.

I have just spoken of monasteries. The monastery and the Yellow Robe have no counterpart in India. One meets in India, of course, members of various religious orders, some celibate and others not, but there is no unified control over them and no regular church like the Buddhist Church in Burma. There is no village priest corresponding to the *Pungyi*, who teaches the village children to read and write, and instructs them in the prescriptions of Buddhism. The Indian *Mohant* may have his own following and his own band of disciples, and the temples their own *Pandas* with their acolytes, and families their own family priest, but they are all on their own, independent of any other superior authority ; there is no cohesion between the orders, and no regular hierarchy common to them all.

In the days of the Burmese Kings the State was wont to enforce the authority of the Buddhist Church by secular support of the ecclesiastical Superior, but with a Christian government this authority has unfortunately waned, to the great disadvantage of the Buddhist Church, which now has difficulty in controlling its black sheep ; indeed, in some cases, the sheep have led their shepherds to stray from that strict isolation from worldly affairs which his religion enjoins on the monk. But toleration has always been a wonderful feature of Burma. The monk vows celibacy while he is a monk, but he can doff the yellow robe as well as don it, and once a layman again he is released from his vows. Every Burman boy has to enter a monastery, even if it be for only twenty-four hours. An ex-monk has always been considered a suitable husband for superfluous Burmese princesses who cannot find princes to mate with, and inasmuch as a successful claimant to the Burmese Throne often polished off all possible rivals among the princes, Burma has always been noted for a superfluity of princesses. There is no parallel to these things in India.

One hopes and trusts that the simple piety of the village monk will not go the way of many old institutions in other countries. In India, too, there are many pious and learned men—dear old *Shastris* and *Pundits*—but they are persons, and not an institution as they are in Burma. When the monk goes round in the early morning with his begging-bowl, the very poorest household will contribute something to the daily fare. One cannot imagine a starving *Pungyi*. The strictest orders live on these offerings of the bowl, but the modern disposition is to have a regular meal served in the refectory, and to acquire merit by giving the offerings of the bowl to dogs and crows. The monasteries sometimes unfortunately serve as an asylum for criminals, and no one regrets this more than the pious monks themselves. But the members of the Yellow Robe are so numerous in places like Rangoon and Mandalay that proper discipline over them has become exceedingly difficult.

Another great contrast between India and Burma consists in the differences between the religious edifices of the two countries—the Hindoo temple and the Burmese pagoda are as dissimilar as it is possible to make them. The Burmese pagodas are much more plentiful than the temples. Every height and rocky eminence in the country has its pagoda, in addition to the thousands scattered over the plain country. Proposals to celebrate the conclusion of peace in the hills by bonfires were found impracticable to carry out, because every likely hill suitable for a beacon-fire was occupied by a pagoda. It is the ambition of every pious Burman to build a pagoda of some kind according to his means. Nobody cares how many ruined pagodas there may be, and, except in the case of a few world-famous pagodas, no one ever repairs them; to repair them confers merit not on the repairer but on the original builder, while the builder of a pagoda, even if it be made of sand, acquires merit for himself. The Buddhist religion commemorates the Lord Buddha; it does not worship him. There is no such thing as prayer to a deity or a saint, but the praise of the Buddha, coupled with the repetition of an injunction to follow his precepts, no doubt has much the same mental effect on a man as prayer. The precincts of a pagoda are apparently very much the same as were the precincts of the Temple at Jerusalem at the time of our Lord, for there is much buying and selling of articles of food and smoke, toys and curios, as well as candles and offerings, in which a brisk trade is done among the visitors. The jewels of a Hindoo temple are in charge of the priests, and are exhibited to visitors of note, and taken out on appropriate occasions in procession; but in the pagoda these jewels are hidden away in the structure, either enclosed in receptacles built into the building or on the summit. No monk or ecclesiastic should ever look at gold or handle money.

The free-women of Burma, the pagodas, the monasteries, and the yellow robe offer the strongest contrast between India and Burma to which it is possible to point.

Voyage from Burma to India, travel by river down the Irrawaddy and up the Hooghly, and although Nature may not be very dissimilar, yet you will soon see that India is not Burma and Burma is not India.

But there are other sides of life besides the religious on the one side and the laughter and enjoyment of the layman on the other. Crime, for instance, has its special features in Burma which differentiate it from India. Dacoity is prevalent in some parts of India, but flourishes greatly in Burma, and is by far the most difficult crime to deal with. On the other hand, rioting, so common in India, is of the rarest occurrence in Burma; but when it comes to blows between enemies and, often, friends, in a case where the Indian would resort to his fist, the Burman uses his *dah*. The Government has differentiated between the agricultural *dah* and the weapon proper, but the former is also a very formidable weapon when used as such. Where the Indian uses the bludgeon and fractures a bone the Burman uses his *dah* and stabs or cuts. The employment of hired assassins is known in both countries, but, apart from such cases, murders are mostly unpremeditated in Burma, or of very short premeditation. The Burman is very passionate by nature, and will use his *dah* with fatal effect on trifling occasions when the Indian would not go beyond abuse. I have known of a man who murdered his friend because the latter refused to play a game of dominoes with him, and I know another case in which a man was murdered because his friend overheard him saying that he (the friend) had been rather stuffy about lending him a pack of cards to play with. In India you seldom get murders committed on such trivial pretexts, but the premeditated crime is much more common. Murder by poisoning is resorted to very commonly by comparison in India, but is very rare in Burma, and the murder of small children for the sake of trivial ornaments is most uncommon in Burma, but, unhappily, only too frequent in India. While, of course, there are many habitual criminals in Burma and organized bands

of dacoits, there are no criminal tribes in Burma as there are in India. Even in the case of the Burmese dacoits, it is doubtful whether love of adventure and excitement does not play as great a part as love of gain. A young man who has distinguished himself in dacoity is something of a hero to the unsophisticated village maiden. Cattle theft is one of the most prevalent crimes in Burma, and is combined with the practice of holding up stolen cattle to ransom. In India cattle-stealing is very prevalent in some parts, and not in others, but the practice of holding them up to ransom occurs only in very limited areas. The small number of female criminals in Burma is most remarkable as contrasted with India, and only a few of the larger gaols require any accommodation for women at all. It may be thought curious that the comparative seclusion of women in India and their complete freedom in Burma have not produced opposite results; and, as I have said, there is much less incentive for a Burmese woman to murder a husband that ill-treats her than for her Indian sister. Among the women long-term prisoners of India, the majority are those who have murdered, or attempted to murder, their husbands.

The Burmese woman is a most splendid retail shopkeeper, but her husband has no natural taste for business, and until he acquires it (as a few are doing now), he will remain a looker-on while British, Indian, and Chinese capital and enterprise are developing his country for him, and very naturally taking the profits of doing so. The Burman is a very much readier borrower than lender, hence the *Chetties* who swarm in Lower Burma and the colonies of Indian traders in all the large towns and villages scattered over the country. Yet, notwithstanding this lack of taste for business, the Burman has behind him a remarkable amount of common sense, and it is noteworthy that co-operative credit appears to have struck a firmer root in Burma than in India. I have also known the Burman to put his money into a new enterprise in a way that the more cautious Indian would never have ventured to do. Perhaps love of adventure and

easy optimism may explain this apparent contradiction, but success continues to demand industry and perseverance, with which the Burman is not so well equipped.

The Burman has at present not much military instinct, but plenty of courage and intelligence. In war-time he would certainly fight well, and he has proved it, but soldiering in peace-time is not to his liking. It is but fair to say that there has been no time for him to acquire the military traditions of the martial races in the Indian army. To the average Indian the British Government has been his father and mother. The old Burmese conception of a Governor is one who is classed amongst such calamities as fire and flood, but I have a feeling that the unsophisticated Burman has learnt to regard the British Government, or the *Asoya*, very much in the same way as (politicians apart) the average Indian regards the *Sirkar*.

The Burman is a delightful but very irresponsible person by nature, with a remarkable sense of humour, but he is just as proud of being a Burman as any Englishman can be of being an Englishman. In India there can be no similar national feeling. It is so huge, and so divided up, that people from other localities are called foreigners. It is a fact that literacy—*i.e.*, ability to read and write, as distinguished from more advanced education—is much wider spread in Burma than in India, thanks mainly to the monasteries; but when it comes to secondary and higher education Burma is years behind India, for India had a very long start. The Indian masons and builders are celebrated for their work in stone. The Burman is celebrated for his work in wood. In Mandalay there is a church now, belonging to the Winchester Mission, tower and all being built entirely of teak, which, apart from its intrinsic merits as a building, affords a rare instance of a Christian church that has been built by a non-Christian king, King Mindon Min, the last but one of the Burmese kings, who built it for the benefit of a famous S.P.G. missionary in Mandalay, at whose school some of the princes

were learning. The growth of primary education, as distinct from higher education, does not in my experience lead to a diminution of superstition and credulity. I think there is more superstition and credulity among the Burmese, though most of them can read and write, than in the Indian villages, where literacy is much less spread. There are numbers of Burmese in the villages who continue to believe that a man by being tattooed can be made immune to bullets ; and it is astonishing how small pretenders, posing as reincarnations of former heroes, have succeeded in raising pathetic and almost comic opera rebellions from time to time. The Indian will riot, and very seriously, but he will have nothing to do with fantastic rebellions of this kind.

I have not intended in this paper to give you a sort of gazetteer of Burma, and I have said very little about her natural products. They also afford considerable contrast to the natural products of India. Burma produces oil, tin, silver, lead, zinc, and wolfram, but very little coal ; India produces very little oil and a great deal of coal and manganese, but no tin, silver, lead, or wolfram. The forests of Burma produce many varieties of valuable timber which are scarcely known in India. The dry zone of Burma is just as precarious as the drought districts of the Deccan, but somehow or other the Burman manages not to suffer as much as the Indian. He will travel down to Lower Burma, where employment is plentiful, without any organization to help him, and famine relief has never loomed large in the administration of Burma as it has in India.

Revenue administration is too dull a subject for such occasions as this, but Burma is the only province, apart from some very limited areas in India, where the land revenue demands from year to year vary according to the area which has germinated, and according to the kind of crop grown. In Lower Burma some payment is demanded on account of current fallows. In Upper Burma fallows are free of revenue. I will not trouble you with technical

details. The system in Burma has great merits in that it makes for elasticity in the revenue demand, but it also has defects in that it almost offers a premium on idleness, but an Indian administrator from one province who endeavours to tamper with the revenue system of another province is very rash, and this is especially the case in Burma. The attachment of the Burman to his land is nothing like so strong as that of the Indian to his. I recollect an Indian subordinate in a famine-stricken district, in the famine of 1897, writing in a diary, "The people seem to prefer the pangs of hunger in their cosy homes to walking a few miles to a relief work." The picture at that time, bar the word "cosy," was probably correct. The Burman does not, it is true, care much for relief work, but he has no difficulty about travelling long distances when times are hard, and he travels in good time, while the Indian is so apt to get run down before he begins to move. The problems of famine administration are, therefore, different in Burma from what they are in India, but I think the Indian cultivator and the Burmese cultivator are worthy of all admiration for the way in which, after the most discouraging calamities, they both turn to working their fields again just as if nothing had happened.

I cannot claim to know the Burmese language. I went to Burma too late in life to learn it, and I cannot, therefore, discourse to you scientifically about the differences between the Burmese and numerous Indian tongues. The spoken language differs considerably from the written, and pronunciation and tone are all important, if you do not want to make ludicrous mistakes. To my ears the same word might be a cat, a monastery, or a stream—it all depended how you pronounced the word. The language belongs to the Mongolian or monosyllabic type; it is full of synonyms and periphrases. Not being versed in Burmese, it would be rash for me to go on talking about it; but this much I can say, that you are fortunate in that this paper is not going to be repeated to you in Burmese, for I always found

that a speech in English which took twenty minutes in delivering, took nearly forty minutes when the Burmese translation was read out ; and if the reader was something of an orator it took more.

I have now come to an end, as you will be glad to hear. I set out to prove nothing, and I have proved nothing, but I was not long in Burma before I was asked, “ Which do you like best, India or Burma ? the Indian or the Burman ? ” As I said at the beginning of the paper, comparisons are odious, and one must be discreet. My answer has been : “ I like some Indians better than some Burmans, and I like some Burmese better than some Indians. I like some parts of India better than some parts of Burma, and I like some parts of Burma better than some parts of India—but I am very fond of them both.”

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on Monday, October 20, 1924, when a paper was read by Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., on "India and Burma : Some Contrasts." Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present : General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Montague Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Sir George Shaw, C.S.I., Sir Alexander Diack, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., Sir Edward M. Cook, C.I.E., Sir John Mark Hunter and Lady Hunter, Miss Hunter, Lady Gates, Lady Kensington, Lady Seton, Sir John O. Miller, K.C.S.I., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Colonel Warliker, Colonel Swaine, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. R. Grant Brown and friend, Miss Beck, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Major Gilbertson, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. Rodger, C.I.E., Captain Rolleston, Mr. S. D. Pears, Mr. Tarleton, Mr. W. G. Betham, Mr. Johnstone, Mrs. Whittaker-Thompson, Dr. and Mrs. Begg, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mrs. Murphy, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. Maung So Nyun, Rev. Frank Penny, Captain Heanly, Mr. Scott, Mr. M. Saw, Mr. H. Pay, Mr. T. Tin, Mr. T. A. Barnabas, Lieut.-Colonel W. B. Lane, C.I.E., Mr. J. J. Nolan and Mrs. Nolan, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. H. L. A. Aung, Mr. M. Chit Tun, Mr. M. Ba Tin, Mr. M. Hla Kyine, Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Chesney, Mr. J. M. Symes, Mr. K. T. Ho, Mr. M. B. Thin, Mr. M. B. Maung, Mr. Maung Ba Hma, Mr. M. Saw Aye, Mr. M. B. So, Mr. M. B. Thoung, Mr. M. B. Maung, Miss Robertson, Miss Shedden, Mrs. Herron, Miss E. W. Harral, Mr. F. J. Branthwaite, Mrs. Drury, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. C. May Somerville, Mrs. J. May Somerville, Mrs. Gates and friend, Mr. Barry, Mrs. Park, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

THE HON. SECRETARY stated that the Association extended a very hearty welcome to the Burmese students who were present, and hoped that some of them would take part in the discussion of the paper, because, although the spiritual home of the lecturer might be in Burma, he was an Englishman.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to introduce the lecturer, and in that position I feel that I am somewhat of a fraud, because Sir Reginald Craddock is a great deal better known to the majority of you than I am, but I would remind you that Sir Reginald Craddock had a long and distinguished service in India, and was at the head of an Indian Province before he became the head of the Province of

Burma. He has applied to his survey of Burmese conditions a mind which is full of Indian knowledge, and I am sure we shall find from his paper that he has brought to the notice of us who are familiar with Burma many interesting aspects which we ourselves have not thought of. (Applause.)

The Lecturer then read the paper.

MR. GRANT BROWN said he could not help expressing his admiration for the way in which the lecturer had given so much interesting and accurate information, and had pointed so many contrasts, without making a single odious comparison. The lecturer's story of the sentry who went off to a dance leaving his rifle against the wall reminded him of an incident in a district in Upper Burma in which he had served. Two Burman constables were entrusted with two prisoners, to take them a distance of 150 miles, which took a long time, as they had to walk all the way. When they had progressed 130 miles on the journey one of the prisoners escaped. Rightly or wrongly, very severe sentences were imposed on policemen for allowing prisoners to escape, even though there was no suspicion of corruption or favouritism. For mere carelessness the policemen were almost bound to go to prison themselves. The constables in question were in a very difficult position; they could not face their superior officer, so they sat down and discussed a plan of campaign. They decided to send the other prisoner to fetch the man who had escaped. The second prisoner walked the 130 miles, found his man, and brought him back another 130 miles to where the policemen were waiting, and the whole matter was settled satisfactorily. (Applause.)

SIR MARK HUNTER said his experience in Burma was with regard to education. It had been said that the Burman was at a disadvantage with regard to higher education as compared with the Indian, and had not the same capacity for education as the Indian, but he thought, given the same opportunities and the same conditions, there was no reason to suppose that the Burman would be inferior to the Indian in that respect. In some respects he thought the Burman had the advantage. Since the establishment of the University at Rangoon there had been a great improvement, and the faults which had been found with Burmans were rapidly disappearing.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Those of you who are familiar with India will have appreciated the Indian half of Sir Reginald Craddock's paper, as much as those of us who are familiar with Burma have appreciated the Burmese portion. It is always interesting to produce a story in support of any proposition, and Sir Reginald Craddock's paper reminds me of an incident which occurred about forty years ago, before the annexation of Upper Burma. At that time I was stationed in a frontier district, and it was part of my duty to go round the frontier from time to time and meet the Burmese officials. I went on one of these visits to a post on the British side of the frontier. I enquired how things were on the Burman side, and I was told that the Burmese post was empty. I went to see for myself and found that the Burmese post was empty. The fact was that the Burmese troops at these posts were supposed to be

relieved every three months ; the relief had not arrived, but the soldiers who were there did not think that was any reason why they should stay on. I think Sir Reginald Craddock's view that the Burman is not a good soldier in peace time is rather supported by that story.

There was one point which Sir Reginald Craddock touched on, but did not enlarge upon, about which I should like to say a few words. I cannot claim any great experience of India, but I did serve for about a year and a half in Bengal before I went to Burma ; I was in the Chutia Nagpur Division, which is now part of Behar and Orissa. When I went to Burma one of the things that struck me most was the absence of any inherited wealth in old families ; not, of course, that there are not families in Burma who can trace their descent back for some time, but they do not keep the money in the family, whereas in the part of India where I was serving there were a number of large landowners who had been established there for many generations. In Lower Burma, to which I went, one did not find anything of that sort. Of course, Lower Burma had been conquered by Upper Burma, and it may be that the Kings of Burma had suppressed all the leading men, following the Machiavellian advice to cut down the tallest poppies. In Upper Burma there were some families who had been connected with the Court for two or three generations, but there were few, and it seemed that the whole country had followed the example of the founder of the Alompra dynasty, and had considered that if you wished to get to the top you must start near the bottom.

There was another thing which struck me to a certain extent then, and still more after I had had the opportunity of seeing a little of India as a traveller—namely, the almost entire absence in Burma of any ancient monuments, except religious buildings. In Pagan, the ancient capital of Burma, one finds hundreds of pagodas and nothing else, there being little left even of the city wall. At Ava, a much later capital, one finds nothing except pagodas. At one time there was a tower, but I think that has now fallen down, and at Amarapura, which is later still, there is nothing but pagodas. I suppose the ancient Kings, like the more modern, constructed their palaces of wood, and they have not lasted. At any rate, the fact is that in Burma there are hardly any ancient remains beyond religious buildings.

These are two points that strike me as salient differences between India and Burma in addition to those which Sir Reginald Craddock has so admirably brought out in his paper. He was very discreet about the language. I remember some years ago we had as Chief Commissioner—there was no Lieutenant-Governor in those days—an officer who came from India and who was very anxious to learn Burmese, but when he was told that a word written "rhak" was pronounced "shet" he thought he had better put off the business. As a matter of fact, it is not as bad as it looks, because the Burmese language, which is a Mongolian and monosyllabic language, has been squeezed into an Indian alphabet, and they have used extraordinary devices to represent sounds, which the Indian alphabet was never intended for.

I am sure I shall be voicing the thoughts of you all when I congratulate

Sir Reginald Craddock on throwing so much light upon both India and Burma.

Mr. MAUNG SO NYUN said that after the hearty welcome which had been extended to the Burmese students, it was his duty to say how much they appreciated the kind way in which they had been received. After thanking the Secretary for giving him an opportunity of saying a few words, he said he wished to associate himself with the Chairman in paying a humble tribute to the very interesting lecture which had been given. With regard to the question of intermarriage, the lecturer had said that a Burmese woman would mate with a man of any race. He (the speaker) was of opinion that intermarriage was not intrinsically bad; it was only bad when the children of the intermarriage carried themselves as strangers in the country in which they were born. He could think of no stranger phenomenon than a man born of a Burman mother in Duneedaw, brought up in Rangoon, and never hoping even to cross the Bay of Bengal, calling Aberdeen or Manchester his spiritual home. (Laughter.) Why could not Eurasians identify their interests with those of the indigenous races? The Chino-Burmans, whose virtues the lecturer had extolled, belonged to a class of people who wanted to eat their cake and have it. They called themselves Chinese and got their inspiration from Peking or Canton, and they also claimed full civic and political rights in Burma. He thought it was very anomalous that people who were aliens to all intents and purposes should be given full civic and political rights in Burma by the British Government. (Applause.) There were Italians and Frenchmen in England who came there only for the purposes of trade, and who got all the rights and privileges to which all foreigners were entitled; they were not given any civic or political rights unless and until they became naturalized British subjects. He could not see why Chinese people, who belonged to a different country and really had no connection with Burma politically, should be given civic rights and political rights in Burma.

Sir Reginald Craddock had referred to the labour question. Nobody was more conscious than he (the speaker) was of their natural and national antipathy to work; but there were several matters which had handicapped the Burman to a great extent in the struggle for life. The historical reason was that the Burmans had come under British rule much later than the Indians, and had not had the same opportunities as the Indians of mastering the official language of the country, which was a foreign language. As Sir Reginald Craddock had said, comparisons were odious; but he thought it might be said of Burma, without much presumption, that the standard of living was very much higher than in India. In the same way that Australia was kept "white" for the Australians, he wished Burma to be kept "tan" or "yellowish-brown" for the Burmese. The lecturer had said that Burma was very different from India, but had ended very happily by saying that he had proved nothing. The only conclusion that he could arrive at, being a Burman himself, was that Burma should be separated from India. It was not a question of racial hatred. It was an economic question; and there was also much sentiment attached to it. The Hindu-Moslem unity had never left the Burmans warm; and the Khilafat agita-

tion had always left them cold. Gandhi was to them an interesting man in the history of a religio-nationalist movement, while Mrs. Besant and others were merely interesting nonentities. They had arrived at a stage of political evolution which was quite different from that in India. They did not want to be ruled by Indians ; they wanted to go their own way. He did not know whether India was ripe for independence or not ; he did not know whether, even if they got it, they would be equal to it ; but, even if eventually they did get it, Burmans did not on the one hand wish to benefit by the experience and foresight of Indian politicians ; while, on the other hand, they did not want their progress impeded by being involved in the meantime in the complexities of Indian politics. At the present moment the demand was for Home Rule ; and, for military reasons, the question of separation had been shelved ; but he hoped it would not be long before they could safely say that Burma was a place which had been kept safe for the Burmans. (Applause.)

Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK said that when he came to read his paper before such an audience he had considerable apprehension lest numbers of persons should be in the hall who would convict him of error, owing to his superficial powers of observation, but he was glad to find that officers who had served in Burma for many years longer than he had had refrained from controverting his statements, although there might have been points at which he had stumbled. He had kept his lecture free from politics, because he understood it was a principle that the meetings of the Association that politics should not come into prominence. He agreed with Mr. Maung So Nyun that whatever might be the future of India proper, Burma should make out a separate destiny of her own. (Applause.) It might be that for a time it was expedient to keep Burma and India together under one supreme government, but, if Home Rule should ever be realized in India, then Burma could have no possible part in it, but would have to stand by herself. (Applause.) In conclusion he thanked the meeting for their kind appreciation of his paper.

Mr. STANLEY RICE, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman, said, in his opinion, the value of the paper was to emphasize the fact which Mr. Maung So Nyun had spoken of, that Burma and India had nothing whatever to do with one another, but they were joined together in English minds, because they happened to be under the same administration. He thought they would all agree that the meeting, which was the first one of the season, had been an extremely successful one. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE FUTURE OF MEDICINE IN INDIA

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GERALD GIFFARD,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.M.S. (RETD.)

As you are probably all aware, Medicine in India is very largely a Government Department and most of the medical practitioners are Government servants or have been Government servants. There is, however, a small but rapidly growing body of private practitioners and a considerable number of missionary medical men and women in some parts of India. The Public Health Service in India is also almost entirely a Government concern, although some of the larger towns have a Medical Officer of Health. The Medical Colleges, Medical Schools, Hospitals, Public Health Institutes and Medical Research Institutes are also almost all Government Institutes, entirely supported by the State. The contrast with the conditions of Medicine in Great Britain is very marked, as, although there is a Ministry of Health with a small professional staff in London, and although Public Health Medical Officers and Public Health Service exist all over Great Britain, the hospitals are voluntary (subscription) hospitals, the Medical Colleges and Schools are private institutes (sometimes with Government financial assistance but without Government control), and the Medical Profession is *not* composed of Government servants but of private practitioners.

The first question that I submit for your consideration and for discussion to-day is therefore the question : " Should India continue and expand its present system, or should the British system be gradually substituted ? "

The second most noticeable difference in the Medical Profession between India and Great Britain is that in India the existence of inferior and imperfectly trained types of

medical practitioners is tolerated, for whilst in Great Britain every medical man or woman on the Medical Register must have passed a qualifying examination recognized by the General Medical Council, there are in India thousands of medical men (and a few medical women) who, although trained in Government Medical Colleges and Schools, have received such a short, partial and imperfect training that they cannot be admitted to the British Register and are therefore not "Qualified."

The second question therefore is: "Should the Government Medical Colleges and Government Medical Schools in India continue to turn out imperfectly trained medical practitioners, or must there be one standard, one minimum Qualification in India?"

Again, there is a third and great difference between the conditions in India and in Great Britain. In India the I.M.S. is primarily military, although some two-thirds of the entire Service were, before the Great War, permanently employed in civil duties. These officers formed the Indian Army Medical Reserve. The Indian Medical Department is also primarily military, but some of its members are also in civil employ. All the Civil Provincial Sub-Assistant Surgeons can be ordered, as part of their contract with Government, to serve in military duties inside British India in time of war. (The Civil Assistant Surgeons, who are University graduates, have no such obligation.)

It will be seen, therefore, that the needs of the Army in India have, in the past, largely dominated the Civil Medical Service. This was very well seen in the Great War, when five-sixths of the officers of the I.M.S., the whole of the I.M.D., and a very considerable number of the Civil Sub-Assistant Surgeons were absent from their civil duties for several years.

The third great question, therefore, is: "Should the needs of the Army Reserve govern, in future, the composition of the Civil Medical Services in whole or in part, or should the Medical Reserve of the Indian Army be provided, as in

Great Britain, by volunteers from a private and independent medical profession?"

In Great Britain the Medical Profession teach and practise one system of medicine which keeps in touch with and utilizes the advancing knowledge to be found in chemistry, physics, biology, bacteriology, and all the branches of scientific work.

In India, Western Medicine, as it is there called, finds itself in competition with the old, unprogressive and decadent Ayurvedic and Yunani systems. Thirty years ago it seemed probable that these so-called systems of Medicine (both of which are in reality vestigial remnants of the knowledge available to the world from 1,000 to 2,000 years ago) would rapidly die out with the spread of the knowledge of "Medicine" from Europe. This, however, has not proved to be the case. A large school of Ayurvedic medicine has been founded at Delhi and several of the Provinces also now have small schools.

We (Western) medical men and women have seen with disapproval, disappointment, and even with disgust, that the Viceroy and some of the Provincial Governors have lent their personal support to these Institutions. Indian politicians almost unanimously support them. Local Governments since the Reforms have in several instances voted money for Ayurvedic and Yunani Institutions and have subsidized their practitioners.

It will be seen, therefore, that the fourth question to which an answer must be given is: "Should the State in India solely support and press forward (Western) Medicine, or should its money be spent partly on Western Medicine and partly on Ayurvedic and Yunani Institutes and services?"

On the answers to these four questions it would seem to me that the future of Medicine in India will largely depend.

The Indian Services problem has been dealt with in recent years by: The Public Services Commission; the Verney Lovett Report; the Esher Commission (military only); the Lee Commission (Superior Civil Services only).

But no one has reviewed the whole problem of the future and the development of Medicine in India. These four great questions have not been publicly asked nor answered.

To me the direction of the advance of Medicine in India seems to be a most pressing problem and to be worthy of an enquiry similar to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and of a solution similar to the Government of India (Reforms) Act, together with a pronouncement on this subject similar to the well-known pronouncement by the British Government on the future political progress of India. If something of this nature is not done, and done quickly, we must be content to see the Ministers in charge of the transferred subject of Medicine wandering without guidance into the many paths open to them, and to watch all sorts of experiments made by various Provincial Governments, which, I feel sure, will lead to no connected efforts and to no well-considered and progressive plan for the future of Medicine and Public Health throughout the vast area of India.

The first step towards such an enquiry and such a pronouncement of policy must be a review of the basic requirements of India. The most prominent of these requirements seem to be :

1. The provision of medical officers for : (a) The British Army in India ; (b) the Indian Army ; (c) the Medical Reserve ; (d) Government Civil Servants of all grades.
2. Medical education.
3. Research in Tropical Medicine.
4. Spread of Public Health activities and propaganda.
5. Medical relief by hospitals and dispensaries.
6. The building up of a medical profession independent of Government.

Let us briefly examine the present state of affairs. I can only speak with intimate knowledge of present conditions in one Presidency (Madras), but conditions do not differ very greatly in the other Presidencies and

Provinces. I have had exceptional opportunities of studying these questions, as I was a member of the Verney Lovett Committee. The members of that Committee spent several months taking evidence from all classes of the community, and travelled over the whole of India. The "Future of Medicine" was not the subject of our enquiries, as we were directed "to examine and report on the question of the reorganization of the Medical Services in India, both Civil and Military." It was not possible to spend so much time and to hear so many opinions on the medical situation in India in 1919 without forming some opinion as to the future of Medicine in India.

With your permission, I will now make a few remarks on some of the six basic requirements mentioned above.

The Medical Officers of the British Army in India are the R.A.M.C. They are birds of passage, serve for five years at a time, do not treat the civil population ; they are comparatively few in number and they have no War Reserve in India. The European I.M.D. also serve with the British Army, but a few are in civil employ and constitute a small reserve.

The Medical Officers of the Indian Army are I.M.S. officers. Before the war the Military formed one-third of the I.M.S., the remaining two-thirds of the I.M.S. being in civil appointments and constituted the War Reserve. The I.M.D. (Indian) also serve with the Indian Army. They are all Sub-Assistant Surgeons. There is a very small reserve in civil employ. The Civil Sub-Assistant Surgeons may all be called on to serve with the Indian Army in time of war, but cannot be ordered to proceed on field service or out of India.

Beyond the Civil Officers of the I.M.S. and a few I.M.D. there is no trained War Reserve. If and when the civil side of the I.M.S. disappears the only Reserve (untrained) will be the members of the independent Medical Profession in India. This is a very important consideration. The Lee Commission have recommended that "it should be part of

the terms of contract that every officer of the Civil Medical Service should be liable for service with the Army in the event of a war involving general mobilization"; but they do not explain why the medical servants of Government are alone of all its Civil Servants to be employed subject to this condition. A voluntary and properly trained reserve from an independent medical profession (volunteers permitted from the Government services) would seem to me to be far better.

Every Government Civil Servant, of all services down to the lowest grades, are entitled to free medical attendance. The claims of the European Civil Servants of Government to the services of European medical men has not been admitted by Government, but both the Montague-Chelmsford Report and the Lee Commission's Report recommends that Europeans should be provided to treat European Civil Servants. It is not easy too see how this can be done, as there are hardly any European private medical practitioners in India. European recruitment of the I.M.S. has practically ceased for the past ten years. The idea that Europeans should be treated by European medical men is greatly resented by Indians, and I feel sure that the Ministers in charge of the transferent subject of Medicine will make no such arrangements.

The Lee Commissioners in their Report, however, wish "to secure choice of treatment by men of their own race of British and Indian alike," and also state that they regard the provisions of "the necessary nucleus of British medical officers as vital to the needs and contentment of British Civil Servants in India."

This direct conflict of opinion brings me to Question 5. Are Europeans to form any part of the Government Civil Medical Services in India?

If political India is to decide, the answer is No. If the Secretary of State and Government of India agree with the Lee Commission's recommendations the answer must be Yes. The difficulty of persuading young European

medical men to enter Government service in India will be very great indeed.

It is very distasteful to the writer of this paper to bring up the racial question, but it is of such fundamental importance that it cannot be avoided.

It may be as well to consider what the reasons used to be which attracted young medical men to India; how far these reasons exist at present or would exist if the recommendations of the Lee Committee were accepted by the Government. The attractions of a medical career in India used to be (1) that no capital was required; (2) that good pay was given, which compared more than favourably in those days with that given by commercial firms; (3) the old Indian Medical Service officer was an Imperial officer and held the King's Commission; (4) the appointments which an Indian Medical Service officer in civil employ could hold were clearly laid down by the Secretary of State and could not be held by anyone else; (5) all the professorships of all the Medical Colleges in India were held by Indian Medical Service officers; (6) private practice was considerable (it has gradually been reduced in amount); (7) there was a good pension, and a family pension fund, though this was rather poor, but no one at that time questioned that the pension would be paid. The pension is nowadays by no means "good" and is uninsurable in London. The Lee Commissioners state that they are unable to support proposals that were put before them, in the establishing and depositing funds in England equivalent to the capitalized value of pensions, because such action might adversely affect the credit of the Government of India. This may or may not be so, but the fact that no man can see what will happen in India in twenty or thirty years' time does not help to bring in recruits to a Service of which a pension is one of the great attractions, if such pension is uninsurable at present and when no funds exist to safeguard it.

The Lee Commission's Report recommends that the I.M.S. should be ended and that European medical officers

should be obtained by Provincial Governments by transfers from the R.A.M.C. as well as by special recruitment of Europeans into the proposed Provincial Civil Medical Services. The R.A.M.C., at present, cannot find sufficient recruits for its own needs. The chances of obtaining additional recruits to serve in India under Provincial Governments seem to me remote, if not negligible. The Public Service Commission is, when established, to discharge in regard to recruitment and control of the public services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by the Secretary of State, and is intended to take the place of the Secretary of State in the recruitment and control of the superior Civil Services in India, except those which are under the provincial ministers, or, in other words, those whose position is most uncertain and whose future is most open to doubt. The Commission Report states on page 16 : "In our view, therefore, the Public Services Commission should not forcibly be intruded in the provincial field " ; and "that if the Public Services Commission in India should be empowered to interfere on its own initiative in provincial domain such action will be regarded as violating the principles of the Reforms." This is a very serious blemish on their Report, and it seems to me to ring the death knell of any European Medical Service in India. I cannot conceive how any Englishman would join the Civil Provincial Medical Service under the orders of a Provincial political minister without even the safeguard of being recruited by the proposed Public Services Commission. It must also be noted that the Lee Report refuses to define existing and accruing rights (page 48), or, in other words, leaves it to the Minister to abolish as many appointments as he may choose and to refuse promotion which was to be expected when the officer joined the Service.

If, for reasons which need not be detailed here, it is considered that European medical men are still very necessary in India, it seems to me that the Lee Commission proposals will entirely fail to attract them. (1) They would deprive the

future medical officer of his commission (except the R.A.M.C. India officers, who are to be compulsorily employed by the Provincial Civil Governments). I know enough about Provincial Governments to know that they will not employ any R.A.M.C. officers if they can avoid it; (2) they would deprive him of the protection of the Secretary of State; (3) they would deprive him of the protection of the Public Service Commission; (4) they would make him serve as an equal with Indians who have an Indian degree, but who would certainly be, in most cases, not as well qualified as he is; (5) they deprive him of his existing and accruing rights, or, in other words, deprive him of a certainty of promotion and the certainty of filling certain recognized appointments in India; (6) they put the control of his department entirely in the hands of an Indian political minister; (7) they take away from him a large number of the professorial appointments which are considered to be the most lucrative appointments on the civil side of the Indian Medical Service; (8) they propose to pay the medical officer a lower scale of pay and allowances than would be paid by a commercial house or firm to one of their employés; (9) they do not secure him his pension.

This is all I have to say on this terribly difficult subject. Perhaps someone in this hall may be able to strike a more optimistic note.

Medical Education in India is still divided into two separate activities: (a) the provision of qualified men and women; (b) the provision of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon grade of practitioners. Ever since I arrived in India, thirty-three years ago, I have thoroughly disliked this system. It has always seemed to me that, in a country where Medicine should spread as rapidly as possible and should be in a position to supersede the indigenous, antiquated, insufficient, and limited knowledge of the village practitioner, Medicine should be represented by highly trained and enthusiastic men and women. The existing Sub-Assistant Surgeons, imperfectly trained as students and left with

hardly any post-graduate teaching, are very poor missionaries of Western Medicine ; they indeed often do Medicine a disservice by becoming little better than the village practitioners and quacks by whom they are surrounded. Many of them, I know, do excellent work, but many of them, I also know, are miserable failures. It is not fair to the people that Western Medicine should only reach them through such imperfect agents. Superior (University) Education is supplied in India by the Governments. The Medical Colleges of the University towns are fine institutions, which compare favourably with similar Colleges in Europe. Medical education has unfortunately become more and more expensive, whilst the fees charged by Government to private students are still very small when compared with those of Great Britain. Nevertheless the cost of a medical degree is, even at present, considered by Indian parents to be too high, in spite of the fact that, in Madras at any rate, there are many Government scholarships, and women pay no fees. It must be admitted, however, that medical education for a University degree is not entirely satisfactory and is not as complete as it is in Great Britain. The medical degrees of Indian Universities are registrable by the General Medical Council of Great Britain, but several of the Indian Universities have already been warned by the General Medical Council that their degrees may not, in future, be accepted, unless they improve the curriculum of their Medical Colleges. I hold strongly that a Medical College education in India should be absolutely complete and that the Indian student should not be obliged to come to Great Britain to obtain a complete education and an entirely satisfactory medical degree. It is purely a matter of money and teachers. The teachers can be obtained from Europe for money. Government has only to find the money and the thing is done.

I have already stated that the admittedly imperfect and partial medical education of the Government Medical Schools (*i.e.*, Sub-Assistant Surgeon Grade Schools) should

cease. Some of the Medical Schools in India are shamefully inefficient, ill-equipped and badly staffed. It is not fair to Indian students that such an education should be considered good enough for the bulk of the Government and Local Fund work throughout all the Provinces. There is a great need for research in tropical medicine. A good beginning has been made by the energy, foresight, and genius of Sir Leonard Rogers in Calcutta. Schemes similar to that of the Calcutta School are in contemplation in other parts of India, and good work is also being done at Kasauli, Parel and Guindy, but a vast amount awaits the men and the money. It is a sad reflection that, up to the present, Indians have shown hardly any aptitude for medical research. For more than twenty years I have urged the need for research on the students and young qualified medical men in the Madras Medical College, but so far without result. The great discoveries in tropical medicine have all been made by Europeans. I have discussed this matter with my Indian friends on many occasions. The answers given to my questions generally are that Europeans have always held the appointments in India which provide opportunities of such work, and that the Indian medical student and practitioner are too poor to spend their time at unremunerative work. This cannot be the correct answer. If it were correct, how comes it that Laveran, Ross, Rogers, Donovan, and all the others have made such world-renowned discoveries. They did not hold big appointments and were not attached to large scientific institutions, yet they did their splendid work. No one would be more pleased than the European medical men of the world if Indians followed in their footsteps and advanced the science of tropical medicine. The future of medicine in India will largely depend on the advent of Indian medical discoveries.

A considerable advance has lately been made in the Madras Presidency by the energetic and capable Director of Public Health, but far more money must be spent in

Public Health Education and Propaganda, because the masses of the people, although threatened, all the year round, by death and disability from preventable diseases and tropical epidemics, remain in a state of "pathetic contentment" which really is pathetic ignorance. At one time the people seemed to resent measures directed towards freeing them from plague, cholera, smallpox, hook-worm, etc. At one time I admit that I myself felt the problem to be insoluble, but of late years the Director of Public Health, with the assistance of officers lent by the Rockefeller Institute of America, have had such success with the hook-worm campaign (and we are beginning to succeed with cholera measures and with other sanitary schemes) that I now feel confident that it is possible to obtain the co-operation of large masses of the rural population in such measures. Much teaching and propaganda are necessary if preventative medicine is to have a bright and useful future in India. These measures will certainly have to be a concern of Government for many years to come, yet sanitary education and public health propaganda can be greatly helped by the independent medical profession, and the future of preventative medicine lies largely in their hands. Medical Relief is supplied to the Presidency towns and to the capital cities of the Provinces by a large number of fine hospitals quite comparable with those of Great Britain. At the headquarter town of each district there is a more or less (often less) satisfactory hospital. These hospitals in many parts of India are Municipal or Local Fund Institutions. In Madras, owing to the foresight and interest shown in them by Sir Alexander Cardew, they are all Government Institutions, and so will, in time, if money is forthcoming, become well-equipped and well-staffed institutions. They have a very poor staff of nurses, for the sufficient reason that nurses do not exist. Except at Poona, I understand (a small beginning has been made in Madras), it is extraordinarily difficult to persuade Indian women to take up the profession of nursing. The

remainder of medical relief—the greatest part—is limited to hundreds of small dispensaries without beds, or dispensaries with from two to ten beds scattered all over the land. These dispensaries deal with many thousands of out-patients, but their medical staff is only a Sub-Assistant-Surgeon. They are only inspected once a year by the District Surgeon, and hardly at all by the Surgeon-General. The work done is valued by the masses of the people, but it is often very poorly done. It is, to my mind, most distressing that the only exponents of Western Medicine to the great bulk of the people of India should be imperfectly educated, poorly paid, and isolated men working in imperfectly equipped institutions far away from the comradeship of their professional brethren. I am quite sure that the future of medicine in India cannot be with them or with anything resembling such a system. I have written this paper to evoke discussion in this meeting of the East India Association, but before ending it I suppose you will expect me to indicate my views as to the future.

We are all aware that the political outlook of India is towards self-Government, ending in Dominion Status within the Empire, to be reached by graduated ten-yearly advances under the guidance of Great Britain and with the help of a gradually diminishing number of Europeans. Similarly in Medicine I desire to hear a pronouncement made that its future is to be in the direction of instituting an Indian Profession of Medicine, similar to that of Great Britain, arrived at by a slow and orderly development involving the disappearance of all Medical Services (except perhaps that of Public Health). The Lee Report, you will have noticed, advises the closing and ending of the I.M.S. In the same way I wish those recommendations had recommended the closing and ending of all the Medical Services in India. Just as no country can hope to attain Self-Government and Dominion Status unless and until it can be responsible for its own law and order and its own Defence, so, in my opinion, no country can have a real

Medical Profession until and unless it ceases to have the greatest part of its doctors in Government Service. Governments have, in India, maintained that although it is part of their legitimate duty to start industries, to teach, to foster experiments in agriculture and in other branches in Science, it is not part of their duty to carry on industries, to farm on a large scale, or to trade. So I hold, in Medicine, it is the legitimate duty of Government to initiate schemes of medical relief, to start, or assist in starting, medical education, and to build and equip all these modern institutions which are helping to make expert and specialized advances in Medicine, such as Radiological, Bacteriological, Biochemical and Public Health Institutes. It is not the duty to Government to maintain and pay for the whole body of the Medical Profession.

As already mentioned, it seems to me that the present state of the Medical Services in India is entirely unsatisfactory. In what country in the world will you find the Medical Profession divided horizontally into layers, the members of each layer (a Service) separated by water-tight compartments from those above and below it? I need hardly remind you that the strata of the Medical Services in India consist of :—

The R.A.M.C.

The I.M.S.

The I.M.D.

The Graduates of Indian Universities.

The Apothecaries.

The Sub-Assistant Surgeons.*

I look forward to the day when, as in Great Britain, the possibility of rising to the top of the profession will be open to all medical men, and when no one will find himself hopelessly handicapped from the start. Some of you will no doubt ask—as I have heard it said times without number—how

* The worst feature of this arrangement is that the members of one Service are unable to pass into another Service.

would the people of the mofussil get on if Government did not provide the services of Government Medical Officers?

My view is that the great towns and many of the smaller towns could get on quite well without the members of the Government Medical Services. General practitioners are already complaining that with the hospitals and institutions staffed by Government Services they are badly handicapped. They would willingly take them over and so save much money now spent in the salaries of Government servants, gaining for themselves, and eventually for the independent Medical Profession of the future, the experience and the status of the hospital physicians and surgeons of Great Britain; large sums of money thus saved could be utilized for the spread of Medical and Public Health in the mofussil. I believe, too, if this were done, Europeans would be attracted to the Medical Colleges and great hospitals of India, whilst I am almost sure that they will not enter the Services in present circumstances.

In conclusion I hold in my hand a document just received from Madras sent by the Raja of Panagal, the first Minister of the Madras Government. I have received it, from my old friend the Minister, with great pleasure because he has just carried out a scheme which I recommended to him before I left India last year. The scheme is based on the belief that the future of Medicine in India cannot be a future of Government Medical Servants. Although the medical graduates of Madras are few in number in proportion to the number of persons needing medical help in the Presidency, many of them are unemployed. The medical graduates and also the L.M.P.'s (Sub-Assistant Surgeons grade), up to the present, crowd into the large towns where there are already too many doctors. They have to compete there with the Government servants who, being in charge of the Medical Institutions, and receiving a fixed salary, are easily able to obtain the greater part of the private practice. These private practitioners have usually spent all the money they can

command on their education and so they cannot make a start in the rural districts. The Minister's scheme proposes to subsidize these men and to supply them with a house for a certain number of years and with a free supply of medicines and apparatus. The subsidy will gradually diminish, thus leaving the doctors, at the end of a few years, to succeed or fail as private practitioners. In the meantime they must treat the poor gratis, but may charge such fees as they can collect from well-to-do patients. I welcome this scheme as a small beginning towards the establishment of an independent medical profession, and I hope that, if the recommendations of the Lee Commission be also carried out, and the Professional chairs be no longer held by the Services, the handing over to an independent Medical Profession of the top and bottom may eventually lead to the growth throughout India of a self-reliant, self-respecting, independent Indian Medical Profession, no longer divided by educational barriers, but itself capable, in the future, of building up for India a position in the Scientific World to which its numbers and intelligence will entitle it.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, November 17, 1924, at which a paper was read by Major-General Sir Gerald Giffard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.M.S. (retd.), entitled "Some Aspects of the Future of Medicine in India."

Surgeon-General Sir R. Havelock Charles, G.C.V.O., I.M.S. (retd.), occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Major-General Sir Thomas Yarr, Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Joseph Henry Stone, C.I.E., and Lady Stone, Lady Benson, Lady Chatterton, Mrs. Grose, Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Major-General Sir Courtney Manifold, K.C.B., C.M.G., I.M.S. (retd.), Lieut.-Colonel C. A. F. Hingston, I.M.S., O.B.E., Dr. S. Mohamedi, Mr. A. V. W. Bamford, Mrs. Bean, Mrs. Brandt, Miss Hopley, Miss G. Roberts, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Sir John P. Wallis, Mrs. Coplestone-Boughey, Mrs. Russell-Tucker, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. and Miss Corfield, Major-General J. B. Smith, C.B., C.I.E., I.M.S. (retd.), Lieut.-Colonel A. Whitmore, I.M.S., Lieut.-Colonel P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.G., I.M.S. (retd.), Lieut.-Colonel F. O'Kinealy, I.M.S., Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, I.M.S. (retd.) Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Chesney, Mrs. and Miss White, Mr. Cooper-Matthews, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, M. John Putnam, Miss Mr. Sorabjee, Miss Corner, Mrs. Hall-Simpson, Mrs. Morison, Mr. Arthur Gnomes, Mr. A. W. Bamford, Mr. E. C. Emerson, Mr. Scott Bremner, Colonel S. H. Dantra, I.M.S. (retd.), Major Gilbertson, Mr. S. K. Brown, Mr. W. D. Croft, Miss Hope, Mrs. Heaton, Mrs. Hartley, Colonel Battye, Dr. Cox, Dr. Law, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Herron, Miss Robertson, Colonel and Mrs. Hugo, Mr. A. H. Gayer, Miss Partridge, Mr. Chambers, Mrs. Duncan Irvine, Lady Lucas, Mrs. Sattar Khan, Mrs. Vick, Mrs. Fowell Richards, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. Drysdale, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice (Hon. Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Sir Gerald Giffard is probably known to most of you. His services to the Government of Madras have been very great. I had the pleasure of inspecting the buildings that he has put up in Madras four years ago, for the teaching of midwifery and gynaecology. They are not even equalled in England. It is a credit to the Government of Madras to have acted so, but the credit must be due to General Giffard. (Hear, hear.) I will not detain you any longer, save to mention the death of one to whom hygiene, medicine, and the hospitals of India and the Indian Medical Service are absolutely indebted for everything. That man is Mr. Montagu, whom I had the honour of serving. For four years he fought the battle of the medical profession to his utmost.

(Hear, hear.) He was loyal; he had knowledge, because he had received a scientific education. Have you ever heard of a Secretary of State who has had a scientific education? He was the first, I think; hence his enlightenment. We must all sympathize with his widow in her great loss, and also with the country.

I will now introduce General Giffard to you.

The Lecturer then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we must thank General Giffard for his most instructive address, although we need not all agree with what he has said. I do not. He has had thirty-three years and I have had forty-two in close connection with India, where I have spent my happiest time. What the Lecturer describes as a new movement in Madras is an old movement in Bengal. My old friend Bupendra Nath Babu, who has a little estate outside Calcutta, employs a sub-assistant surgeon and gives him a small house and a certain amount of pay, and he is allowed to carry on as best he can. That is a common practice throughout Bengal. I am glad that it has reached Madras. General Giffard has been speaking of sub-assistant surgeons with an inferior kind of education. Let me draw your attention to what is done in this country. Missionaries, although not medical men, get a certain amount of medical instruction and are sent out to do what they can. I want to draw attention also to the fact that about a hundred years ago in this country there were a great number of different ways of getting into the medical profession, just as in India at the present time, and I think that the sub-assistant surgeon really does excellent work in India—most excellent work. They are not all good I agree, but the Government of India could not do without them. It employs them because they are cheap, and the Government of India *sweats them*.

There is another point with regard to the third question: "Should the medical reserve of the Indian army be provided, as in Great Britain, by volunteers from a private and independent medical profession?" It is no use comparing India with England; it is absurd. You could not make the comparison. We could not do with volunteers in India. It was not a success in the Great War; many of the sub-assistant surgeons, although they had signed a contract to take service in the war, refused to do so, and the Government of India did not prosecute them.

Now with regard to the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems; when I joined the medical college in Lahore in 1886 these systems were transferred from the Government Arts College to the Government Medical College. My two friends Brij Lal Ghosh and Rahim Khan taught these two subjects. The students attended them for a considerable number of months, but as they usually went from their lecture-rooms to my dissecting-room they found that things did not tally, so they threw up the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems, because what they were expected to believe with regard to the anatomy of the human body in the Vedic and Yunani books was more than could be done; their belief would not go that far.

With regard to the claims of European employees to have their families treated by European doctors—the old John Company always saw that its employees had European medical men, and I think that the Government

of India, in denying what custom made a right to its Civil Servants, is practically cheating them. I am the very last one to say anything with regard to the racial question. I have too many friends in India, the best I ever had, and if I thought everyone was like them I would say, "Yes, do as you like"; but, unfortunately, India is not filled with that kind of individual. Supposing that in time of political disaffection you were in charge of a district in a dangerous state, and your medical adviser was an Indian whose political ideas were not yours. It very often happens in India that you have an unpleasant feeling in the interior, and if you call for this medical man you will probably do him an injustice—you may think he is going to poison you, and say you had died of cholera. Hence I consider there should always be a leaven—and a strong leaven—of European medical men in India. I have no hesitation in saying so. (Hear, hear.) I can say that had Mr. Montagu continued at the India Office this question would not have arisen.

Then, again, it is not correct to say that a medical man in one layer cannot attain to another. I have in my pocket a letter from a distinguished General, who was in the subordinate service, but who afterwards left it and entered the Indian Medical Service, and has now been knighted. It is not correct to say that a man cannot rise—*there* is an example. Then four years ago I met a Colonel-Commandant who had been one of my old pupils. He also had made his way, and men can make their way if it is in them. As long as Great Britain is responsible for India, and as long as British troops are in India, you absolutely must have European medical men. Remove the British troops to-morrow, and you may do as you like; but let the British officers, whether civilian or military, have what they were promised (hear, hear), or what long custom had sanctioned.

Now I will not take up your time any longer. I will ask those who like to criticize the lecture at perhaps greater length, but I would say to any European that my advice at present is, under no circumstances whatever enter the Indian Medical Service. (Hear, hear.) There are certain cases known to medicine where you are told you will be worse before you are better. That is quite true, and I consider that medical affairs in India will be worse before they are better. You must remember that in 1870 the I.M.S. was abolished; it remained abolished and dead for five years. Then it was found that it could not be done without, and it was resuscitated, and in my opinion that kind of thing will have to occur again.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said they had heard two of the most experienced men in the whole of India speaking on the subject, but neither of them seemed to agree. First of all he would like to say that he entirely agreed with what the Chairman had said about the lamented death of Mr. Montagu. Personally, he had been one of Mr. Montagu's most persistent political opponents, especially with regard to his scheme for self-government in India, but he had always preserved friendly relations with him, and he had always been kindly and courteously treated by him; his early death would be long lamented by him.

With regard to the lecture, he thought it was unfortunate that the degrees given in Indian colleges and Universities were not up to British standards. He had often tried in Parliament to urge the necessity for raising the qualifications and degrees in India to the level of those existing in England, and as long as they were inferior in India, then India must of necessity suffer great disqualification; he trusted that the committee which had recently been sitting on Indian Universities would see to securing improved qualifications and degrees in India.

With regard to the remarks made by the Lecturer that "the political outlook of India is towards self-government ending in Dominion status," he demurred to the reference to Dominion status; the Dominions were peopled by an all-British, homogeneous race under the rule of the King, whereas India was a continent inhabited by many different peoples and races under the rule of the Emperor. He was all in favour of self-government for India, but he did not think the term "Dominion status" applied to India,

With regard to the I.M.S., he entirely agreed with the Chairman that it was absolutely necessary to have a strong leaven of British medical men in India. As to the question of a large civil medical service in India, they could hardly enter into the question of how that could be obtained just then, but it was a *sine qua non* that they should have a proper medical service for the troops in India. They must have a real medical service for the military and naval services, and also for the European Civil Servants; but, given that, he thought they might try to encourage the formation of a civil medical service in India, or an Indian profession of medicine, as the Lecturer called it, on the same lines as in England as far as possible.

As to what had been said about the possibilities of men rising from the lower ranks, he entirely agreed with the Lecturer that such a possibility should be open to all medical men in India just the same as in England. Although the different grades of service might be necessary in the Indian military service, he thought that outside the Services there should be an open medical service, where everyone had a chance of rising to the top of the profession, and that the independent civil medical profession of the future might be given the chance of holding charge of the hospitals for the civil population. In that way he hoped India might get a good reserve of civil medical men,

Major-General Sir C. MANIFOLD said he had held a somewhat similar appointment to that of the Lecturer, except that it was in Northern India. He agreed that there should be a better education for the sub-assistant class; it was ridiculous to think they had such a small number of medical men to deal with the millions of people in India. But even though the systems were unscientific, it must be realized that in India they had the Ayurvedic and the Yunani systems, which undoubtedly supplied a need, and to which the people resorted, just as in England they had people going to osteopaths, faith healers, etc. And in India they went to the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems of medicine with the greatest confidence. He thought there was probably hardly a ruling chief in India who had not called in their services in medical ailments. As the Chairman had said,

those systems and the modern systems with their dissecting-rooms formed a bad mixture. In surgery, however, he found that the people of India would go hundreds of miles to get to a dispensary, but trusted to their own systems for medical ills. The fact that the sub-assistant class were so badly educated was not altogether due to the fault of the Government ; the men were good, but they were shot out into the wilds of India directly they got a smattering of education—places where they never really got into contact with another man educated in Western ways, except perhaps on the occasion of the four visits a year from the inspecting officers. Notwithstanding their handicaps, those unfortunate men had to cope with all the needs of the people without any outside advice at all

With regard to the medical assistance to Europeans in India, he agreed that it was absolutely necessary they should have European medical men ; in that respect the motor-car had to some extent rectified many of their difficulties, and they were now able to send out a civil surgeon to out-of-the-way stations where formerly it was necessary to have one resident, but in his opinion they must have resident Government surgeons in all the large centres of population. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. MOHAMEDI said that he had only one thing to say in connection with the treatment of an English officer by an Indian doctor who held different political views, and who it was suggested would not treat the officer properly, and that was that if it were true, then the Indian had an equal right to object to an English doctor treating him. He was surprised at the Chairman running down the medical profession in that way. It was an honourable profession, and they should not allow such prejudices to come into play at all. If it were true, then every Indian had a perfect right to say that hospitals should have Indian doctors only to treat the Indian population. He would like to point out that even in London there were thirty Indian doctors carrying on flourishing practices in competition with English doctors, and very often patients preferred to go to the Indian doctors in preference to the English doctor.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought there was some misconception ; instances such as he had referred to had occurred in Europe in past days, where medical men, he was sorry to say, had been used for purposes of poisoning, and history furnished many examples of it. It was not a question of the Indian doctor at all. What he referred to was simply a political objection.

Mr. A. V. W. BAMFORD : The Lecturer said that the various medical services in India were represented in different strata.

The Indian University graduates had a course of five years, but for the military assistant surgeon his course of four years was reckoned as three years only in this country.

If the medical colleges of the three presidencies could give the university man a good enough education for him to practise, the same institutions must have given the assistant surgeon of the Indian Medical Department a good enough medical education for the four years of his curriculum to be valued as four years of study, and not undervalued as three

His father had been a civil apothecary in Madras, and he would like to point out that his pension after a maximum pay of 200 Rs. was only about 75 Rs.—*i.e.*, £5—per mensem at the time of his death; and he wondered how much energy and foresight ought to be put into a professional appointment which carried such a low rate of pay.

One speaker had referred to the question of Indian medical men and the Great War. Men who had gone through the war—some in fact had won the D.C.M. and even the M.C.—had to go back to India, and find themselves without a job. History (Crawford, “Indian Medical Services”) shows that the first man of the Indian Medical Services to be decorated with the Victoria Cross was a subordinate of the Indian Medical Department in China.

He was spending both time and money in furthering his studies in this country, but with thirteen and a half years’ service (including continuous war service) he found himself discharged from his appointment, and doubted whether he would get a return passage to India, which he would be entitled to had he been an English warrant officer under similar conditions.

It had been recommended that the assistant surgeon’s four years of study in the three presidency medical colleges in India should only be reckoned as three years for the purposes of the General Medical Council in this country, but he maintained that the Indian medical college curriculum of four years should be counted as equivalent to four years in this country.

If such things could be straightened out, it would give the Indian medical subordinates a better chance. (Hear, hear.)

Lieut.-Colonel HINGSTON said he was sorry he did not agree with what the Lecturer had said. He had had twenty-two years’ service in India, so he knew something about what he was going to say. The Lecturer suggested they should do away with the various varieties of medical officers in India. He did not agree. If he had said that fifty years hence, he might agree, but at present it was quite impossible to get on in India without the sub-assistant surgeons. In many cases the two different systems of medical treatment in India must be combined so as to satisfy the patient that he is getting what he thinks is good for him.

Then the Lecturer said, with regard to the Lee Report: “In the same way I wish those recommendations had recommended the closing and ending of all the medical services in India.” But in his opinion, as long as they had other Government services in India they must have a Government medical service. (Hear, hear.) If all Government services were abolished, he agreed the Government medical service might be abolished. At present they had to think not only of the Government servants, but they had to think of the merchants and the people who had invested money in India. Supposing they did away with the Government services, and one were to set up as a private practitioner, did the Lecturer think for a moment he or any European stood any possible chance of being appointed as an honorary medical officer on the staff of a large hospital in a presidency town? If they wished to encourage the

white man to go out to India, the only way to do it was to make the Government service attractive to him. India was not an entirely satisfactory place for the white man and his family, so that they ought to make it attractive for them; they must have hospitals there with European doctors on the staff if Europeans were required for Government services and to attract good men. If the Lecturer's views were not opposed, he was afraid it would make it very difficult for the white man out in India to carry on satisfactorily.

General Sir EDMUND BARROW said he was not a professional man, and he was afraid his remarks would not be received as being *ex cathedra* on this subject, but he would like to say that in all walks of life wise men cut their coats according to the cloth, and in India they had to employ inferior subordinate services simply because they could not afford to provide for the ordinary population the well-paid services maintained in this country. The British services were originally devised mainly for the needs of the Army, but now Government had to deal with the whole country, and to consider the hygiene of the country, in addition to such things as vaccination and treatment for plague and cholera, which science had taught them was necessary. It was impossible to do that satisfactorily or even at all unless they employed the subordinate services to do it—the numbers were too great; Government had to provide a staff which could deal with the simple medical needs of the community, and if they did not employ an inferior personnel they would not be able to employ any personnel at all, and therefore he wished to put in a plea for those inferior services, but at the same time they ought to try and improve their conditions of pay and pensions. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. STANLEY RICE (Hon. Secretary) said, with reference to the statement of the Lecturer's on p. 81: It seemed to him that the Lecturer had supplied his own answer to the question why Indian practitioners have done little research work. He thought the correct answer was contained in the names he had mentioned, such as Laveran, Ross, James, and others, who had done great work in India, representing about ten or twelve out of a large number of Indian medical servants. On the other hand, they had about 44,000 doctors in Great Britain, and how many of those had made world-renowned discoveries? There were about 1,100 in Madras, many of them imperfectly trained, and they could hardly expect a great number to have made great discoveries. He believed the real answer was that there was no competition and no means of talking "shop." It was necessary to be able to exchange views and ideas about things they were most conversant with, but these sub-assistant surgeons in out-stations never got a chance of ever talking to anyone about their own subjects. They needed the stimulus of competition. Any practitioner in England who did not keep pace with science would soon be regarded as a back number. At present in India there was not much opportunity or desire to improve things in that direction; as long as they remained in what was undoubtedly a vicious circle, they would never get any further with the problem.

Mr. MOORE said one of the speakers had suggested that the Indians'

hospitals which were run by Government servants might be handed over to private practitioners. The great hospitals in London were run mainly on voluntary contributions, whereas the hospitals in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta were supported out of Government funds. Was it suggested that those funds should be handed over to private practitioners not under Government control, or were they to be withheld? If withheld, would it be possible to support the hospitals out of voluntary contributions?

The CHAIRMAN: The hospitals would not be supported by voluntary contributions; but, at the same time, speaking of the Medical College Hospital in Calcutta, at the present moment you will find on the staff many Indians in private practice, who are not in Government service. That also applies with regard to Lahore and Bombay, but I cannot say with regard to Madras.

The LECTURER, in reply, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid my five questions remain largely unanswered. The politicians have changed the whole position in India. They have said, Your duty is no longer to do the right thing for the Indians, to manage and govern and staff the departments; you must give up that idea, and you must go up another street altogether. I have met very few people who agree with the reforms, but they can be classified in two or three groups. One group says, "India has gone to the dogs, and I do not care." That is one attitude. The other is, "The politicians have done this; it is wrong, and it will end in a smash." Well, the smash may take a long time to come, but then we will have to go in again. The third class are probably like myself, who say, "Well, here are the reforms; they are the law of the land; we have to do the best we can with them." I cannot pretend to be a prophet. With regard to the first question I say, "Is it going to be, in future, Government service or an independent profession?" At present the service in Madras consists of about 1,100 men to deal with 42,000,000 people. My view is that the future must consist of the building up of an independent medical profession, and, when it ceases to be a Government concern, I think that Europeans will go out there. The price proposed to be paid at present does not attract.

General Sir Edmund Barrow thinks the Government cannot afford a highly trained service; it has been driven to having imperfectly educated and lowly paid servants. That was all right in the past, but I hope it will not go on. I cannot believe that the right thing to do is to multiply imperfectly educated persons and put them in the positions they are in now. I ask those who have spoken to-day and said that you must have Europeans—and who may think I am doing disservice by reading a paper like this—to remember that I do not advocate its being done straight away. It is impossible. If you stop recruiting a service it takes twenty-five to thirty years before that service dies out. What is going to be the future of India if we do not look twenty-five years ahead? All I say is that I would like to see the profession going up the right street, but the street which most people seem at the present moment to fancy is a street you can see the end of for financial reasons, and the other street, therefore, is the only possible one.

With regard to those who consider that Europeans are entitled by custom or sentiment to be treated by Europeans—if that is to continue—it must be done by a service *ad hoc*. The Government will have to say, We insist upon it, and we are going to recruit for that particular purpose. At present they have shown no sign of anything of the kind yet. Nobody knows what they are going to do. Personally, I think we ought to try and get the Governments in India to agree, and, if possible, build up an independent profession. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The proceedings concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Major-General Sir Gerald Giffard for his paper, and to Sir Havelock Charles (the Chairman) for his illuminating address.

CONVERSAZIONE

THE following, among others, were present at a *Conversazione* of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall on Monday, December 15 : The Earl Winterton, Viscount and Viscountess Willingdon, Lady Pentland, Colonel Sir Charles and Lady Yate, Sir Michael and Lady O'Dwyer, Sir Patrick Fagan, Sir Lionel Jacob, Sir Reginald and Lady Mant, Sir John Maffey, Sir William O. Clark, Sir Armine and Lady Dew, Sir Francis and Lady Oldfield, Sir Henry and Lady Stone, Sir Stewart Fraser, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss Hopley, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. and Mrs. G. A. Wathen, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Rice, Miss Rice, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. F. C. Channing, Professor J. W. Scott, Mr. F. C. Brownrigg, Mr. and Mrs. S. D. Pears, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sewell, Mr. L. A. G. Clarke, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. O'Kinealy, Mr. H. H. Macleod, Mr. and Mrs. John Nicholson, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. A. R. Dard, Mr. Mohamed Din, Dr. Mohamedi, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Mr. A. A. Lane Roberts, Mr. Harihar Das, Mrs. Garling Drury, Mr. A. V. W. Bamford, Mr. and Mrs. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. E. Hopkins.

FORTHCOMING MEETING

THE next meeting of the Association will be on Monday, January 19, at 3.30 p.m., at the Caxton Hall, when a paper will be read by Professor J. W. Scott (University College, Cardiff) entitled "Unemployment—A Lead from India." The Chair will be taken by Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey (editor of the *Spectator*).

ORIENTALIA

THE MOUNTAIN OF LANGUAGES*

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

IN the voyage of the Argonauts "at daydawn they looked eastward, and midway between the sea and the sky they saw white snow-peaks hanging, glittering sharp and bright above the clouds. And they knew that they were come to Caucasus at the end of all the earth : Caucasus, the highest of all mountains, the father of the rivers of the East. On his peak is chained the Titan, while a vulture tears his heart ; and at his feet are piled dark forests round the magic Colchian land."

For long centuries the mountains of Caucasus remained a mystery to the sons of men. The Milesians, and in later times the Greeks and the Romans, traded with the tribes, suffered their piratical ravages upon merchant ships, and rebought their own goods from the pirates at the trading stations along the coast.

The precise words of Strabo and Pliny show that the Ancients knew well the lands to the north and south of the great range—the Tanais, where men grew rich in the trade in furs, salt fish, and wheat and gold, and Colchis, whence, says Strabo, Mithridates of Pontus derived the greatest part of his timber and supplies for the equipment of his naval armament.

* M. DEPREMÉRY : *Fragments de Géographes et d'Historiens Arabes et Persans inédits. Jour. Asiatique*, 1849–52.

Tribes and Localities of the Caucasus. Tiflis Geo. Soc., 1908.

The Venetians in Persia. Hakluyt Soc. Pub. London, 1880.

J. HANWAY : *British Trade over the Caspian*. 4 vols. London, 1732.

Aperçu historique sur les Ciscauciens pendant la Guerre Mondiale. Constant, 1918.

Compte-Rendu des Assemblées des peuples de la Ciscaucasie et de leurs travaux législatifs. Constant, 1918.

But of the mountains their information was most vague. Pliny tells us that in the market of Dioscurias (near the site of Sukhum) one hundred different interpreters were required for the conduct of business with the mountain tribes, but neither he nor his contemporaries have much to say of these tribes beyond tales of strange beasts and stranger folk. To "the highest of all mountains" belong the legends of Titan, of the Golden Fleece, and of the Amazons.

The Arabs, who were the most intelligent geographers among the nations, have little more to say, though the contemporaries of the great school of Arab geographers fought several campaigns in the Eastern Caucasus—the most accessible part of the range called Daghestan or the Highlands. To the Arabs the Caucasus remained the land of Gog and Magog, and although their knowledge extended to the Volga regions, they regarded the great range as the confines of the earth, beyond which strange wild peoples lived in cold and darkness. From the multiplicity of its peoples, they called the Caucasus "The Mountain of Languages," and El-Masudi observes that "the people who live on it and about it can only be counted by Him who created them."

When the tide of the Turkish and Mongol wars swept away the Arab civilization, geography, with the other arts, passed from the Middle Eastern countries, and between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries there survives, beyond sparse records of warfare, little written information of the Caucasus. Under the Mongols, however, Venetian and Genoese merchants began to visit those half-forgotten lands. Marco Polo speaks only "of Georgiana and the kings thereof," and of the "sea of Bachu"; and it is Josaphat Barbaro, who visited Georgia and Persia between 1436 and 1452, who first makes any clear reference to the mountain country. "From the sea of Bachu," he writes, "unto the sea Maggiore, the straight waie is, as it were, by line V^c myles. All which groundes is full of mountaignes

and valleys, in some places well enhabited by certain Lordes of it (through whose territories no man darr pass for fear of robbyng); but for the more part it is dis-enhabited."

It was a hundred years later that Giorgio Interiano, a Genoese traveller, made a detailed account of the tribes of the western half of the Caucasus. He was followed by the Turkish historian Evliya and the Huguenot jeweller Chardin, who both wrote in the seventeenth century. But no good narratives concerning the tribes of the Central and Eastern Caucasus are extant until the eighteenth century, when the approach of the Russians enabled numerous travellers to visit the tribes, such as Hanway, who wrote of Daghestan and the Caspian coast, and Potocki, Reineggs, Klaproth, and others. Of native writers the Georgian geographer Vakhusht has left an excellent account of the Ossets.

In the western mountains, along the Black Sea, the coastal valleys formed the natural settlements, and the different ranges the natural frontiers. The numerous tribes were known generically by the Turkish name of Cherkess, or the Italian form Circassian, the suggested derivation being from the Turkish words "cher" (road), and "kesmek" (to cut), signifying brigands. The social organization of the Cherkesses was on an elaborate feudal basis; the people were rigidly divided in five classes; very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage between any two castes was forbidden. Nevertheless, their political organization was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, but every noble's family within each tribe.

The Mountaineers, according to all accounts, possessed the accepted characteristics of all semi-civilized peoples: on the one hand, reckless courage, extreme generosity, hospitality, respect for the aged, and love of animals; on the other hand, a susceptibility to offence and a childish

vindictiveness, which was expressed in perpetual and bloodthirsty vendettas, extreme personal vanity, a disinclination to submit to discipline or to undertake regular work, cruelty, callousness, and violence.

"Within this country," says Evliya, "are some hundred thousand men without law or religion . . . they are a wild roving people, and a man who does not steal and plunder is thought to be bad company, so that they give him not their daughters in marriage."

Interiano describes the raids of the Cherkesses. Speaking of the rivers of Circassia, he refers to "large and small streams that have several mouths . . . and form almost boundless swamps, through which many fords and passages have been made. By these secret ways they clandestinely proceed to attack the poor peasants, whom they carry off with their cattle and children from one country to another, and sell or barter them away." This account is confirmed by Evliya, who, speaking of the "great river Fasha" (Rion), says: "On the east side are the Mingrelian villages, on the west the Abaza, and both shores being covered with thick forests, the two peoples mutually steal their children of both sexes, and sell them as slaves." Interiano continues: "They have daily engagements with the Tatars, by whom they are on almost all sides surrounded. They also cross the Bosphorus to the Taurian peninsula, in which country is situated Kafa, a colony established at a remote period by the Genoese, and they pass the strait in winter, when the sea is frozen, to carry off the Scythian inhabitants. . . ."

Evliya, who cruised along the whole coast of Circassia in a Turkish vessel, and stopped at many ports, has left the following description of the country: "The country of the Abazas extends from the Phasus along the sea-coast forty days' journey in length, and in breadth from five days journey down to one . . . altogether seventy high mountains with two thousand villages. . . . Their mountains are very fruitful, particularly in nuts, hazel-nuts, and

apricots ; they bear the same arms as the Arabs, arrows, bows, and lances, have few horsemen, but valorous footmen. . . . Bears, swine, foxes, jackals, and woodcocks are found in great numbers in the mountains. . . . Swine are fed to the size of asses. . . . These Abaza people have a strange mode of burying their Beks ; they put the body into a wooden coffin, which they nail on to the branches of some high trees and make a hole in the coffin near the head, that the Bek, as they say, may look up to heaven. Bees enter the coffin and make honey, entirely wrapping the body up in it ; when the season comes, they open the coffin, take the honey, and sell it ; much caution, therefore, is required to be used in purchasing the honey of the Abazas."

Of the tribes of the Central and Eastern Caucasus, early information is less detailed. The Ossets, south and east of the Darial, were, according to Vakhusht, universally poor, tending on bleak mountain-sides flocks of undergrown sheep and scabby goats, victims often of destroying avalanches, which crushed out their rude stone villages, and of fierce hailstorms, which swept away their meagre crops.

The Lesghians—a term which covers all the varied tribes of Daghestan—were more prosperous. "Their valleys," Hanway says, "are exceedingly fertile, producing plenty of wheat, oats, and barley, with abundance of sheep, while their hills are covered with vines, from which they make very good wine, and have plenty of it. . . ." But they were hungry rievors, good horsemen, incendiaries, and thieves, who rode down often to loot the Georgian lowlands, Telav and Signakh, the market towns of the Kakhetian vintners, and Tiflis, the rich metropolis of Christian Trans-Caucasia. Or, when the Persian Shah was weak, they would hold to ransom his frontier town of Derbend, and blackmail the wealthy merchants of Shamakha.

All the Daghestanli tribes were organized on a patriarchal though extremely democratic basis, in contrast to the

feudal caste-system of the Cherkesses, and their chiefs were always elected and controlled by councils of elders. To quote Hanway again: "As they live under a kind of republican government, the distinction paid to him (the chief) is not very great."

Racially the tribes of the Western and Eastern Caucasus are very different. The Cherkesses of the west have certain linguistic and anthropological affinities with the Georgians, but owing to the segregation of the different tribes in obscure mountain valleys during the course of probably thirty centuries their languages and customs have become so differentiated that it is often difficult to trace any connection either between neighbouring tribes or generally between the Mountaineers and the lowland Georgians. The Abkhazians possibly approximate most nearly to the Georgians.

The eastern tribes constitute a strange flotsam and jetsam of every fugitive and beaten race and of every conquering army of the Middle Eastern lands. The earliest Iranians of the Kura basin fled into Daghestan, and later communities in flight of Georgians and Armenians. The Persian Sassanids laid a frontier line across the mountains from Dariel to Derbend, and afterwards the Arabs held it for three centuries, and their deserters or time-expired men must have settled round about. The Khazars from the Volga basin drifted over Daghestan a score of times, and in later centuries Kipchaks and other kinds of Turks came from the north, Mongols from the south. All these races of invaders and fugitives make up the mongrel man of Daghestan.

In the history of the religion of the various tribes can be traced the effects of the influence of neighbouring civilizations. The primitive paganism of the tribes, tree, idol, and animal worship, survived as a living force until the end of the eighteenth century. On the foundation of this paganism were grafted the various faiths of the different races, who successively invaded or traded with the

mountain regions. The Persians introduced fire-worship ; the early Georgian kings propagated Christianity among the Abkhazians, Ossets, and Lesghians. Even during the period of Arab hegemony in the Caucasus many districts were Christian which are now fanatically Muhammadan. The Arabs were successful in converting large parts of Daghestan to Islam, and their influence survives, not only in religious practices, but in the writing and the methods of gardening and irrigation used by the eastern tribes.

During the Middle Ages Christianity was further spread by the Georgian Bagratid kings among the Kabardans and Chechens, and in the Western Caucasus by Byzantine, Russian, and Latin influences among the Cherkesses. But it was not until the sixteenth century, when Turkish influence was strong in the Caucasus, and when the Russians were approaching from the north, that religion, as a political force, became a serious issue.

The relations between the Turks and the Cherkesses were confined to the exchange of merchandise for slaves and raw materials. Such relations were mutually beneficial, for while the Turks obtained from the Caucasus brave recruits for their Janissary Corps and beautiful wives for their harems, the young men of the mountains grasped eagerly at the opportunity of a brilliant military career in foreign lands, and the young women forwent with little misgiving the hard domesticity of their mountain huts for the lives of luxurious ease which lay beyond the slave-markets of Trebizond, Akhaltsikh, or Constantinople. Militarily, the Turks made no attempt to force their hegemony on the mountain tribes, while the latter for their part would have been quick to resent any encroachment on their independence. If Islam spread among the Western Mountaineers, Cherkesses, Kabardans, and Abkhazians, it was rather the result of casual but continuous contact with the Mussalman merchants and sailors than of any deliberate policy of proselytization on the part of the Turks. And it was an easy faith, in the practice of which were mingled

many old pagan superstitions and forgotten rites of Zoroastrian and Christian, and which lay as lightly on the Mountaineers as had Christianity during the period of Bagratid influence. Klaproth, commenting on the propagation of the Muhammadan faith among the Kabardans during the latter half of the eighteenth century, remarks that "the Porte has endeavoured to spread the religion of Muhammad by means of ecclesiastical emissaries. . . . Their (the Kabardans') mullahs or priests are generally freedmen of the princes or usden, who go to the Tatars of Thabasseran or to Endery, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of Effendi, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Muhammadan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connection with Russia."

In the Eastern Caucasus Islam had been maintained and consolidated, since the days of the Arabs, by constant contact with the Persians and Tatars of Shirvan. The Daghestanli were for the most part Sunni, and at times vented their fanaticism on the Shiah townsmen of Derbend and Shemakha. Hanway observes that the devotion to Islam of the Daghestanli was not regarded as profound by the Persians. "The Lesgees talk very lightly of the pretended miracles of Muhammad, adding that he was a very artful man, and whether he has any particular interest with the Almighty will be best known hereafter."

II

In the sixteenth century Cossack colonies were spreading along the steppe to the north, but they came little into hostile contact with the Mountaineers, and when they did, found them formidable enemies. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that Russian armies began to appear along the Terek and the Kuban, in war with Persia and Turkey. The Russians pressed south by the Derbend road, and through the Darial pass, and fought for over half a century to drive the Turks and Persians out of

Georgia. They fought the Cherkesses, Kabards, and Chechens as allies of the Turks, and they subdued with ease the poverty-stricken Ossets. It was not until 1830, when they held the whole of Trans-Caucasia, that they realized that numerous warlike tribes entrenched in mighty mountain fortresses flanked their communications with the north. The Russian generals thought that two years would be sufficient to reduce these scattered tribes to submission, but thirty years passed before the conquest could be completed. The story of this thirty years' war was familiar to the last generation of Englishmen. Year after year the Russians cut their way through the Chechnian beech forests and stormed the stockaded villages; they marched over the bare hills of Daghestan, and smashed with cannon the huddled nests of the Avar Lesghians; they built their blockhouses along the difficult Black Sea coast to starve the Cherkess villages and cut the slave-route to Turkey. In Daghestan the famous Shamil rose up and swept the Russians back to the Terek line and the forts along the Caspian. In 1843 10,000 Russians were cut to pieces in the Chechnian forests. On the Black Sea coast the Russians died in thousands from malaria. During the Crimean War the Allies made some attempt to co-operate with the Mountaineers, and a Turkish army was landed at Sukhum. But the tribes were ruined and exhausted by twenty-five years of war. At the Paris Conference their interests were ignored; and in 1869 the Lesghian resistance collapsed with the surrender of Shamil. The Cherkess tribes were finally reduced five years later.

The methods of the conquerors were barbarous, efficient, and effective. They thinned the Chechnian forest and transplanted the most warlike inhabitants, giving the best lands to Cossack settlers. They built a railway from Vladikavkas to Baku round the Daghestan bastion, and bisected the Avar country with a military road. On the west they were even more thorough and consolidatory. The Cherkesses and Ossets were given the alternatives of

transplantation to the most barren parts of Kuban, or of emigration to Turkey. The bulk of them, half a million, chose the latter, and in the next five years were to be seen destitute, starving, and dying of lowland diseases in every Black Sea port. A few thousand of the emigrants alone survived to form a brigand element in Macedonia and the Brusa vilayet. The Russians sent Slovak and Cossack settlers to occupy the deserted orchards and gardens along the Circassian coast, but the colonization was unsuccessful, and for the most part the ancient villages of the Western Mountaineers are now uninhabited.

The spirit of the tribes was broken. When in 1877 a Turkish army advanced from Batum, and the tribes were summoned to arise to a Jihad, the feeble movement was easily crushed.

During the next half-century the processes of civilization continued. The plantation of tobacco and fruit in the Sukhum province engaged the surviving families of Cherkesses as gardeners. The development of the Grozni and Maikop fields on the north, and of Baku on the south, drew the younger generation of Chechens and Lesghians down from the hills to become workmen. And the Russian Government continued to displace the natives from the best lands in favour of Slav immigrants, a policy which aroused some feeble little rebellions among the Ossets and Chechens. The temporary collapse of order in 1904-1905 permitted a recrudescence of the old brigandages, and bands of Mountaineers for a few months wrecked trains and infested the environs of the oil-towns.

After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 a number of "Circassian" officers in the Turkish army formed a "Committee of Circassian Emigrés in Turkey," and carried on Pan-Islamic propaganda. In effect, however, the Russian conquest was complete, and the Mountaineers were quickly succumbing to that process of Russification which would eventually submerge their individuality as it has that of other primitive races. During the course of the war the

Committee of Union and Progress made tentative efforts to rouse the spirit of independence among all the Caucasian peoples, and, in 1915, a committee was formed under its auspices composed of Georgians, Tatars, and representatives of the Mountaineers, but dominated by two "Circassian" pashas. This committee visited Berlin, Vienna, and Berne.

When the Russian Revolution broke out in 1917, the political leaders of the Mountaineers were both unprepared and unorganized. These politicals were mostly Russianized bourgeois, mining engineers, officials, and lawyers. They met in March, 1917, at Vladikavkas, and after the arrest of the Russian general, Fleycher, formed a Provisional Central Committee to maintain the interests of the Mountaineers as against those of other elements, the Russian workmen, Cossacks, and bourgeois, on the Executive Committee of the Province of Terek. This Provisional Committee convoked a Pan-Mountaineers' Congress to meet in May at Vladikavkas, and sent four of its chief members to attend the coming Congress of Mussalmans at Baku.

The Pan-Mountaineers' Congress met in due course in the theatre of Vladikavkas, a strange medley, professing to represent all the tribes of the Northern Caucasus, the nearly extinct Cherkess and Abkhaz, the Kabards and the Balkar and Kara Chai Turks of the Kuban slopes, the Kuruyks, Salatais, and Nogais of the steppe, the Ossets, Chechens, and the numerically powerful tribes of Daghestan. A curious Congress it was, such a Congress as is only produced in those first halcyon days which follow a revolution—lawyers, engineers, and schoolmasters trying to be tribal chiefs; petroleum royalty-owners mouthing democratic formulæ; and a sprinkling of mullahs to create a theatrical atmosphere of tribal patriarchalism.

And as elsewhere in Russia, during those middle months of 1917, a great many resolutions and constitutions and laws were published; and telegrams of congratulation and mutual admiration were sent broadcast to neighbouring

Committees and Unions and Soviets and Associations; and delegates full of hopes and ideals set off on increasingly difficult railway journeys to Pan-Mussalman Congresses, convened at Moscow, and then twice again at Baku. Out of all the welter of speeches and resolutions and declarations in favour of Constituent Assemblies and Federal solutions and Islamic Unions, two very definite trends of policy may be noted. There were the bourgeois elements of Vladikavkas, Grozni, and smaller centres, and the few rich oil magnates who favoured close co-operation with the Russian "Right" parties, and there were a few professional agitators, journalists of Baku, such as Hassan Aghaiev, the violent Pan-Turanian publicist, together with some of the more fanatical mullahs, who advocated a rising in favour of the Turks, and adhesion to all the loose Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanian tenets of the C.U.P. The bourgeois party, chief of whom were Chermoeiev (a millionaire Chechen of Grozni), Bammatov (a lawyer), and Kotzev (an agricultural expert), from the first dominated the situation. In September a second Congress of Mountaineers declared in favour of Federal Union with Russia, and two months later, when the Bolshevik coup took place at Petrograd, Chermoeiev and his supporters made haste to come to an understanding with the South-Eastern Union formed at Ekaterinodar by Miliukov, Guchkov, General Alexeiev, and General Kaledin, Hetman of the Don Cossacks. The large financial interests of the Chermoeiev group at Grozni required that they should not allow themselves to be isolated from Further Russia, while, on the other hand, the South-East Union was anxious to have access to the petroleum of Maikop and Grozni. The forces of anarchy, however, were too strong for both parties. During the summer disturbances had occurred between the Cossack settlers and the Cherkesses in the Kuban, the Chechens along the Terek and Sunja. The South-East Union attempted to conciliate Vladikavkas by the cession of certain disputed districts, a measure which only tended

to antagonize the Cossacks, and to embitter further their relations with the tribes. The Cossacks were reinforced by bands of Bolshevik soldiers deserting from the Turkish front, while the Mountaineers were joined by units of the famous "Savage Division"* returning from Galicia. A series of bloody skirmishes were brought to a crisis by the murder of the Mussalman deputy Karaulov by Cossacks. On December 2 Chermoiev severed relations with the South-East Union—already threatened with dissolution by the Bolshevik invasion of the Don territory—and proclaimed the autonomy of the "Republic of the Mountaineers." The collapse of the Russian Cadets, the advance of the Bolsheviks into the Kuban and Terek provinces, and the successes of the Turks in Trans-Caucasia, were now all circumstances which combined to approximate the policy of Chermoiev to that of Aghaiev and the Young Turk agitators. In January, 1918, the Bolsheviks, supported by the Cossacks, advanced along the railway from Mineralnaia Vody to Beslan, and threatened Vladikavkas and Grozni. Chermoiev withdrew his headquarters to Nazran, and later to Temir-Khan-Shura, in Central Daghestan. The Bolsheviks were now compelled to fight Kornilov and Alexeiev in the Northern Kuban, and having secured the railway line and the Cossack settlements did not press the offensive. Chermoiev turned for support to the Turks, who had recently occupied Kars, and who were negotiating with the Trans-Caucasian Seim at Trebizond. He went with Bammатов to Tiflis, and demanded assistance to attack the Bolsheviks. The Seim, dominated by the Georgian Social Democrats, still adhered to a Russian orientation, and fearing Chermoiev's co-operation with the Turks and the Tatar nationalists at Elizabetopol, refused him support. In the middle of April Chermoiev proceeded to Trebizond, and later to Batum, where the Turko-Trans-Caucasian negotiations were being continued. He now passed completely under the influence

* Recruited from Daghestan.

of the Turks, and appeared to them a useful agent for the furtherance of their schemes for the penetration of the Caucasus. On May 1 the Turkish Government recognized the independence of the Republic of Mountaineers, and sent Chermoiev and the Daghestan delegation to Constantinople. During the following three months the Turks, with the adherence of the Tatar National Committee of Elizabetopol, were engaged in overrunning the whole of the Eastern Caucasus. In September they occupied Baku, and established the puppet Republic of Azerbaijan. A small Russian force, under the Osset Colonel Bicherakhov, retiring before them, came into conflict with Chermoiev's levies near Petrovsk; the active young Turkish general, Nuri, following fast on their heels, occupied Derbend, and—a few days after the Armistice—Petrovsk. But the Armistice and the consequent Turkish withdrawal, the British occupation of Baku, and the successes of General Denikin in the Northern Caucasus, failed to check the activities of the Daghestan separatists. The departure of Chermoiev and the bourgeois leaders to press the claims of the Mountaineers at the Paris Conference tended yet more to place the control of policy in the hands of the fanatical mullahs, the Tatar agitators, and the many Turkish officers who had taken refuge in the hospitable mountain villages. The Republic of Mountaineers indeed had collapsed. The Cherkess and the small Turkish tribes in the west had fallen away; the Ossets favoured the Russians—those in Georgia indeed had risen in their favour during the previous summer; and the Georgians had occupied the rich district of Zakatali. The Daghestanli and the Chechens, nevertheless, were still formidable, and Denikin could not spare the troops to subdue them.

When, in the summer of 1919, Denikin's commitments in Central Russia increased, and he withdrew troops from the Kuban, a dangerous movement broke out along the west coast of the Caspian. The Bolsheviks from Astrakhan occupied Petrovsk and Derbend, while a force of

about 30,000 Mussalmans, including a thousand Turkish Askers and hundreds of Turkish and Tatar officers, threatened Vladikavkas and Grozni. Denikin was compelled to withdraw two divisions of Cossacks and a quantity of armoured cars and aeroplanes from the Bolshevik front, and to occupy several weeks in the recapture of Petrovsk and Derbend. He pressed his advance to Temir-Khan-Shura, and, for the moment, the Daghestanli Khans submitted.

In the spring of 1920, when the Denikin Government collapsed, the Bolsheviks occupied Vladikavkas and Grozni, and later Baku. The Bolsheviks did not, however, penetrate the difficult mountains of Daghestan, but contented themselves with securing the line of communication with the Trans-Caucasus.

In the autumn of 1920 the Mountaineers again became active, under the leadership of a certain Hajji Usun, in guerilla operations against the Bolsheviks, and since that date they have spasmodically renewed their raids. The relations between Russia and the Mountaineers have, in fact, resumed the state which existed until the fifties of last century, when each autumn the tribesmen habitually raided the Cossack settlements on the north and the villages of lowland Georgia on the south-east.

The occupation of Georgia by the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1921 tended still further to increase Russian difficulties in the mountains. The mountainous districts of Svanetia and Abkhasia, comprising the upper valleys of the Ingur and the Kodori, afforded a refuge to large numbers of Georgian officers and other refugees. These Georgians, under the leadership of a young Kakhetian landowner, Chelakaiev, successfully repulsed a Bolshevik incursion into Svanetia during 1923. The recent insurrection in Georgia, which centred in the western lowland provinces of Mingrelia and Imeretia, was undertaken mainly at the instigation of the Georgian Social Democratic Party, with whom, according to reliable information, Chelakaiev is not in intimate

relations. Its failure has had, however, the effect of considerably recruiting his forces, which have recently been active again in Svanetia and in the eastern Georgian province of Kakhetia. The failure has had the further effect that it has reduced the influence of the Socialist exile leaders—who do not appear to be competent insurrectionists—while the flight or execution of so many of the orthodox political leaders may serve to place the leadership of the Georgian national movement into the hands of soldiers who prefer to lead the life of outlaws rather than abandon their native soil.

The immediate future is difficult to foresee. The Muhammadan mountain tribes have not the favourable geographical position which enabled the Afghans to establish their independence, nor are they fortunate, like the Albanians, in that equivocal political situation which makes their independence secure in the rivalries of their neighbours. The Bolsheviks might subdue Daghestan by a short and vigorous campaign. But so long as the tribes maintain even an insurrectionary independence they will remain a danger to the double line of Russian communication with Trans-Caucasia. Further, they will constitute an element susceptible to Islamic propaganda and ready to participate in the schemes of such Turkish adventurers as the lately deceased Enver. At the same time the very action of suppressing the tribes could only serve to demonstrate the essentially antagonistic attitude of Moscow towards the nationalist aspiration of Mussalman peoples, and to expose the fundamental falsity of their professions of sympathy for the "oppressed races" of Islam.

HISTORICAL SECTION

ARMENIANS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

BY S. M. GREGORY

I

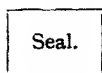
IN the Public Records Office Museum (Chancery Lane, London) is exhibited a letter (Case K, No. 113) which throws a new light on the association of Armenians with the current State affairs of Southern India during the seventeenth century. Dated February 4, 1664, it is from the *Armenian Governor of Mylapore* to Charles II., King of England. The entire text of the letter is written in Portuguese, for the reason that from 1517 to 1662 Mylapore was in their occupation, during which period Portuguese was the only European language in current use in that region and known to the better class of the inhabitants. The signature, however, at the foot of the letter—namely, *Markos Erezad*, written in a clear handwriting—is in the *Armenian* language. Reserving, for the nonce, our further remarks in connection therewith, we append herewith an English translation of the letter :

“ By that benign spirit which accompanies all Majesties and of which, according to reports which have reached me, your own Majesty is possessor thereof through the special grace and dispensation of Heaven, I, Markos Rozado,¹ Armenian by Nationality and Governor in the lands of Meleapor,² am convinced in my mind that thuswise I may be permitted, with reliance, to humble myself at the feet of your Majesty, in particular beseeching your merciful Blood³ to condescend to my petition in subscribing me in the list of your loyal and humble subjects. For, I am deeply anxious that I may be enriched with the possession of such a graceful calling. Although I pass my days in these distant parts (nevertheless), I personally guarantee, in all respects, the faithfulness of my affections which I bear to the illustrious fame of your Majesty. And of all those which are most precious in the produce of this land and, similarly, all those which are of value and held in esteem, I, as

Governor of this land, place as an offering under the feet of your Majesty. I do not write these words as a token of my worthiness, but rather as the firstfruits of my faithful pledge for the future, being confident that the Royal spirit of your Majesty will not disdain but extend the hospitality of its benevolence to those who humbly seek shelter under the protecting care of your Majesty. A ring with a large blue stone;⁴ another ring with an even larger gem of golden hue;⁵ a ring with a red stone, smaller than those mentioned above; a pearl of Barem;⁶ a beautiful red stone, delectable to the sight and set in gold; a gem for wearing on the breast and capable of being separated into parts, being a stone with triple blue and white stripes;⁷ also a stone of large size and of great value, which, according to the testimony of the natives of this country, is akin to the carbuncle.⁸ All these, enclosed in a small golden casket and sealed with the self-same seal which is nigh my signature subscribed below, I offer and deposit at the feet of your supreme Rulership and request imploringly that whereas, behold, I am now your humble subject and servant, you may, by your graceful announcement, make it known in these Eastern parts of my devotedness to your Majesty. And now, inasmuch as the work of shipbuilding, altogether perfect, is difficult in these parts, I beseech your Majesty to grant me a ship,⁹ by means of which the servants of your servant, sailing in Eastern parts, may gain products of high quality and value to be offered, constantly, to your Majesty at your pleasure and as a dutiful recognition by your devoted servant. And, confident in my belief in the fulfilment of the object of my petition and no less in the conciliatory spirit of your Majesty, I pray to Jesus Christ to grant to your Majesty a triumphant issue, in a multiplied degree, over your seditious subjects who have risen as enemies against the Laws of Christ; and all prosperity and happiness to your Majesty according to your desire.

"Melapor, 4th February, in the year 1664.

"Your Majesty's



"Humble and faithful Servant,

"(*Signed, in Armenian*) MARKOS EREZAD."

On the back of the letter is the address :

"To His Most Gracious and most illustrious Majesty, Don Carlos,¹⁰ King of England and Supreme Ruler of Great Britain, whom God may keep," etc.

"FROM THE GOVERNOR OF MELEAPOR."

On the back of the letter is the following endorsement :

“Letter from Markus Rozado,¹¹ Governor of Meleapor (with its translation in Spanish), addressed to the King, dated 4th January,¹² 1664, and duly received in July, 1664.”

The colour of the paper on which the letter is written is creamy-white. The entire front surface is profusely illuminated with equidistant exquisite fleurs-de-lis in sprinkled gold—a contemporary feature in India, at the period, in addressing letters to royalty. The converse is plain, and contains the Spanish translation of the letter, as mentioned above.

The length of the letter, which is double-folded at the top front, is 18 inches, and therefore 36 inches when extended. The breadth is 13 inches. The paper, the golden lilies and the caligraphy are still remarkably fresh, clear and uninjured, considering that it was written 260 years ago. The seal, near the signature, is of the customary red lac, still vividly clear and in perfect condition. It bears the impression of a cathedral church. To the right and left of the spire are to be seen the initials I and M respectively. We are unable to say, with any degree of reliability, what these two initials stand for. Would experts in the antiquities of India help us?

The endorsement on the back of the letter shows that the letter, and no doubt the golden casket containing the gems, were duly received by the King in July, 1664. As a further evidence of this, there is on record a letter addressed by the Directors of the East India Company in London to the Agent and Council at Madras, under date December 21, 1664 (“Letter-Books,” vol. iii., p. 439), in which it is stated that by the *Royal Katherine* there arrived in London, from Madras, one Mr. James Bunce, bringing a gift from some person for His Royal Majesty. The Directors then go on saying that the Agent should have consigned the gift through the Directors in the usual manner, and not despatched it through a private person. Adding that they were unaware as to what reply the bearer

of the gift would take back, they reprimanded the Agent and Council for deviating, in this instance, from the recognized course of action.

We have seen that the Governor, Markos Erezad, wrote his letter on February 4, 1664 (according to the *New Style*, which was in use in Mylapore by the Portuguese, who had adopted the New or Gregorian Style since 1582), which corresponds with January 25, 1664 (according to the *Old Style*, which was still in use in Madras, as the English did not adopt the *New Style* till the year 1752). On the day on which the letter was written—*i.e.*, on January 25 (*O.S.*)—Erezad despatched it to Madras (distant only some five miles from Mylapore) to Sir Edward Winter, Chief Agent in Madras of the East India Company. On the following day, January 26 (according to contemporary records), the *Royal Katherine* sailed from Madras, conveying the letter and the gift in charge of Mr. James Bunce, and arrived in England in July of the same year. We have seen that Mr. Bunce's commission was duly accomplished, but whether or not the "Merrie Monarch" vouchsafed a written reply, his Domestic Correspondence for the year 1664, as preserved in the Public Records Office, bears no trace.

Sir Edward Winter, a man of striking ability, was appointed as the Company's Chief Agent in Madras in 1661, but was dismissed in 1665 on account of his autocratic disposition and endless quarrels with the Directors in England. Relations between them being thus highly strained, Sir Edward, in January, 1664, despatched Governor Erezad's letter and gift direct to Charles II. through the medium of Mr. James Bunce, ignoring the Company's established procedure governing such cases, which, as we have seen, drew forth the letter of reprimand from the Directors, dated December 21, 1664.¹³ There is also on record the somewhat apologetic reply to the above letter, from the Council at Madras (*O.C.* 3147), dated January 9, 1666 (*i.e.*, written after the dismissal of Sir Edward Winter), to the effect that the gift, despatched from

Madras to His Majesty through the medium of Mr. James Bunce, was specially consigned to Sir Edward Winter, who thought it unnecessary to trouble the honourable Directors with such a trifling affair!

II

Mylapore, one of the most ancient towns of Southern India, is generally regarded to be the same which is referred to by Ptolemy as "Malli-Arpha." The ruins of the old town are still to be seen. Armenian merchants settled there in the fifteenth century (if not earlier), for, as we shall show in due course, Armenians were principally instrumental in founding and building New Mylapore (in place of the ancient town), better known as San Thomé de Meliapor), during the occupation of the town by the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century.

Adjoining the town of Mylapore are two hills, observable from the sea. One of these is known as the "Little Mount," where, in a rocky cave, Thomas the Apostle preached the holy Gospel, according to early Patristic writings. Next to it is the higher hill known as "St. Thomas's Mount," where Thomas, whilst kneeling in silent prayer, met his martyrdom (Maffei, "History of India," Col. Aq., 1590). By the foot of this mount runs the River Adiar, across which Khoja Petros, a wealthy Armenian merchant of Madras, entirely at his own cost, built, in 1724, the splendid bridge which has ever since been known as the "Armenian Bridge." It was he, too, who built the long flight of steps up the mount, leading to the shrine of St. Thomas.

There have been some hypercritics, and there are some even to-day who view with scepticism the preaching and martyrdom of St. Thomas in India, because it is based on tradition. And yet they do not hesitate to believe that St. Peter was crucified upside down, that St. Paul was decapitated, and that St. John was miraculously saved from the scalding oil in a cauldron, even though these, too, are

based on tradition. But a well-supported tradition, as in the case of St. Thomas, cannot be flagrantly set aside. Eusebius ("Hist. Eccl.," III., i.), Hieronymus, Origen, Socrates the historian, and other early writers testify to the preaching of St. Thomas in the East; whilst both Eastern and Western hagiology bear testimony that he preached in Parthia, Persia, Bactria, Ethiopia, and India, which St. Paulinus Natali authenticates in the following words: *Parthia, Matheum Complectitur, India Thomas* (Dr. Noland, "History of the British Empire in India and the East," chap. xxxiii., p. 571). De Guignes ("Acad. des Inscript.," lib. v., p. 23) declares that many writers, both Greek and Syrian, agree unanimously in confirming that "St. Thomas penetrated India to preach the word." The same is also borne out by that much attacked, but still undefeated, "Acta Thomæ," written in the first half of the third century.

Amongst the earliest who followed the footsteps of St. Thomas we find the names of the celebrated Alexandrian, Pantænus, who visited India in A.D. 189, where he met Christians (according to Eusebius), from whom he received a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which he carried to Alexandria, and the existence of which, in his time, is affirmed by St. Jerome (c. 340-420). Johannes, Metropolitan of Persia and India, who was present at the Council of Nicæa (325), and subscribed his name to the minutes; Frumentius (300-360), the "Apostle" of Abyssinia, who was consecrated Primate of India by Athanaseus of Alexandria (Athanaseus, "Epistola ad Constantinum"); Thomas the *Manichæan*, who arrived in India in 345, and managed to gain a certain number of adherents. The sectarian religion which he professed was curiously fantastic in its composition. Founded by Mani (215-276), a Persian of Ecbatana, it was based on a hybrid conglomerate of Mithraism and Judaism, with traces of Cenobite asceticism; Mazdaism and garbled tenets of Buddhism intertwined its growing columns, the whole being crowned with a prepon-

derating superstructure of Christian ethics. Vigorous at times, unsteady always, it "abode its destined hour and went its way." Montfaçon ("Patrum Græcorum," tome ii.), Gregory de Tours, father of French history, and the famous Orientalist, Assemanus ("Bibliotheca Orientalis," lib. vii.), writing in respect of the first half of the Middle Ages, give us much reliable information on this subject. The most notable among these pioneers, according to numerous writers, was a certain *Armenian* of Urhai (Edessa), Mar Thomas or Thomas Cana by name, who, having resided in India for some years, returned there again as Bishop in the year 745, at which time the Indian bishoprics were under the authority of the Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia. Sir John Kaye ("Christianity in India," p. 10) says of him: "Before this time" (*i.e.*, A.D. 745) "the Christian brotherhood, both on that (Malabar) and the Coromandel Coast, persecuted by native princes, had been driven into the interior of the country, to seek refuge on the hills. The influence of Mar Thomas, who, whether formally appointed or not to the episcopal office, appears to have performed its functions and borne its title, was great throughout Southern India. Under his protection the native Christians enjoyed security and peace." The Rev. Richard Collins ("Missionary Enterprise in India," p. 65) informs us that Thomas the Armenian, who settled on the Malabar Coast, was called by the Syrians of Travancore "Knâu Thômâ." He is, however, more frequently chronicled as Thomas Cana. The word "priest" or "cleric," both in Aramaic and in Armenian, is *cahana*, which, learned oracularly by the uneducated, is often pronounced as *cana* in a syncopated form. Therefore, Thomas Cana simply means Thomas the Cleric.

III

We now revert to the early association of the Armenians with Mylapore. Following upon the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut, in 1498, the Portuguese gradually became

masters of certain parts of the Malabar Coast-line. In 1516, sailing by way of Ceylon to the Coromandel Coast, they arrived at ancient Mylapore, where, on the "Little Mount," they found an old chapel over the reputed tomb of St. Thomas. This chapel, in accordance with a vow made by the sailors, they replaced with a magnificent church, which they dedicated to Holy Mary and named it *Nossa Sen^{ha} Da Luz* (*i.e.*, "The Lady of our Light"), commonly known as "The Luz Church." A commemorative stone tablet on one of the walls of the church gives the date of the building as 1516. Synchronously with this event they, with the help of resident wealthy Armenians (as we shall see presently), built the new town which they named San Thomé or St. Thomas.

According to Cotton ("List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras of Archæological Interest," 1905), five tombs of Armenians, as per inscriptions on the tombstones and dating from 1663 to 1754, may be seen in the cemetery adjoining the church of "Luz" at St. Thomas. There are, indeed, to be found here older tombstones (dating back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century), the inscriptions on which designate the interred with the honorific title of "Coja" (or Khoja, from the Persian *Khawajeh*), with which distinguishing appellation Armenian gentlemen of distinction were known in India at this period and for some time after. Presumably, therefore, these were Armenians, too.

We have it, on the authority of Love ("Vestiges of Old Madras," vol i., p. 287, and again, pp. 303-304), that in the year 1517 two Portuguese, Diago Fernandez and Basteao Fernandez, arriving at Pulikat (situated about seven leagues to the north of Mylapore), heard there, from some Armenian merchants, of the shrine and chapel of St. Thomas at Mylapore; and that Albert de Mandelslo, who travelled in India in 1638-1640, mentions that there were a number of Armenians at Mylapore or San Thomé.

Students of the history of the French East India Com-

pany¹⁴ must be familiar with the name of François Martin, who in 1674, capturing Pondichery with conspicuous bravery, has ranked as one of the foremost among the heroic sons of France. He also played a great part when, in 1672, the French captured Mylapore, which since 1662 had been in the occupation of the King of Golconda.¹⁵ Martin took up his residence in Mylapore (or San Thomé) from 1672 to 1674. He had, therefore, good opportunities of personally studying the history of the town. Fortunately, this famous Frenchman left to us an important work written by himself (*"Mémoire sur l'établissement des Colonies Françaises aux Indes Orientales"*), from which we reproduce the following extract by way of translation: "It has been ascertained, as a matter of fact, that the commencement of the building of San Thomé (New Mylapore) was the work of a number of Armenians who were residents there and were engaged in trade; also on account of their pious devotion to the Saint to whom the town was dedicated. When the Portuguese secured themselves in India the members of that community settled in all parts of the country, and a number of them in San Thomé, where they united with the Armenians who were already in residence there. They then built a town and residences by the help of their trade with other parts of India. It is assured that in former times there were families in this place whose opulence reached millions, and the trade in this place in the early days was verily a gold mine." It may, therefore, be justifiable to infer that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century (to which period the above memoir refers) the Armenians already formed an important and influential section of the inhabitants of Mylapore.

After a century and a half of misgovernment by the Portuguese, Mylapore gradually fell on evil days. The Portuguese inhabitants, through their insolence, ceased to acknowledge the authority of the Viceroy at Goa. Vice and crime were rampant in their worst forms. Capitao Mor, its last Portuguese Governor, was only nominally so.

Its days were numbered. In May, 1662, Abdullah Kutub Shah, the King of Golconda, with an army of 20,000 men under the command of his famous Prime Minister, Mir Jumlah, captured the town.

It is not difficult to conjecture the reason which influenced Abdullah Kutub Shah in his decision to appoint the Armenian Markos Erezad as Governor of Mylapore, in all probability in the month of May, 1662, when the town capitulated to him. Undoubtedly the Christian population of Mylapore formed a considerable section of its inhabitants. Reasons of policy, therefore, actuated his choice of the Armenian Markos Erezad, who was a Christian, and presumably influential and well known to the King.

Should the curious be inclined to enquire as to why the Governor, whilst holding his appointment under the King of Golconda, felt it necessary to apply to the King of England to be "subscribed" as one of his subjects, we must plead inability to satisfy them, as we have no means of knowing whether it was a voluntary request, as it would appear on the surface, or actuated by deeper diplomatic reasons dictated from behind the State curtains of the Court of Golconda.

NOTES

¹ The signature at the foot of the letter, which is in Armenian, is in the correct Armenian form *Erezad*, of which Rozado, no doubt, is the Portuguese adoption.

² Known to the Portuguese as *Melapor* and *Meleapor*, to the English as *Mylapore*, and to the Armenians of India as *Milapur*. It is situated some five miles to the south of Madras, and is, or was, one of the most ancient towns in Southern India. Since the settlement of the Portuguese in these regions (*i.e.*, since about 1517) it is better known as St. Thomas (San Thomé), owing to the strongly supported tradition that Thomas the Apostle met his martyrdom there in the year 68.

³ Nobility of person.

⁴ *Robin* is the word in the original text—*i.e.*, either a sapphire, turquoise or a topaz.

⁵ Yellow diamond, or perhaps chrysolite.

⁶ Evidently the well-known Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, famous for their pearls. These islands were in the occupation of the Portuguese from 1507 to 1622, when Shah Abbas the Great expelled them.

⁷ Sardonyx or onyx.

⁸ Known often, also, as pyrope and hyacinth, and is the same as "Bareketh" in the Hebrew language, which in olden times formed one of the twelve precious stones on the breastplate (adjusted to the front of the ephod) worn by the High Priest, and on which were engraved the names of the twelve tribes of Israel.

⁹ We read in the Records of the East India Company that in the middle of the seventeenth century the ships trading out to India ranged, ordinarily, between 100 and 200 tonnage; one of 500 tonnage was a rare exception. What is meant here is, probably, a craft of 100 tons.

¹⁰ Charles II., King of England (1660-1685).

¹¹ *Erezad*, according to the signature, in Armenian.

¹² The date in the original letter is February 4.

¹³ For this, and for the reply thereto, I am indebted to Miss L. M. Anstey, talented secretary to Sir Richard Temple; and to the learned Mr. William Foster, of the India Office.

¹⁴ We read in the "*Historie des Indes Orientales*" (tome iii., p. 146), and "*Hist. de la Compagnie des Indes*" (pp. 63-64), that this Company was formed in the middle of the seventeenth century, with its activities limited to Madagascar only. In 1664, however, Colbert, the famous Minister of Louis XIV., with great energy, undertook the reconstruction of the Company on a large scale, with the result that in 1667 a well-appointed fleet was sent to India under the command of "two gentlemen"—namely, M. Caron, well known in the East as a sea-captain, and M. Marcare Avanchenz, born in Ispahan, the capital of Persia (at the time), a man of noble birth and of great influence. The expedition duly arriving at Surat, the first French factory was established there in 1669, and, immediately after, Avanchenz was deputed to visit the Court of Golconda (where we are told he had influential friends) to secure certain privileges for the French and the establishment of a factory at Musulipatam (called by the Armenians Muchlibandar), both of which he accomplished successfully. We notice that in these records Avanchenz is styled as a Persian, but we entertain no doubt that it is rather intended to mean a Persian subject, for his first name "Marcare" (Marcar) is certainly an *Armenian name*, and we surmise that the second or family name is no other than the Armenian "*Hovanjianantz*" corrupted in French into Avanchenz. Several well-known branches of this Armenian family still exist in Persia and in India.

¹⁵ In the middle of the sixteenth century, whilst Baber, the founder of the Mogul Empire in India, and his son and successor, Humayun, were consolidating their dominions in Northern India amidst turbulent environments, five different rulers established their independence in Southern India. Of these, the kingdom of Golconda, known as the dynasty of Kutub Shah, was the most powerful, which, after lasting for about a century and a half, was finally conquered (in 1687) by the Emperor Aurangzeb.

THEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY: THE CONFERENCE OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

A CONFERENCE on the living religions of the British Empire was held in London from September 22 to October 3 inclusive, under the direction of the School of Oriental Studies, at the London University and the Sociological Society. It had been originally intended to hold the Conference on the premises of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, but, for reasons of convenience, the scene of its assembly was shifted to the Imperial Institute at Kensington.

Christianity as a religion has now been in operation for close on two thousand years, but so far only one-third of the populations of the world have come under its influence. Little more than one-sixth of the inhabitants of the British Empire are even nominal Christians, and there are four Pagan or Musalman subjects of the King-Emperor to every one professing the religion of Christ.

It is only within recent times that religion has been studied from a scientific point of view, and the old crude idea that the differences of religions were the result of a conflict between unseen powers of good and evil has been generally abandoned. One school of thought maintains that Theology is the handmaid of Ethnology, and that the different races of mankind are to be distinguished from one another not only by their mental and physical characteristics, but by their addiction to a particular form of religious belief. For instance, the Semitic race prefers monotheism, while the Aryan is born a man-worshipper; he worships deities under the form of human beings, men or women. The Semitic Jews rejected Christ, while the Aryan Greeks accepted him. This theory receives some

confirmation from the history of the conquest of the lands of the Roman Empire by the Arabs. Fired by their new-born zeal for their newly adopted faith, their conquering hosts had within a hundred years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad overrun all Western Asia and all Northern Africa from the shores of the Caspian Sea to those of the Atlantic Ocean, and had offered the choice of the Koran or the sword to all the inhabitants of the territories that they had won. All those inhabitants who were of Semitic or of Hamitic race readily accepted the new religion ; Syrians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Moors sloughed off their Christianity like a garment and adopted a faith already congenial to their nature. But when the Arabs crossed the sea into Spain and Sicily, and came into lands inhabited by an Aryan race, they made no converts. The Spaniards and the Portuguese remained loyal to their Christian religion. And when the tide turned after five centuries of ceaseless warfare, and the Christian became the victor and the Musalman the vanquished, the efforts of the former to convert the latter proved equally futile ; the Moriscos preferred to abandon their country rather than to change their religion. The conversion of the Persian nation to Islamism seems to afford an exception : for here is an instance of an Aryan people adopting the creed of its Semitic conquerors. But the original Aryan stock of the Medes and Persians had in course of their long occupation of Semitic lands become largely mixed with a Semitic strain ; and a considerable proportion of them preferred banishment to conversion, and emigrated to India, where they preserve their ancient faith as the Parsi community. And those who remained perforce in their native country could not rest content with the monotheism of Islam. The Aryan strain in their nature found a vent in the Shiya creed, honouring the Prophet's son-in-law, Ali, as a perfect type of humanity. Further and later manifestations of the Aryan spirit have revealed themselves in Sufi-ism and in Bahaism among the modern Persians.

The Mongolian Turk was easily captivated by the charms of a religion which relied for its propagation upon the sword, and promised victory and glory to its votaries. But once he had crossed the straits into Europe he found himself confronted by the same barrier that had checked the zeal of the Arabs in Spain. The Greeks and Slavs refused to conform to this new creed. Only in two countries out of the many conquered and occupied by the Turks was any considerable proportion of the inhabitants induced to adopt the faith which immediately admitted them to fellowship with their conquerors; these were Albania and Bosnia. The Albanians were a martial race, whose pride and pleasure was in the bearing of arms, and these could no longer be worn by Christians. Many of their chiefs with their tribes embraced Islam that they might serve as soldiers in the Sultan's armies, and enjoy the emoluments and adventures of the mercenary. In Bosnia the feudal system of Western Europe was in vogue, and its lands were owned by the nobles; when these applied for aid to the Christian Western Powers they were promised assistance only on condition of their conforming to the Roman communion, and they replied that they would sooner serve the Turk than the Pope. And they kept their word and possession of their lands at the expense of their faith, while their vassals remained Christian. And these Musalman Slavs to this day constitute an influential community in Bosnia, and return members to the Diet of Yugo-Slavia at Belgrade.

The Prophet Muhammad said, "*Lā rahbāniyyatafīl Islām*" (There is no monkery in Islam); but the Mongolian Turk brought the Buddhist institution of monastic orders with him into his new religion, and sects and religious orders and colleges of Dervishes were founded throughout the Ottoman Empire.

The Malays are not of Semitic race, but they embraced a Semitic religion for a reason similar to that which recommended it to Turks and Tatars. Islam was preached to

the Malays by Arab missionaries, and they readily gave an ear to a religion which sanctioned the use of the sword and sanctified their favourite and profitable pursuit of piracy at the expense of their unconverted neighbours. But both the Turk and the Malay are free from the intense feeling of religious fanaticism which animates and dominates the Semitic race. "Al-Mulk wa'd-Din tawā'am," says the Arabic proverb (The State and the Church are twins). And all the political ideas and actions of the Arabs are inspired by a religious motive: the Wahabi movement in the eighteenth century, the late Mahdist rising in the Sudan, the Senusiya propaganda in North Africa, all have their origin and support in religious fanaticism. The political history of the Hebrews as well as of their Arab kindred affords convincing proof of this dangerous element in the Semitic national character, which has usually resulted in disaster to the misguided peoples who are led astray by it. Thus the Jews of our Lord's time, deluded by the prophecies of the coming of a Messiah who was to restore the kingdom to Israel, dared to measure their puny strength against the might of the Roman Empire, and reaped the full reward of their folly without even a momentary weakening of their blind faith. The blood of the thousands of the chosen people slain by the legions of Titus was hardly dry upon the ruins of Jerusalem when the remnant is again found defying the armies of the Emperor Hadrian under the ominous guidance of Bar-kaukab (the son of the Star). And even this last and most crushing disaster could not extinguish the trust of the Semite in the promises of his prophets; he easily persuaded himself that he had only miscalculated the period of their fulfilment. In the words of the poet Moore in "Lalla Rookh":

"For Faith, fanatic Faith, once wedded fast
To some dear Falsehood, hugs it to the last."

The expectation of the arrival of a Mahdi, or guide, among Musalman peoples at the present day is inspired

by the same feeling which formerly lured the Jewish nation to face defeat and dispersion in its sure reliance on the appearance of a Messiah. As it is the purpose of Allah that Islam is eventually to dominate the world, the decline and fall of the temporal power of the Musalman nations, so conspicuous in the present day, must call for some miraculous intervention to restore the lost sceptre to the hands of the rulers of the Faithful. This sentiment may possibly cause some future trouble to those Christian Powers which, like Great Britain, France, and Russia, rule over large Musalman populations, and over some countries wholly peopled by Musalmans.

On the other hand, there are many indications of a new spirit which is abroad in Islam, and which seeks to bring the teaching of the Arabian prophets, evolved in patriarchal times amid desert wastes, into relation with the requirements of modern civilization. Whether the new religion of the Bab (the Gate) in Persia owed its existence to contact with Christian teachers is a disputed point ; but there can be no doubt of the similarity of the tenets of the Bab to those of the Founder of Christianity. And at the recent London Conference on Religion at the Imperial Institute His Holiness the Khalifat al Masih, Bashirad-Din Mahmud Ahmad of the Punjab, has expounded the tenets of the new Ahmadia sect of Muhammadans. This sect was founded by one Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who died in 1908, and who claimed to unite in his own person the authority of the Messiah and of the Mahdi. His doctrines seem to be an exposition of the new spirit in Islam, analogous to those of the Babis and the Bahais.

The report of the proceedings of the London Congress of Religions will no doubt be awaited with eagerness and scanned with interest by all of our readers who are curious in matters theological and psychological.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS ; OR, LAOCIUS
AND CONFUCIUS AS RIVAL MORALISTS

(*Continued*)

BY E. H. PARKER

THE great difference between the two masters was this : Laocius, being a recluse living at imperial headquarters, and taking no share in legislation or executive functions, believed that he saw clearly from the mass of archives—which lay at his almost exclusive command—the utter hopelessness of expecting anything good from military ambition, commercial greed, and empty majesty, at least so far as the happiness of mankind was concerned ; and, of course for him, “mankind” meant China. He argued that each human life was of equal value, and limited by the natural capacity inherent in it ; therefore, that no amount of solid possessions or empty rank could exclude from each individual more than the one single natural evil of poverty. Hence, full bellies, and minds empty of care were the ideal condition. He sighed for the good old times, when each petty feudal state lived obscurely and contentedly in the enjoyment of home rule, simple plenty, and honest ignorance of what its neighbours were about. After all, said he, “learning” is only what imperfect men like ourselves, but now rotting in their graves, have said ; their lives, like ours, were made up of eating, breeding, sleeping, and social enjoyment ; no king can have more. The so-called “virtues” of charity and justice have no natural existence except where the defects of government have produced poverty and a sense of wrong. What is any man that he should presume to dole out charity and justice to his equal ? A ruler is a necessary evil, a mere magnified version of that ruler’s *employé*—the general, or the executioner. Both the ruler and the

official are servants of the public, and are as indispensable to the social machine as the blacksmith, the scavenger, or the cook. Rank, greatness, generalship, learning—these, if conferred by the devolution of circumstances, should, so far from puffing themselves up, try to obscure themselves; the mere fact of their showing humility and self-effacement would ensure them possession of their tacitly conferred rights. The general should, whilst doing his duty thoroughly and despising his own life, feel a human tenderness for other lives, and a regret for the slaughter rendered unavoidable by circumstances, rather than gloat over victory or seek “glory”; the ordinary man should in the same way shrink from assisting the executioner; the ruler should raise as little discussion as possible, and keep the secrets of his unhappy craft to himself. Laws should be as few but as clear as possible. *Populi*, not *regis*, *voluntas lex suprema*; it is the king’s duty to “eat dirt for all,” as well as exercise power for all. In other words, Laocius was a socialist and a democrat, but of the most unselfish kind; obscure, perhaps, but free from all cant and humbug.

On the other hand, Confucius had risen gradually from one official post to the other; his own state, through all the ambitious Five Tyrant turmoil, had preserved its dignity and its literary pre-eminence; its rulers were direct descendants from the old imperial stock; the first indispensable necessity in all states was to preserve order. Diplomacy must be backed by battalions. There could be no order without subordination. Rulers were the vicegerents of heaven—that is, of an abstraction popularly intelligible to all,—the quasi-human, or the ghostly attributes of which, however, he, being ignorant thereof, declined to discuss or define. A man might be a good ruler, but a frail human being; in his capacity of ruler, whether supreme ruler or vassal, his faults should not be exposed in public derogation of his office. A bad hat belongs anyway to the head, and a shoe however good, is only fit for the feet. Learning and study

conferred the right to advise ; the ignorant masses had but to recognize their superiors and obey ; but on the other hand, the way to become such a superior was open to any inferior man who chose to study *tao* and *li*.^{*} Forms or ceremonies were indispensable in order to maintain the dignity of rulers on the one hand, and mutual respect amongst acquaintances on the other. Laws should not be published, but should be given in the form of specific decisions as disputes occurred, in order to prevent the growth amongst the ignorant of calculating litigiousness. In short, Confucius was a courtier and a conservative ; at the same time he was a just, unselfish, and benevolent man.

It will be seen that neither Laocius nor Confucius was concerned in the least about a supposed future life. They were both moral and political philosophers, and neither travelled one inch beyond human life. Both preached the ancient *tao* and *têh* ; but, whilst Confucius considered providence and grace[†] to be the almost lost science and art of government which had once flourished in perfection, Laocius gave quite a new practical meaning to those words ; he endeavoured, with perhaps unavoidable obscurity of language, to instil new life into them, and to identify the providential road or science of government on the one hand with the universal "law" of nature—of which he knew about as much, or as little as we do now—and the successful practice of government on the other hand, with the virtue or grace built up in the mind after a conscientious attempt to rule oneself and others on the providential principle.[‡] Having once grasped the all-pervading but indefinable principle, no further learning, no further rules—least of all charity and justice—were necessary.

Now, immediately after Confucius's death, the sharpening of men's wits, caused by the long wars, the rise of commerce, the growth of wealth, and the active diplomatic intercourse engendered by movement between state and

^{*} *I.e.*, *li*, or "form," not *li* or "order."

[†] *Tao*, providence ; *têh*, grace.

[‡] *Tao* engenders *têh*.

state, stimulated the rise of competing philosophical schools. Men did not philosophize to kill the time, but to secure a bellyful of good things for themselves and their friends. Even during Confucius's lifetime, his personal friend, the premier of one small vassal state, to Confucius's genuine horror, had published upon bronze plates a series of laws* for public information, on the ground (when Confucius and others remonstrated) that the immediate object of preserving order in his own state was more important to the people of that state than any imaginary or conventional injury to posterity. Meanwhile, the two literary states† forming modern Shan Tung had never for one instant lost their literary pre-eminence; but they were now not alone; the fourth century B.C. opened with an unusually brilliant assemblage of learned men who formed a sort of literary court at a newly promoted and entirely reconstituted feudal state lying to the west of the two Shan Tung states referred to, and having its capital first in southern Shan Si, but, after 340 B.C., across the river at the modern K'ai-fêng Fu on the Yellow River.‡ One of the first scholars to arrive at the rising court was a prominent pupil of Confucius;§ he had indeed instructed the young ruler in the classics and the liberal arts during the period anterior to that ruler's accession in 424, or at least anterior to his promotion to the rank of first-class vassal in 404.|| As this pupil was twenty-eight years of age when Confucius died in 479 B.C., and as he was forty-four years younger than Confucius, who reached the age of seventy-two, it seems scarcely likely—although he is known to have attained a great age—that he can ever have visited the new capital. One of the Taoist writers, a pupil of Laocius himself, also studied under him; as is usual with the quietist school, he is not known except by his *nom de guerre* of Wên-tsz. Another distinguished scholar at this court was the great lawyer whose code¶ is at the basis of

* Tsz-ch'an's laws in Chêng State.

† States of Ts'i and Lu.

‡ The State of Wei, afterwards called Liang (from its new capital).

§ Puh Shang, alias Tsz-hia.

|| Marquess Wên, of Wei.

¶ The laws of Li K'wei.

the Chinese legal system as it still exists : he is also celebrated for having devised a system of land taxation not unlike that recommended to the Chinese Government in 1903 by Sir Robert Hart. A third philosopher, likewise also a jurist of distinction, lived at this court a century later ; he narrowly escaped being selected by posterity instead of Confucius as the model of a perfect sage ;* he is chiefly celebrated for having taken the view—in opposition to the Confucianists—that human nature is evil at bottom, and his works are of undoubted authenticity ;† his eleventh chapter contains what Dr. Faber calls a critique on Lao-tsz, and what he considers proof that Lao-tsz originated the quietist system. Under the son and grandson of this illustrious vassal marquess-prince and his descendants, several parts of the Great Wall of China were constructed ; the grandson‡ is celebrated in history for his conversations with the peripatetic Confucian philosopher Mencius, the chief defender of the good side of human nature. With Mencius at the king's court was a Taoist philosopher,§ whose book on Laocius was still extant in 10 B.C. ; also a cosmogonist,|| whose writings had a great effect upon the mind of the future Napoleon of China. These, and quite a number of other students of Laocius's quietism, all paid visits as well to the more easterly court,¶ when every possible arrangement for their entertainment and comfort was made, and where, under the collective name of the *lieh-ta-fu*, or "body of statesmen," they more or less permanently settled as honoured guests of the king—for so the rulers of this more easterly state also had now begun to style themselves. This point is important, for *lieh-tsz* would mean "body of philosophers" in the same way ; and it is just possible that the views of the supposed fourth century Taoist philosopher, Lieh-tsz, or Licius, which are in parts open to suspicion,

* The legist and critical Confucianist, Sün K'wang or Sün-tsz.

† See *Dublin Review*, October, 1922.

‡ King Hwei of Liang.

§ Tsieh Yü, or Tsieh-tsz.

|| Tsou Yen, or Tsou-tsz.

¶ Court of Ts'i.

may really refer to those Taoist philosophers as a body.

Whilst China proper had thus been for centuries exhausting herself in internecine wars, and had been gradually drowning her simple, ancient philosophy in a whirlpool of Laocianists, Confucianists, legists,* socialists, diplomatists, purists, and other competing schools, a semi-Chinese state, in the extreme west, as the west was then known, having long lived a political life of its own, but subject to considerable Tartar influence, like an ancient Russia in regard to Europe, had been quietly developing a land system, a military power, and an economical law-code on a non-Confucian basis, under the guidance of a statesman who had carried thither and at once put into effect the principles recommended by the distinguished legal economist just mentioned.† The rulers of this rising state—corresponding to the modern Shen Si province—absolutely rejected all Confucian doctrines, and deliberately adopted as their political principles the “strenuous life” theory of intensive-ness coupled with main force, with the ultimate aim of crushing the Fighting States one by one, and establishing a new and highly centralized homogeneous empire; the nearest modern parallel is the transformation of the once sleepy and quarrelsome Germany under the “iron fist” of Prussia, who may at some future date still succeed in extending her scope beyond present limits. After about a century of fighting and intrigue, this object was at last achieved; weights and measures, cart-wheel tracks, written character, etc., etc., were unified and assimilated so far as possible for the whole empire, which was now extended by undisguised wars of conquest so as to take in loosely the greater part of the Yangtsze valley, and even most of South China and West China. It was whilst sacrificing to the

* Shên Puh-hai, the Chinese Draco, died 337 B.C., was Laocian, Premier of Han State.

† Wei-yang, died 338 B.C., after organizing Ts'in State after Li K'wei's model

Holy Mountain of antiquity,* in celebration of these conquests, that this First Emperor, whose moral ideas—so far as he had any—were almost purely Laocian, first took umbrage at the interference on the spot of seventy Confucian scholars, who had presumed to lay down the law as to what the precedents of hoary antiquity required.

The irritation produced in the mind of the revolutionary monarch† by this incessant and annoying appeal to antiquity ended by inoculating him with a furious antipathy towards Confucianism and everything connected with it. He resolved under his chancellor's advice‡ to have done with the ancient Annals, the Rites, the Odes, and Confucius's Book of History; to entrap and destroy all the learned men of the empire he could decoy to his capital; to burn the local annals of all the old vassal states except his own; to call in all political books, limiting their use to the learned official classes, and in short to make *tabula rasa* of all preaching antiquity and inconvenient precedents, beginning civilization afresh with a series of innominate and numbered Emperors instead of the ancient *Reges*; to start off with a new calendar and year; to organize a system of prefectures and city jurisdictions, instead of tolerating any more vassal kingdoms and duchies; and to constitute a democratic equality of all under one supreme Tyrannus. A distinguished Taoist philosopher,§ whose works we still possess, and who both quotes Lao-tsz and mentions his book, would have been premier too had not the jealous chancellor given him poison.

Our object here is to show the absolutely unbroken lineage of the pure Taoism of Laocius, and there will consequently be no space to enter into the extremely interesting personal details of this lively epoch. Suffice it to say that the First Emperor's own life was too short, his son

* T'si Mountain in Shan Tung.

† Ts'in Shih-hwang, or "First Emperor" of and from Ts'in State; illegitimate son of a Taoist writer.

‡ Chancellor Li Sz, died 208 B.C., pupil of Sün-tsz.

§ Han Fei, poisoned by Li Sz, 233 B.C.

and successor was too incapable, and popular discontent with all these sudden changes was too general to secure permanency for his drastic system—at least in the hands of his own family; for, none the less, his system is the bottom rock of the system that has endured to our day. After several years of bloodthirsty warfare between competing military adventurers, the best man came to the top, the rivals were all destroyed, and a new dynasty—the celebrated Han house—was at last securely installed upon the imperial throne.* The leading feature in the character of the new Emperor was his utter and almost fanatical contempt for Confucianists and their ceremonious ways. He was a *viveur* and a soldier pure and simple. “On horseback I have gained the empire,” said he, “and not by listening to you stupid and conceited literati.” “Yes, your Majesty,” replied an able Confucianist† who had found credit with the monarch on other grounds, “you have *won* the empire on horseback, but can you *keep* it on horseback?” To cut the story short, though the coarse-minded emperor continued for some years to knock off every Confucianist’s hat that was worn in his presence, he at last consented to wear long clothes, to establish a ceremonial court, and, in a word, to become civilized. But most of the men who assisted him in establishing the Han dynasty are recorded to have studied the works of Laocius, and in several cases to have obtained their instruction generation by generation from the unbroken line of quietist apostles, right up to Laocius himself.‡

It must be remembered, therefore, that for nearly a century after the burning of the books in 213 B.C., Confucianism was utterly discredited by the ruling powers, and that the study of its texts had almost utterly disappeared throughout the length and breadth of China, except in the

* Liu Pang, Prince of the Han Principality, actually crowned 202 B.C.

† Luh Kia.

‡ T’ien Shuh, Ts’ao Ts’an, Chih Puh-i, Chang Liang, Ch’ên P’ing, Kih Yen, Chêng Tang-shih, Yoh I, Yen Chu—all these are officially stated to have studied Laocius’s system.

one far-eastern region of modern Shan Tung, where a small knot of faithful scholars, and especially Confucius's own descendants, kept up the old literary traditions. The First Emperor is distinctly, officially, and repeatedly stated *not* to have burnt the old classical Book of Changes, on the ground that it was a work of divination; for, under his destructive decree, works on divination, agriculture, and medicine fell under the category of exempted books; even the hated Confucian classics were allowed to licensed literates at court. Being himself under powerful Taoist influences, and a friend of one of the leading Taoist apostles, the First Emperor would naturally also exempt the Taoist book of 5,000 words that fleeing Laocius had left behind in China, the more so in that a part of it was largely based upon the political cosmogony of the Book of Changes. Nothing at all, however, is said by anyone, at any date, of either the destruction or the subsequent unearthing of hidden copies of the Taoist classic. On the other hand, "studying the doctrines of Laocius" is continuously spoken of without a break; and, as we have seen, quite a large number of statesmen and generals, who assisted the Prince of Han to the throne, are officially stated by the historians to have been Taoists of the quietist school and diligent students of the Laocian principles. There is no trace of Taoism or respect for Laocius in any of the biographies of the Han founder himself, except that, on his accession, he simplified the aggravating and complicated criminal law in the sense indicated by Laocius. During the reign of his son (by the Empress) and, after that son's death, of the Dowager herself, all the statesmen in power were rough military men; it is noteworthy, however, that the imperial chancellor who conducted affairs during that son's reign, was not only a Taoist,* but conducted his affairs strictly on Laocian quietist principles; he even sent to the Shan Tung country for one of the Taoist apostles, who was duly introduced to court. Right down to the times of Genghis Khan

* Ts'ao Ts'an, died 190 B.C.

(A.D. 1220), who sent all the way from Samarcand to Shan Tung for a Taoist sage, that corner of China has been Laocian in its morals.

The founder's second son (by a concubine) now ascended the throne: not only is he—the Marcus Aurelius of China*—stated to have been under the influence of Taoist and legist doctrines, but it is repeatedly stated in the most positive, explicit, and unmistakable words that his wife† was an ardent Taoist, and also an active enemy of the Confucianists. The Emperor himself, though no Confucianist, was sufficiently liberal-minded to listen to Confucian advice, and he would even have consented, at the recommendation of a Confucianist,‡ to a complete system of Confucian ancestral ceremonial being introduced (his father had left his work unfinished) had it not been for the uncompromising opposition of his wife.

After this noble emperor's death, his son§ ruled with sound sense; but according to unshakable ancient Chinese principle (still ruling at Peking, as we have seen in our own day) in strict subordination to the wishes of his mother|| so long as she lived. We are informed that he and all the members of his mother's family occupying official posts were, out of respect for her sentiments so much in favour of Laocius, obliged to study the works of that philosopher. We are also informed several times over in two different histories, and also several times in quite different connections of each same history, that the Empress-dowager possessed at least one copy of Laocius's original book; that she sent for a certain Confucian officer¶ in order to consult him about this book; and that he spoke to her of it in such contemptuous terms as "only good enough for a retainer" that she "ordered him to go and stick pigs in the corral," and expressed a "wish that I had a penal servitude law book to tackle you with for your pains." As the young

* Wên Ti, died 157 B.C.

† The Confucianist Kia I.

|| The Dowager Tou.

‡ Empress Tou.

§ King Ti, died 141 B.C.

¶ The Confucian Yüan Ku.

emperor secretly sympathized with the straightforwardness of the unfortunate Confucianist, his majesty secretly supplied him with a sharp spear, so that, to the Dowager's chagrin, he succeeded in killing the pig and saving his life. These quaint and rather inexplicable details, which appear to point to wild boar kept within the palace enclosure in readiness for the hunt, trivial though they may seem, point by their very detail to a true story. The "penal servitude" refers to forced labour at building the Great Wall, and keeping it in repair. But there is more ; the same Confucianist had had an argument in the Emperor's presence with a Taoist about whether a good man was authorized in deposing a bad emperor : " Then," said one of the disputants,* " if the ancient founders of the second and third hereditary dynasties were not justified in ejecting their evil *de jure* rulers as Confucius approves, then, by the same reasoning, the present Han dynasty was not justified in ejecting the First Emperor's son ?" The reply of the Emperor to this dangerous blow at the Confucianist doctrine well illustrates the manner of the times : " Come, come, gentlemen, a man does not avoid eating horse's liver because he does not know what the taste of good meat is like, nor is a *literatus* necessarily a fool because he avoids the delicate question of dynastic change in my presence. Enough of this talk !"

The cousin of the above emperor,† then reigning as vassal prince in the valley of the Hwai River, between the Yellow River and the Yangtsze, was a great collector of books. He had at his court a thousand or more of philosophers, alchemists, specialists, doctors, and so on, with whose assistance he composed and published a great Taoist and Cosmogonist work, which we still possess intact, and which quotes and illustrates, by parallels drawn mostly from Fighting States history, nearly a hundred passages, all

* Argument of the Taoist, Hwang Shêng.

† Liu Ngan, Prince of Hwai Nan, alias the legist-Taoist philosopher Vainancius.

commencing with the words, "hence Laocius said"; "Laocius" up to this date meaning the book of Laocius as well as the individual Lao Tan.* Vainancius alludes to him in one passage as Lao-tan (the posthumous name given to Laocius on account of his drooping ears) when he particularly wishes to speak of the individual. Vainancius is, of course, only the Latinized form of Hwai-nan, or "Southern Hwai (Valley)."

One of the sons† of the same witty emperor who made the caustic observations about horse-liver (supposed to be a very dangerous food to eat in summer), was even a more successful collector of books than his uncle or senior cousin, Vainancius; he also was a vassal prince, and his fief was in that part of modern Chih Li province still known by the then title of Ho-kien; the modern city of Hien, where the Ho-kien Jesuits have their headquarters now, is written exactly as the prince's name was written 2,000 years ago; it is distinctly stated that his collection of books and ancient authors was even more discriminating than that of Vainancius, that it vied with the collection at the emperor's court, and that it included copies of Laocius and Mencius in the ancient character, that is, in the character written in the (then already obsolete) script which had been in use before the destruction of literature in 213 B.C. In 150 B.C. a descendant of Confucius had discovered hidden inside a wall of the sage's house other classical books written in the same obsolete character, and had succeeded in deciphering the old system. It is not surprising, therefore, to find among the books officially recorded as having been at the imperial court (and apart from those at the vassal courts) in 10 B.C., three copies of Laocius, one already characterized as a *king*, or "recognized standard work," besides a copy of Laocius's pupil's‡ work

* Li Êrh, Lao Tan, Lao Kün, all names or soubriquets of the one man.

† Prince Hien of Ho-kien.

‡ Laocius's pupil Wên-tsz, who had studied under Confucius's pupil Tsz-hia.

(stated, however, to be not original thought, but probably a mere understudy of Laocius). There were also copies of the works of at least two of the Laocian writers who were with Mencius in the fourth century at the two vassal courts above alluded to. Finally, in A.D. 281, the celebrated "Bamboo Annals"* were unearthed from a tomb where they had been hidden ever since 299 B.C. These important ancient writings in varnish not only give the history of the identical vassal state where Mencius and the old Taoists were entertained, but enable us to ascertain for certain what liberties with dates and calendars had since been taken by the Confucian mutilators.

During the reign of the fifth Han emperor, great-grandson of the founder, practically the whole of China and its dependencies as now known to us was discovered and settled by the Chinese, including the Pamirs, Turkestan, the fringe only of Tibet, Corea, Japan (visited but not settled), Annam, Yün Nan, Mongolia, Manchuria, etc., etc. (these two last visited and partly overrun, but scarcely settled). The Laocian philosopher Vainancius was during this reign betrayed into ambitious indiscretions (owing to the Emperor's heir† having been judicially murdered), and, like his father before him, had committed suicide. The Laocian influence of the third emperor's widow continued for six years beyond the date of her son‡ the fourth emperor's death: she even caused two Confucianists, who once more tried to re-establish the full ceremonial and ancestral system, to commit suicide, as is related in at least ten different places in two standard histories; but although her superstitious grandson was inclined to believe in alchemy and charlatanry—even to make a sort of god of Laocius—he ended by adopting Confucianism in preference to Taoism, which by this time, thanks to the numerous philosophical quacks at court, had been somewhat dis-

* History of the State of Wei, later Liang, and of the State Tsin (Shan Si), from which it had been carved previous to promotion.

† Li T'ai-tsz, heir to Wu Ti. ‡ Dowager Tou and her son King Ti.

credited. This change was originally owing to the encroachment under the writers following Laocius,* and still more under the later Taoist writers, of hocus-pocus and spiritual mysticism upon the comparatively simple quietistic principles of Laocius himself.

There is not a single statement of fact in the above sketch that is not taken either from the first serious and independent official history of China, covering the whole period of antiquity (so far as known) down to 100 B.C., and published in 90 B.C.; or from the second history covering the period 240 B.C. to A.D. 25, and published about A.D. 90. The courage and the truthfulness of the earlier author,† who criticizes and quotes Laocius and his book repeatedly, may be gathered from the circumstances that it was found advisable by the court to suppress the original chapters treating of the fourth and fifth emperors, and that the author suffered the most cruel punishment at the hands of the fifth emperor; nominally, because he had recommended and defended a certain general‡ who was defeated by and went over to the Early Turks, but in reality because he criticized too freely the fifth emperor's credulity. These missing chapters, and eight other missing chapters, were supplied at about the date of putting the history together by another hand; but as not one of these inferior ten chapters says anything of Laocius, the true history of Taoism in no way suffers or falls under suspicion. Confucianist critics have not a word to say against the good faith of this distinguished author, or against the trustworthiness of his father before him, who really did most of the fact-collecting work; and their joint testimony is all the more valuable in that they criticize somewhat severely the father's manifest preference for Laocian over Confucian principles. The said father had studied the works of

* Lieh-tsz, or Licius, fifth century B.C., and Chwang-tsz, or Sancius fourth century B.C.

† Sz-ma Ts'ien, joint author with his father, Sz-ma T'an, of the "Shi Ki," or "Record of History."

‡ Li Ling, General.

Laocius under the identical Taoist* who argued with the fierce Confucian before the fourth emperor, and we are given a fairly complete list of the hands, anterior to that, through which the great work of Laocius passed generation by generation, and also of the hands through which the Book of Changes had passed up to the time of the accession of the Han dynasty. The father even pandered a little to the Emperor's credulity, and, in the end, died of grief because he was not allowed to assist at the Confucian worship of the Holy Mountain after the Taoist dowager's death. To prove the enormous strength of Laocius's doctrine up to this date, I may mention that one Taoist statesman† actually insisted on being buried naked and without coffin, in order that his elements might return to "Mother Earth" in accordance with the principles of Laocius's cosmogony.

I said when I first wrote this that on another occasion I hoped to amplify the above remarks, the immediate object of which was to suggest, and to insist that Laocius really was a historical personage; that he must have left sporadic writings before he wrote a concise book; that his book as we still have it is as nearly as possible what it originally was; that it merely sums up what everyone then knew to be his views; and that its existence also is an unmistakable historical fact; that neither the Book of Changes, nor Laocius's final book, which was largely based upon it, was ever condemned, or even lost; and that if copies of it were hidden, to be subsequently rediscovered, it was—on the same ground that other innocent books, also not on the condemned list, were—hidden and rediscovered, as we know they were—*i.e.*, owing to general timidity and nervousness as to what the tyrant really had condemned as mischievous. This is the view taken, of course, by the trustworthy and veteran sinologists, Dr. Legge, Dr. Faber, and Dr. Chalmers; their views are on record, and there is no reason whatever to believe, nor has any trustworthy

* Hwang Shêng.

† Taoist fanatic Yang Wang-sun, 130 B.C.

evidence ever been cited to show, that any one of the three ever in the least modified his views before he died.

One very distinguished sinologist, perhaps the only one who was then thoroughly conversant at first hand with the historical Chinese originals, and certainly the only one who always scrupulously produced the full evidence on both sides without picking and choosing—I allude to the late Professor Edouard Chavannes of Paris—went to great pains in order to prove that the very un-Laocian allusions to Lao-tan's words in the Book of Rites are superfetations made by the over-zealous Taoists of about A.D. 1 in order to bring their hero into the respectable company of Confucius. But all this learning, which, however, discloses no defect in acumen, and is of itself faultless, is unnecessary in view of the distinct statement made by the best Chinese critics in the best editions that the said four allusions made according to the Book of Rites by Confucius* and his pupil Cincius to Lao-tan “do not refer at all to Lao-tan the author of the 5,000 word book, but mean simply ‘old persons (have told me).’” Besides, if over-zealous Taoists had tampered with Confucian books at a time when Confucianism had ousted Taoism, the Confucianists would certainly have set such a fraud in its proper light. There is no evidence that Taoists did so. It is well known, and it is repeatedly stated—with examples given—in the double standard histories just referred to, that Confucius—and of course Mencius and all the leading Confucianists—carefully pruned all the works they published, edited, corrected, or compiled, in such a way as to exclude not only all direct allusion to the dreaded democrat, Laocius, but also all indirect and even the remotest, inferential allusion to any well-known Taoist expressions that might clash with the Confucian theory of divine right, royal prerogative, and caste privilege. Each party hated the other like poison; but it was political hate; no religious intolerance has ever

* The Li Ki of Confucius's disciples, as distinct from the Li, or Li King, the rites as known to Confucius himself.

existed in China, where the fuss we make about our precious skins or souls in a purely imaginary futurity is regarded as a sort of *graciosa locura*. Professor Chavannes, in his masterly translation of the castrated historian's great work,* had already himself once alluded to the Taoist empress-dowager's struggle with the Confucianists in 139 B.C. ; it so happens that the five annotated volumes of 2,000 pages, already in 1905 published by him, only allude this once to Laocius until we arrive at the chapter on Confucius ; and by a singular coincidence Professor Chavannes happens to have omitted that single allusion to Laocius from his otherwise almost perfect indexes, and has thus forgotten that a copy of Laocius existed in 139 B.C. But, as he went on with his admirable work, he will have discovered, and it is hoped the *Institut* will find funds to give to the world, the important proofs indicated above, and it will be seen that it is quite impossible to sustain the theory rashly and passionately advanced by some sinologists much less competent and trustworthy than himself, and partly accepted by himself when a student only just commencing his illustrious career at Peking, that the classic of Laocius was deliberately made up by forgeries in A.D. I from the works of Chwang-tsz, Vainancius, Han Fei-tsz, and other Taoist authors of the third, second, and first century B.C. Besides, Vainancius and Han Fei-tsz are officially classed as belonging to the "Eclectic" and "Penal" categories ; *not* as Taoist at all, although they *treat* of Taoism too.

Up to a thousand years after Laocius's death, there is only one single possible case in Chinese history of a competent native classical scholar expressing a doubt whether Laocius work was really written by himself, and even this case is only a possible one ; not a certain one. This author was Ts'ui Hao, himself a critic of the Han dynasty's history, and a statesman in the employ of a Tartar Emperor of the Wei dynasty when China was divided : he was put to death

* Only 47 out of the 120 chapters translated have been published.

in A.D. 450 for writing a true history of the dynasty's obscure Tartar origin. Curiously enough, this man was a disbeliever both in Buddhism and in the ancient Taoist philosophy, whilst at the same time he was a credulous believer in an impostor Taoist apostle, and in the corrupt Taoist charlatanry of his age. Like Laocius, he wrote a book at the request of his Taoist friend, but this book was to lay before that friend the full comparative history of Confucianism and Taoism. I myself unearthed and published this passage in the year 1885, and I said then what I am disposed to believe now, that the critic in question was not necessarily referring to the Laocian classic, but to the Taoist works usually lumped together as Chwang-lao (or as one edition has it, Lao-chwang)—*i.e.*, to the works of the two degenerate imitators of Laocius, namely, Sancius and Licius, in both of whose works there are portions which cannot possibly be historically accurate. Part of the sentence in question has been picked out to establish a contrary view, but the following important second part of the sentence has been omitted; the second part of the sentence runs in effect: "it may be truly said of such stuff, as was rightly stated by the courageous Confucianist to the Empress-Dowager in 139 B.C., that it was more suited to a retainer's satchel than to a royal court." Thus we see that even if in A.D. 440 a Confucian critic* (who was also a believer in corrupt Taoism), whilst condemning ancient Taoism, really meant to assert that Laocius did not really write the specific work assigned to him, he admitted that the work to which in A.D. 440 he alluded was exactly the same work that had existed in 139 B.C., and therefore, of course, that that work could not possibly have been forged in A.D. 1.

* Ts'ui Hao, died 450.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE EAST

BY STANLEY RICE

ALL great nations, obeying what would seem to be a law of human nature, have shown a desire for expansion in the hour of their prosperity. In earlier times the people willingly followed a great military leader—a Shalmaneser, a Rameses, a Genghiz Khan, or a Timur—who, whatever were his private ambitions, could at least promise them plunder and the excitement of battle. These early expeditions, however, could hardly be called colonies, and the earliest—or nearly the earliest—real colonization came from Greece when she reached the shores of Italy, and when Athens disastrously attempted to found a colony in Sicily. Later the Moors did establish in Spain the same kind of colony that Britain has established in India and in parts of Africa, and France in Indo-China and Algeria. It may seem strange to call the Moorish conquest a colonization, but after all it was a clash of brown and white, of Christian and Mussalman, with the parts as we know them to-day reversed. The Moors introduced Islam, Islamic culture, the Arabic language, and Moorish institutions exactly as Britain and France have introduced Christianity, Western culture, the national language, and national institutions into Asia and Africa. It is the inevitable law. At the end of the fifteenth century two events of supreme importance took place—Columbus discovered America and Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope. From that time onwards Western colonization received a new impetus and a new direction. At first the one idea was to milk the cow dry, and to force a special brand of religion upon a weaker people. Spain and Portugal led the way, the Spaniards west and the Portuguese east, and both followed the same lines. Cortes destroyed the Aztecs and their civilization, Pizarro the Incas and theirs, and the priests who followed them burnt in the truth of Christianity only too literally. Nor were the Portuguese more enlightened. The history

of those early days in Malabar and in China is full of iniquity, though doubtless it did not seem iniquity at the time. And all through there was a greed of gold which wrung from the subject peoples the uttermost farthing and left them miserable serfs. Then came the Dutch with a new outlook. The prosperity of the invading people depended upon commerce; trade was the main object, and if trade demanded a more humane government, so much the better for the subject people, provided always that trade was the primary and the common weal the secondary object.

By degrees these peoples declined, and with their decadence their colonies dwindled or vanished. The Spanish colonies threw off the Spanish yoke and incidentally brought down the Holy Alliance in ruins. Portugal, never equal to the weight of a great Colonial Empire, which demanded sea-power above all things, retired from or was pushed out of Asia, till nothing remained to her but a few fragments to serve as the tombstones of her grandiose ambitions. Holland retained some flourishing colonies, but as she declined in importance in Europe, so did her colonial empire keep pace with the mother country, and her colonies to-day are a worthy reflection of her industry and her position in Europe—small perhaps, but wealthy and prosperous—the fitting memorial of a tenacious people.

With the decline of the other European nations the way was open for England and France. England was first in the field, and by the end of the eighteenth century she had established herself in Canada and in India, while early in the nineteenth fear of the revolutionary power of France had taken her to South Africa on the one hand, and on the other the memorable voyage of Cook had given her Australia and New Zealand. All the French colonies—for in the case of both countries the smaller ones must be ignored here—date from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Like England, but unlike Germany, Spain, or Portugal, France did not deliberately seek to expand her Empire at the expense of a civilized and numerous coloured people, but, on the other hand, was as reluctant as was the Company in India to assume new burdens overseas. A stupid blow to a French representative—an imprudent shot fired upon a naval flag of truce—led eventually to the conquest of Algeria, but there was at first a strong party in France opposed to any permanent occupation of the country, and owing partly to this opposition and partly to a formidable resistance, it was not until 1848 that the French

administration was definitely established. In Indo-China history almost repeated the Florentine adventure of Charles VIII. On the advice of a French Bishop, one of the parties in a Civil War sought the help of France, which was given for a price. Naturally European help turned the scale. The French protégé was successful and leaned heavily on France during his reign ; but as happened in Italy, and has so often happened since, the intervening nation came to stay. One thing led to another, until France found herself either directly in possession or, under the guise of protectorate, the mistress, of vast territories of great potential wealth.

It is characteristic of both nations that while England set herself to the task of administration without any definite or conscious plan founded upon political theory, France approached her new responsibilities in the scientific and analytical spirit which is expressed in M. Etienne Richet's "*Le Problème Colonial*."* It is true that England has had to take note of much the same problems and is proceeding to their solution in much the same way, but the French analysis requires some notice because it suggests certain reflections upon the difference of treatment.

Colonies are of three kinds. There is, first, the colony proper, called the "*colonies de peuplement*," in which the aboriginal races have been entirely displaced by the invader, and an entirely new State has been built up upon the lines and traditions of the newcomers. The greatest colony of this kind is, of course, the United States, which, however, like the great Spanish American colonies, has outgrown the colonial stage, and has developed institutions differing from, but tracing back to, those of the mother country. But the same features are present in the great Dominions of the British Empire, although in the case of Canada and South Africa a previous invader of white stock remains side by side with the dominant people, and thereby influences and to some extent modifies the policy. The second category is divided into two branches. The original stock is not displaced, but, on the contrary, is numerically far superior to the dominant people. Such colonies, which include India, Indo-China, East Africa (Kenya), West and Central Africa, and the French North African Empire, are called "*colonies d'exploitation*" ; the laws, the policy, the administration are governed by the principle of adaptation to the needs, the customs, the prejudices, and the religions of the overwhelming majority

* "*Le Problème Colonial*," by Etienne Richet. (Paris : E. Larose.)

of the inhabitants. The dominant power is only there by the right of the stronger, and can only justify its position by a policy of development for the good of the world in general and of the country in particular, combined with an administration which is an improvement in greater or less degree upon that which it has supplanted. One branch of this category includes the higher civilizations, with India and Indo-China at their head; the other contains less developed peoples, who have not yet outgrown primitive beliefs and customs, or advanced beyond the tribal stage. The third kind of colony is new. It has sprung into existence under the theory of mandates. The superior kind of mandate, known as "A," definitely aims at self-government within a limited period. It contemplates tutelage only so long as the protected country cannot stand alone in competition, whether military, political, or economic, with the rest of the world. The second class (of which the third is really only a subsection) includes those countries in which the prospect of self-government is altogether absent, or is so remote that it does not fall within the sphere of practical politics. Thus the A and B mandates correspond to the two branches of our second main division, but with important differences. The mandate being granted by the League of Nations, the mandatory is under contract with the world; he cannot govern according to his own ideas or for his own profit, but only in accordance with the terms of his mandate. But trade follows the flag, because every trader will naturally go to those parts where his own language is spoken and his own institutions are understood; that, perhaps, is the value of a mandate, that and a certain prestige conferred upon the mandatory. The French report for the French Cameroons was almost apologetic in its defence of education in the French language, but there was no need for apology. The thing is inevitable, and it is because practice is bound to belie theory that contemptuous critics have called the mandate "camouflaged annexation."

It will have been observed that the difference in the problems presented to France and Britain is determined by one main factor, to which may be added the factor of geography. France possesses no "colonies de peuplement," but only "colonies d'exploitation." On the other hand, the British "colonies de peuplement" are of the first importance. But the main result of those possessions has been to create a different outlook. It was manifestly impossible, especially after the example of the North

American secession, to expect to keep such colonies as Canada and Australia for ever in tutelage, and since a possible self-government was clearly to be contemplated, the principle was, tacitly at any rate, accepted for these Dominions and New Zealand, and was applied as a matter of course to the Federated Dominion of South Africa almost as soon as it was formed. India, with her intelligence and her civilization, could not be left out of such a category without a clear differentiation on racial lines, but by common consent she had not attained the general level of education, nor had she fully grown into the traditions of Anglo-Saxondom. But the principle, as we know, remained. The French, on the other hand, have never held out the least hopes of real self-government. In pursuance of a certain line of policy, which is clearly indicated both in the book already quoted and in M. Regismanset's "*Le Miracle Français en Asie*,"* they have created advisory councils with limited powers, they have employed native officials, and have respected native customs, but always with the proviso that the sovereignty of France shall not be impaired in the least degree. M. Sarraut summed up the attitude in Indo-China thus: "*Si ma politique indigène admit parfaitement la nécessité de certaines assemblées consultatives, locales, composées d'indigènes élus par un suffrage indigène, dans la cité indigène, je dis très haut qu'elle n'entend pas favoriser une abdication plus ou moins dissimulée de notre souveraineté.*" And we may be sure that what is true of Indo-China is equally true of Algeria, where the troops form an integral and, in point of quality, by no means the least important part of the main French army.

The second or geographical factor leads us into the French theory of "assimilation" and "association," a certain hesitation between which has impeded the speedy development of French colonies. Algeria lay at no great distance from France, so that even before steam and electricity were harnessed to men's use the difficulty of administering the country directly from Paris was not insuperable, and, in the event of resistance to French authority, troops could be rushed across in a comparatively short time. In Indo-China, although French intervention had taken place even before the outbreak of the Revolution, it was not until 1862 that French authority was definitely established in the peninsula. It was therefore not

* "*Le Miracle Français en Asie*," by Charles Regismanset. (Editions G. Crès et Cie.)

unnatural that the "*politique d'assimilation*" was first applied to Algeria and then by analogy to Indo-China. It would seem that as keen a contest once raged between the adherents of the rival policies, as has raged in England the contest over Free Trade and Protection; but in England itself, partly owing to geography, partly to the national apathy in political theories, there never was any contest at all. The English colonies, established before steam and electricity were heard of, were too far away to be satisfactorily governed from England, and the memorable attempt to force an unpopular measure upon unwilling colonists had ended in the greatest disaster in all English military history. True, it became necessary to interfere in India because it was recognized that a trading company whose preoccupation was profits could not rule uncontrolled with advantage to the country, but otherwise the policy was perforce left largely to the man on the spot whom orders could not reach in any reasonable time.

And, since the terms are never used in England, it is perhaps necessary to explain what they mean. The "*politique d'assimilation*," then, is a policy of gradually evolving a State into the likeness of the "colonizing" or, if you will, victor Country by the suppression, modification, or transformation of native customs and the introduction of foreign ideas in their place. It is a policy of conformity to type. The "*politique d'association*" aims rather at the setting up of a new form of government in which the foreigner absorbs the native institutions and merely improves upon them, at the same time "*associating*" with the Government—the word is used in the preamble to the Government of India Act—the natives of the country trained to bear the responsibility of administering the laws thus adapted to special needs. In actual practice neither policy can be adopted to the exclusion of the other. No one has ever supposed that we could, even if we would, reshape India on the model of England: that we never tried, let the Land Revenue system alone bear witness. But again let the system of justice bear witness that some degree of assimilation is inevitable. We in India appoint Indian judges to try cases under the Hindu and Muhammadan law; that is pure association. But we also expect them to try cases according to a procedure, according to a code, according to conceptions of commercial justice which are absolutely English, and are no more French, German, or Spanish than they are Hindu or Mussalman. The same process appears to have been going on in the French colonies, with

this difference, that, whereas the whole structure of Government in India differs from that of England, and has been more or less copied in later tropical colonies, the French appear to have started with the conscious idea of assimilation, and by centralizing the Government as far as possible, to have insured that the political structure shall be modelled upon that of France. Both M. Richet in his theoretical treatise and M. Regismanset in his work on Indo-China are strenuous advocates of the "politique d'association" which now appears to be generally accepted in France. But it cannot be, as was pointed out, an unmixed policy, for where a nation is faced with new conditions, it is bound to meet them on lines approved nationally. That is why we have a kind of double thread running through the whole warp of Indian administration, not consciously so woven, but arising automatically from the needs of the case—a double thread of English customs and English laws, side by side with the customs and laws native to the country, be they Hindu or Mussalman. That is why our logical French friends, however much they may analyze, have found themselves compelled to do exactly the same thing in Indo-China. For that it is exactly the same thing M. Regismanset's summary of Indo-Chinese administration shows quite clearly. French laws, French police, French economic conceptions are superimposed upon a stratum of native laws, native customs, native institutions. As they found the material so they had to work upon it without seriously disturbing the foundations upon which the whole social structure stands. They, too, had to train the people in the French language, in the French conception of justice, of economics, of finance, before they could seriously enter upon a policy of association.

The French idea of colonization, then, has changed direction. The original conception, as M. Pierre Lyautey* shows in his brilliant study, "*Le Drame Oriental*," was one of trade and commerce, qualified by and even subordinated to a great diplomacy which sought to maintain the balance of power by raising up for itself one or other ally on the flank of some potential enemy. The French control of the Levant was directed to the mastery of the Mediterranean, and with it the trade routes to the East. There was no conscious idea either of colonization or of Empire. They perceived, even if dimly and as yet upon what is now universally admitted to be a false basis of political economy,

* "*Le Drame Oriental*," by Pierre Lyautey. (Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales.)

that the road to power lay through wealth, and they laid their plans accordingly. But these plans were ruined by one event and the whole policy was changed by another. The maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century neutralized the importance of the Mediterranean, and delivered the trade, which then as now depended so largely upon the means of transport, into the hands of the nations who dominated the ocean. The Levantine trade languished; indeed, it never recovered, and the heroic efforts of Colbert only succeeded in galvanizing it into a spurious and spasmodic renaissance. But there was another reason which dictated French policy in the East. With the accession of Charles V., and the consequent unification of Austria and Spain under one crown, France was confronted from the east and south-west by the two most powerful nations on the Continent of Europe. Spain and Austria were indeed the only two countries that counted. Russia had not yet emerged from the barbaric state; Holland and Belgium were vassals of Austria and Spain, and only added to the "einkreisung" of France. The short-lived day of Sweden was yet to come, while Germany and Italy were too divided to be counted upon either as friends or as potential enemies. There remained Poland and Turkey, and of these the Turks promised at first to be the most valuable. Francis made an alliance with them with the evident intention of establishing himself upon the flank of Austria, for the Turks of that day by threatening Vienna must immobilize troops otherwise available against France. Thus was laid, to the scandal of Europe, the traditional policy of France to guard her eastern frontier by offering a threat to the possible enemy through alliances, understandings, and the diplomatic use of French prestige. And when Prussia and Russia took the place of Austria, it became more necessary than ever to cultivate the goodwill of Turkey, especially when Poland disappeared for a space from the map of Europe. Unfortunately, whether through diplomatic blundering, through superior Teutonic wiles, or through the Turkish desire to worship what they supposed was the rising sun, the preponderating influence in Turkey, both of England and of France, passed to the Germans, and the prestige of both nations has only lately advanced again through the English mandate for Palestine and Irak and the French mandate for Syria.

The mandate in Syria has, in fact, brought France face to face with a problem which she had not hitherto encountered in her own colonies. In Algeria implicitly, and in

Indo-China explicitly, she has declared that she has no intention of tolerating the slightest diminution of her ultimate sovereignty. But by the mandate she has undertaken to educate the Syrians in the path of self-government. She has not found the task an easy one. The revolt of Asia against European domination, which was so largely brought about by the unprecedented rise of Japan, spread to India and thence to other Asiatic countries, to Persia, to Palestine, to China, to Egypt, which may be reckoned Asiatic for every reason except that of geography. Syria was naturally no exception. France has had her difficulties there, as England has had hers in Palestine, and it is only the comparatively helpless position of both countries that has prevented national aspirations from rising to Indian heights. It is probably for the same reason, coupled with the open northern frontier which distinguishes it so sharply from the Indian peninsula with its northern Himalayan barriers, that the people of Indo-China have hitherto contented themselves with an inflammatory press, and with the expression of a desire to participate more closely in the administration of which M. Regismanset speaks.

And after all, if the nations of Asia are to be led forward in the way of progress upon European lines, it is to England and to France that they must look, for England and France alone among the nations of the earth remain as the great colonial peoples. It is no doubt very soothing to the national sentiment that the Pope wrote in 1898: "*La France a en Orient une mission à part que la Providence lui a confiée: noble mission qui a été consacrée non seulement par une pratique séculaire mais par des traités internationaux.*" The writers whose works we have been discussing may seem to foreign readers to strike too freely a note of self-complacency; it is a note which is easily forgiven because it is to be found in the works of British writers obsessed by the same national pride. Just as a certain class in England cannot understand why Indians cannot be content to let well alone, and to be grateful for the undoubted benefits of British rule, so M. Lyautey is shocked that anyone should think of rejecting or even questioning the benevolent despotism which France has offered. It is nothing short of treason to M. Lyautey that one of the Syrian chiefs should have wished to "sicken France of Syria and Syria of France." The answer is plain in both cases. If General Gouraud can be sent to Syria with the words: "*Vous serez le grand soldat qui*

créera en Orient un foyer français," Syria replies that she does not want a "foyer français," as Indian extremism cries out that India would fain be quit of the British. We may assure M. Grousset, who in his work, "*Le Réveil de l'Asie*,"* has discussed the question with an evident pre-occupation, that the awakening of Asia, if the term must be used, is due to quite other causes than British imperialism, British brutality, and British stupidity, and it is to be feared that if he still holds that opinion, and is not yet free from the obsession which appears to be born of disappointment upon the Rhine and of jealousy in the Near East, he has studied the world movement of Asia to very little effect. It is probable that a more mature reflection will convince him that the view he has taken is too narrow, and that it needed more than British folly to transform Asia from an almost servile contentment to a flaming discontent.

There is in truth much to admire in the achievement of France in the East, even though the unemotional foreigner may not care to indulge in the superlative of a "miracle." Our French writers themselves admit that much remains to be done, especially in the direction of the development of commerce in such comparatively young colonies. But the unemotional foreigner can hardly subscribe to the claim that France above all nations is dowered with the gift of colonization, that she, acting upon her principles of the Revolution, has given to the world all those liberal ideas of the rights of peoples by which modern conceptions of the good administration of alien and subject countries are governed, and that she by her "*élite intellectuelle, une des gloires d'humanité*," possesses more than any other nation the attractive force which can evolve a modern State out of the primitive material of coloured peoples. The doubt is prompted by no national pride, but by the consideration that every nation has something to give to and something to learn from others. France can well profit by our mistakes and she can well learn from our successes, as we can from hers. For in truth the problems are the same. Our fundamental conceptions of colonial administration are the same. Starting from different motherlands, a considerable divergence of detail was to be expected; the wonder is that amidst so many conflicting theories the results, too, have been almost identical. The Pax Britannica has its counterpart in the "*paix française*"; the "*bienveillance*" of France is matched by the "*be-*

* "*Le Réveil de l'Asie*," by René Grousset. (Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.)

nignity" of British rule, which until very recently was the constant theme of most Hindus. Let us, then, march boldly forward, hand in hand, undeterred by the momentary disagreements of European policy, which have so little to do with our great colonial work. Let each of us acknowledge with gratitude the successes of the other that lead us on to, and be generous towards the failures that keep us back from, the great goal. In colonial policy France and England together must be the exemplar for the world, and in this domain, if in no other, must the Entente Cordiale be and remain a living reality.*

* It is a great pleasure to find that the weighty voice of General Weygand emphasizes this point (*The Times*, November 22, 1924).

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

LORD MINTO: A MEMOIR. By John Buchan. (London: *Nelson*.) 1924.
£1 1s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR MALCOLM C. SETON, K.C.B.)

ALL readers of Lord Morley's fascinating volumes of "Reminiscences" who were specially interested in Indian affairs must have felt that there was another side to the story set out in the letters written by the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy. It was impossible to believe that all the wisdom was concentrated in Whitehall, and the publication of one side of the correspondence roused curiosity as to the way in which the elder statesman's admonitions were met by the man on the spot. Now we have, if not the full story, at least enough of it to establish firmly Lord Minto's reputation for shrewdness and common sense. Mr. Buchan handles this part of his material with skill and judgment. As he says, Lord Morley's "occasional pedagogic tone, as if instructing a promising pupil," does not give "a fair conception of the relations between the two men." No one, of course, could maintain that they were at the same intellectual level, but they were discussing and co-operating in matters in which pure intellect could not cover the whole field. It was a strange partnership, and perhaps the strangest thing about it was the large measure of success that it attained. *A priori*, few things could have been more unlikely than that the elderly, austere Radical, who in turning from literature to politics had not by any means shed the characteristics of the literary man, and the genial soldier, who had first established a reputation as a brilliant gentleman-jockey, had knocked about the world as war-correspondent and volunteer campaigner, and had, somewhat unreflectingly, adopted the general political views current in his own set, should have found themselves in essential agreement on Indian problems. But so it was. Mr. Buchan shows that Lord Minto counted for a great deal in the "Morley-Minto Reforms," and that he was not afraid to suggest innovations which occasionally startled the Secretary of State.

It is to this third portion of the Memoir, dealing with Lord Minto's Indian Viceroyalty, that readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will most naturally turn. But Mr. Buchan has succeeded in making a real unity of his subject's life. Himself a son of the Borders, he sketches with affectionate interest the story of the Border Elliots, a family of stark fighters that did not much emerge from local politics (of a very forcible kind) until after the Union of the Crowns, and then, strangely enough, made its way to eminence chiefly by the successful practice of the Law. From Border-warrior to Whig lawyer-politician is a long step. The fourth Lord Minto threw back in some ways to his more distant ancestry: he was emphatically an

open-air man, and he could see the Pathan point of view when he came to study the problems of the Indian Border. His early life, for all his popularity at Eton and Cambridge and in the larger world, gives one the impression of indecision, of desiring to serve his country but not seeing the way. Joining the Scots Guards, he left the army very young, and having sent in his papers, spent years trying (with considerable success) to get back to the life of the camp. He was a very keen and energetic volunteer; he watched the Carlist and the Turco-Russian Wars on the spot (though he did not, as Lord Morley wrote, fight for the Turks), and served as a volunteer in Roberts's Afghan Campaign and the second Red River Campaign (1885), little guessing that he was to return both to Canada and to India as Governor-General, though Sir John Macdonald prophesied the former event. He almost decided to join the ill-fated Cavagnari's staff at Kabul. In 1891, at the age of forty-six, he succeeded to the earldom. Three years later he was tempted by the offer of the post of Military Secretary to Lord Loch in South Africa, and in 1898 was appointed Governor-General of Canada. Has any other man, within five years, been offered a Military Secretaryship and an actual Viceroyalty? To Canada he went as, politically, an untried man, though he had unsuccessfully stood for a Parliamentary seat in 1885, and after his accession to the peerage had taken some part in the debates of the Upper House. But his success in Canada was unquestionable, and it was a success won in rather difficult circumstances. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Ministry was not easy to handle, with Mr. Chamberlain at the Colonial Office pressing for a greater advance in Imperial solidarity than a Cabinet largely dependent on French-Canadian support was willing to make. The South African War, raising, as was inevitable, the question of Canadian participation in Imperial wars, tested the skill and judgment of the Governor-General. Mr. Buchan's Canadian chapters tell the story of a crucial stage in Dominion history. Minto showed himself a correct Constitutional Governor, but he was far more than a figure-head. He liked Sir Wilfrid Laurier, though he was often disappointed by his political actions, and, without infringing on Ministers' rights, he succeeded (without any advertisement) in getting several important things done which the Canadian politicians would not, if unprompted, have stirred a finger to do. Thus, when the offer of the Indian Viceroyalty came in 1905, Minto was an administrator of proved practical capacity. He was the third Indian Viceroy with Canadian experience, and no doubt he, like Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne, found that, dissimilar as are the conditions of office, the existence of mutual racial diversity, with the obvious political results, teaches a Governor-General of Canada lessons that will serve him well in India. (It is remarkable, perhaps, that no one man has as yet governed South Africa and India.) And, like Lord Elgin and Lord Hardinge, he was the direct descendant of a former Governor-General of India. Mr. Buchan has treated the Indian Viceroyalty skilfully, and if his book will not add very much (except as regards the personal relations between Lord Minto and Lord Morley) to the knowledge of students of Indian affairs, it will tell the general public much that they did not know, but ought to

know. He explains clearly the occasion and the nature of the reforms. But he does not bring out the fact that the two statesmen quite obviously achieved, though Lord Morley at least disclaimed any such intention, the introduction of Parliamentary institutions into India. And he omits to notice that by making this great political change without providing for any marked increase in the Indian membership of the public services, the reformers were inevitably adding to the difficulties of their successors. It is easy to be wise after the event, but the political changes of 1920 would have gone far more smoothly if they had found a larger proportion of educated Indians in possession of practical administrative experience.

A HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN INDIA, BURMA, AND CEYLON.
Eleventh Edition. With eighty-five maps and plans. (London:
John Murray. Albemarle Street. Calcutta: *Thacker, Spink and Co.*)
1924.

(Reviewed by Sir CHARLES MACLEOD.)

"Murray's Handbook" for India and adjacent countries needs no special recommendation to the public, which many years ago learned to appreciate its value as a *vade-mecum* for the traveller. Originally appearing in parts, of which the earliest was published in the year following the transfer of the administration of India from the East India Company to the Crown, it developed into a single volume, embracing the whole of India, in 1892, and has been revised and republished ten times since that date. The present edition, which is the eleventh, has been revised and brought up to date by Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., who has been fortunate in securing assistance in his task both from individuals with expert knowledge of India, Burma, and Ceylon, and from officials and public departments in all parts of those countries. In consequence every page of the text has been submitted to the scrutiny of experts, new maps have been prepared, the latest statistics have been inserted, and the very useful directory at the end of the book, which also serves as an index, has been provided with the latest information on all matters likely to appeal to the sightseer and traveller.

In respect of a work which so manifestly bears the impress of careful study, criticism must necessarily be confined to a few minor points. Thus the statement on page lii of the introduction that the "Sunni Muhammadans and almost all the Muhammadans in other nations acknowledge the spiritual headship of the Sultan of Turkey" seems to conflict both with actual facts and with the statement on the following page regarding the recent abolition of the Sultanate and Khalifate. The Sunni Muhammadans of India, it is true, still profess a sentimental attachment to the exiled Osmanli ruler, but are actually in the position of sheep without a shepherd, and none can at present foretell to whom they will ultimately pay reverence as Commander of the Faithful.

On page lxxv occurs the statement that "Salivahana was a king who reigned in the south of India. The Saka era dates from his birth, A.D. 78." It is now generally understood by students of the early history of India

that Salivahana was not the name of an individual ruler, but the title of the powerful dynasty known as the Andhras, whose original territory comprised the Telugu-speaking country. It is also probable that the Saka era, commencing A.D. 78, had nothing to do with the Andhras, but was founded by Kadphiser II., the Kushan ruler of Taxila in northern India.

Lastly, on page 474, in the description of the old palace of the Peshwas at Poona, some reference might have been made to the recent excavations, carried out under the orders of Sir George Lloyd, which have disclosed the gardens of the palace, with their fountains and elaborate system of irrigation.

These minor criticisms in no wise detract from the value of the work. The list of routes, including the detailed description of every place of interest thereon, together with the very practical directory at the end of the volume, would alone suffice to commend it to the travelling public.

THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA. By Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.Litt.
(Oxford University Press: *Humphrey Milford*.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.)

Apart from a brief introduction there is little in this work that is new, for it is a collection of contributions to periodical literature appearing over a range of fifteen or sixteen years in missionary and secular reviews in America and this country and also in India. Though this method of book-making has inevitable drawbacks, notably that of a repetition of ideas, the work is to be welcomed as giving the conclusions, and the processes by which they were reached, of a close and accomplished student of Indian life and thought in all its aspects. From his vantage ground at Poona this Presbyterian missionary has watched with sympathetic interest the development of Indian Nationalism, and has studied the literature, ancient and modern, of the country, and more particularly of Maharastra.

It is interesting to compare the article on the political situation in 1908 with that on the outlook of 1923. Mr. Macnicol has been well ahead of the average British resident in India in his desire to meet the political aspirations of the people. He was not favourably impressed by the Morley-Minto reforms. He wrote at the time that the whole spirit and desire of awakened India was to weld its diverse peoples into one, and that reforms that bestowed, with however much parade, only the shadow and not the substance of authority could quicken no enthusiasm. In 1923 he lamented the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, and suggested that he could work a work of reconciliation—an expectation which has not been fulfilled by the course of events since the Mahatma's release. Mr. Macnicol's continual plea, as befits his vocation, is for mutual regard and understanding and the elimination of race antagonism. He declares that non-co-operation has failed, that repression has failed and will fail, and that it is time for India's sake for all concerned to return to sanity and co-operate with one accord for the nation's good.

The greater part of the collection is devoted to the study of Hindu religious ideas, and here the author is more critical. He writes that the Hindu ideal of a holy life does not create the strength of purpose, the

steadfastness of character, the enthusiasm for humanity that India so grievously needs if her Augean stables are ever to be cleansed. He sees India's greatest degradation in the spirit of indifference that has left the masses ignorant and oppressed. But he dreams dreams of a regenerated India at the feet of the Master to whose service his own life has been devoted. One of his most interesting chapters compares the religious outlook and emphasis of such notable Indian Christians as Pandita Ramabai, the Rev. N. V. Tilak, and Sadhu Sunder Singh with the conceptions of the West. He holds that such Indians must reassure the most fearful and unbelieving of observers as to the rich promise that lies hid within the Indian soul.

EGYPTIAN MUMMIES. By G. Elliot Smith and Warren R. Dawson. With woodcuts by A. Horace Gerrard and K. Leigh-Pemberton, and other illustrations. (London: *George Allen and Unwin Ltd.*) 1924. Pp. 190. 25s. net.

All lovers of English literature know to what sonorous eloquence the thought of a mummy inspired Sir Thomas Browne. Had he but known as much as we moderns concerning the history of mummification, one can well imagine what yet more resounding periods the knowledge might have evoked. For mummies, in modern times often no more than a bait for morbid curiosity, were of immense importance in the development of Egyptian culture. As the authors of this valuable monograph insist, the care of the dead and the funerary cult were at the very centre of Egyptian life and directly influenced not only the religion but even the art and thought and literature of the country. Nay more, if we follow Professor Elliot Smith in his theory of the spread of culture, the importance of the mummy is yet further increased; and we get a vision of much of the world's civilization resting upon the corpse of a dead Pharaoh. This is, however, to consider too curiously. Professor Elliot Smith has strong arguments in his armoury, but they are not conclusive, and many scholars of the highest competence reject his theory. It is sufficient to recognize the importance of mummification in Egypt, and it is a little surprising that we have had to wait so long for an authoritative work on the subject. An exhaustive treatment of it we shall, indeed, hardly find in this volume. Many aspects of the subject are but slightly sketched, and the authors not infrequently rather throw out hints for further investigators than attempt a final settlement of the problems treated; but they do cover the whole field at least in outline, and their work is likely for some time to be the standard authority on Egyptian mummies. Professor Elliot Smith is well known as the highest authority on the subject, and Mr. Dawson has for several years devoted himself to the study of Egyptian antiquities and particularly of science and medicine. The authors indicate the many uncertainties which beset various questions, uncertainties largely due to the indifference shown by excavators to the problems of mummification and the consequent destruction of evidence, but their decisions, whether subsequent research prove them right or wrong, are always the fruit of knowledge and careful research.

The volume is not only an extremely valuable summary of existing knowledge concerning the actual process of mummification, but contains much incidental matter of interest. This is particularly true of the tantalizingly brief chapter on mummies in their relation to medicine; and we get striking sidelights on history, as in the evidence for the death of Seknenrē (p. 85), or on social customs, as in the tragedy of the "girl who took the wrong turning" (p. 129 *f.*).

The book begins with an introductory chapter in which the origin, development and cultural significance of mummification are briefly sketched. Then comes an account of the ordinary funeral and its ceremonies, after which are quoted and discussed first the Egyptian texts which relate to embalming, and second the Greek evidence. A series of chapters follows in which the development of the art is traced in detail, with careful descriptions of typical or exceptional mummies, and at the end are treated such subjects as the coffins and mummy cases, the methods of bandaging, the use of amulets, and the medical evidence. In two appendices are given, first, an account of the robberies in the royal tombs, and, second, a useful list of kings of the seventeenth to the twentieth dynasties, with remarks on their tombs and mummies. The utility of the volume is increased by an index.

As an appendix to the interesting discussion of the Egyptian evidence, I may mention that the British Museum has just acquired a valuable Demotic contract relating to mummification, my knowledge of which I owe to Sir Herbert Thompson. It is a contract between some *hher-hebs* (ἡρῆεβς) by which the first party transfers to the second the rights in the embalming of a dead man; the date is the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy Philometor. Prices for the various stages in the process are elaborately specified, and it is interesting to find that there is a reference to "mourning on the thirty-fifth day, the day of burial (coffining)," whereas the usual period, at least in earlier times, was seventy days.* It is to be hoped that Sir Herbert Thompson will find an opportunity ere long of publishing this text, with a translation.

There are many illustrations, which are excellently produced; but, as several reviewers have remarked, it is to be regretted that in a scientific work photographs were not given throughout rather than woodcuts.

H. I. BELL.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Volume II.: The Egyptian and Hittite Empires. (Cambridge University Press.) 35s. net.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the merits of the second volume of the "Cambridge Ancient History," still less to summarize its contents appropriately in a short review. It begins with the sixteenth century before

* I take this opportunity of correcting a slip of my own in a translation of a Greek papyrus furnished to the authors (p. 64). For "Song (? dirge)" should be substituted "honey"; the Greek is no doubt to be corrected to μέλι.

Christ and brings the events down to about 1000 B.C. The first chapter treats of the peoples of Asia Minor, the second of the peoples of Europe, including Great Britain. As a matter of course it is not history in the strict sense of the word that the reader has to expect in reading these and one or two later chapters of the book. Much more detailed is the account of Egypt and of Assyria—filling the chapters iii. to x., among which the one on Life and Thought in Egypt, treating on Religion, Law, Science, and Literature, is of peculiar interest to the reader in general. In the two following chapters (xi. and xii.) on the Hittites and other peoples of the Levant, we are chiefly introduced to questions of ethnology and of archæology. The two next chapters give us a later aspect of the history of Israel, in which we have to unlearn most of what is familiar to us, but without getting in return much more than the bare foundations of a problematic new edifice. So, to some readers, it may be not without a feeling of relief to turn to the last two chapters of the book, in which the present state of research about the earliest history of Greece is expounded with great lucidity: Crete and Mycenæ, the Trojan War and Homer and Hesiod; the Religion and Mythology of the Greeks forming the subject of the concluding chapter. To these numerous chapters are added fifteen maps and a few plans. At the end is a bibliography and a full index, so that this History may serve at the same time as an encyclopædia indispensable to the student of the origin and development of civilization in East and West.

J. P. R.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

MEMORIES AND ADVENTURES. By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Illustrated. (London: *Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd.*) 20s. net.

SPARKS AMONG THE STUBBLE. By Constance Elizabeth Maud. With portraits. Foreword by the Bishop of Kensington. (London: *Philip Allan and Co., Quality Court.*) 10s. 6d. net.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS' STORIES. By Lilian Dalton. Illustrated by Dorothy Newcomb. (*George G. Harrap and Co.*)

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD.)

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has conveyed more information in his one-page preface to "Memories and Adventures" than many writers succeed in imparting in a whole volume, and every one of its 400 odd pages thrills with energy and enterprise.

His almost unique gift of story-telling enables him to relate his own life history with startling vividness, frankness, and detachment. Free from the tiresome, deadening form of pride that apes humility, he extends to himself and his surroundings the same sympathy, admiration, and fair-minded criticism accorded to all persons and subjects coming under his observation. Unflinching and interested himself, he never fails to interest his readers, who follow him breathlessly through a career which his own balanced judgment declares could hardly be exceeded for variety and romance. "I have known," he writes,

"what it was to be a poor man . . . what it was to be fairly affluent. I have sampled every kind of human experience . . . known many of the most remarkable men of my time. I have had a long literary career after a medical training that gave me the M.D. of Edinburgh . . . tried my hand at very many sports, including boxing, cricket, billiards, motoring, football, aeronautics and ski-ing, having been the first to introduce the latter for long journeys into Switzerland. I have travelled as doctor to a whaler for seven months in the Arctic and afterwards on the West Coast of Africa . . . have seen something of three wars—the Soudanese, the South African, and the German. My life has been dotted with adventures of all kinds. Finally, I have been constrained to devote my latter years to telling the world the final result of thirty-six years' study of the occult, and in endeavouring to make it realize the overwhelming importance of the question.

In its pursuit Sir Arthur, generally accompanied by his devoted wife and family, has already travelled more than 50,000 miles, addressed 300,000 people, and in addition to all his other work, has written seven books on the subject, therefore it is dealt with very briefly in the volume under review, the outstanding value of which lies in its wealth of biographical details, for the early days of the creator of "Sherlock Holmes" are little known.

He was born in Edinburgh, of distinguished Irish Catholic parentage on both sides, and like many other eminent men owed much to his gifted mother.

Even as a child he was a stark fighter and rejoiced in battle. "Oh, Arthur, what a dreadful eye you have got!" exclaimed his gentle little mother. To which he replied: "You just go across and look at Eddie Tullock's eye!"

Spartan at home, on account of straitened circumstances, his boyhood was yet more. Spartan at school, where a tawse-brandishing school-master rendered the lives of his young charges miserable. At ten years of age he was sent to Hodder, where he spent two comparatively happy years preparatory to passing on to Stonyhurst. There again the life

"was Spartan, and yet we had all that was needed. Dry bread and hot well-watered milk was our frugal breakfast. There was a 'joint' and twice a week a pudding for dinner . . . 'bread and beer' in the afternoon . . . finally there was hot milk again, bread, butter, and often potatoes for supper. We were all very healthy on this *régime*, with fish on Fridays. Everything in every way was plain to the verge of austerity, save that we dwelt in a beautiful building, dined in a marble-floored hall with minstrels' gallery, prayed in a lovely church, and generally lived in very choice surroundings as far as vision and not comfort was concerned."

Here, too, corporal punishment was so severe that it about reached "the limit of human endurance." A. C. D. came in for a full share. He went out of the way to do outrageous things simply to show that his spirit was unbroken. "I deserved all I got for what I did," he admits, "but I did it because I was mishandled." When he told one of the masters that he thought of being a civil engineer, he remarked, "Well, Doyle, you may be an engineer, but you will never be a civil one."

He passed the Matriculation examination of the London University with honours at the age of sixteen, and, being too young to begin his professional studies, spent yet another year with the Jesuits at Feldkirch, where, meeting with more kindness than at Stonyhurst, the "resentful young rebel" became a pillar of law and order.

The story of his subsequent struggles for a physical livelihood and mental and spiritual enfranchisement has all the fascination of a thrilling romance, with the additional attraction that it is "all real," as the children say, so that one is inclined to envy those readers who have such a treat still ahead of them.

The publishers of "Sparks among the Stubble" are to be congratulated on having issued one of the most inspiring volumes of the year. It consists of seven biographical sketches, in almost all cases drawn from life. In his brief foreword the Bishop of Kensington tells us that the writer has earned our gratitude for giving us the clue to the influence that each of these Shining Ones exerted in such diverse fields, for the light of all their seeing was "the Vision of that Love to which the Spirit of Truth is ever leading the children of men."

The following quotations from the author's preface will best place the reader in possession of the spirit that guided Constance Elizabeth Maud in her selection of these truly "cosmic souls," who are yet too near our own time to be rightly appraised.

"Of certain blessed men and women it is written in the *Book of Wisdom*, 'They shall shine.' In this dim and troubled world 'they shall shine and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble.'

"As 'one star differeth from another in glory' so the light they radiate varies in kind and in degree. One thing, however, which they possess in common besides their shining attribute . . . namely, the transmuting quality of Love. They are the out-givers, never weighing more than the Sun himself, what they receive in return. Some of them see this earth-life always in its relation to a future existence . . . the undying spirit within man, being for them the only real man.

"Others 'run to and fro like sparks among the stubble,' without being able to see any indication of the field beyond, or the garnered grain, or the Lord of the Harvest—they are content just to fulfil the Law of Love.

* * * * *

"Whatever their vocation, whether their lives are devoted to their country's service, to science, religion, teaching, literature, or art, the light of the Shining Ones gleams through all they do or say. Even when there is 'neither speech nor language, their voices are heard among us,' and the radiance they shed around them can be both seen and felt, long after their bodily presence is withdrawn."

Basil Wilberforce (the Torchbearer), the first of the series, was, we are told, one "of the spiritual Order of St. George" who felt it his duty to hunt out and slay dragons wherever he found them lurking. His various missions took him far afield, to the East and the West, to India and to America, and his comprehensive mind embraced the most ancient know-

ledges and the newest faiths. Like all great teachers he was fond of enforcing a point through an anecdote. Once, in illustrating cure by suggestion, he told how a doctor friend in India had sent written diagnoses and instructions to two patients—one was to have two months' holiday in the hills, the other had best take the first steamer home, as his condition of health was serious.

Some days later the man he had sent to the hills was in bed with a temperature and badly affected heart.

"What's the meaning of this? Why are you not off to the hills?" asked the doctor.

"Off to the hills! You told me to take the next steamer home, but I doubt if I'll live to reach home!" moaned the patient.

"Good Lord! You've had the wrong letter! Get up at once," laughed the doctor. And the cure began from that moment.

"Meanwhile the other man wrote from the hills to say he was getting rapidly well. How wise had been the diagnosis of his case—how right the advice!"

Agnes Weston (the Mother of the Navy) will be read with delight wherever a British ship has sailed or a British sailor has landed.

Abdul Baha (Servant of the Glory), *César Franck (Musician of the Great War)*, *Mistral (Poet-patriot of Provence)*, "*Ma*" *Slessor of Calabar*, and *W. T. Stead (a great Peacemaker)* conclude this series of carefully drawn sketches, each unique in its way, and carrying its own special appeal.

There is but space for one delightful anecdote, not hitherto published, as to the meeting between "The Servant of the Glory" and the "Great Peacemaker."

"I have preached Bahai doctrine, but I have added to it a truth which Baha Ullah failed to give the world," said W. T. Stead eagerly, and blissfully regardless of the somewhat delicate ground on which he was venturing in his walking boots.

"What truth is that?" inquired Abdul Baha, alert, and, it must be admitted, somewhat surprised.

"The truth of actual present communication between dwellers on earth and our loved ones who have passed on to the other side."

* * * * *

"Abdul Baha, with infinite gentleness, explained that in his opinion the average man needed all his energies concentrated on an actively holy life, and a danger lay in emphasizing too much the unseen world around him, though he himself was vividly conscious of the reality of the Unseen, and knew as an experienced fact that 'all religions are based on inspiration from the Unseen.'

"You have this personal experience," W. T. Stead took him up quickly, 'but see how, like the priest of all ages, you would keep the pearl of great price in your own hands . . . you allow no access to truth except through certain prescribed channels.'

"Meat is for strong men, not bakes," replied Abdul Baha. 'Christ said there were many things He could tell, "but ye cannot bear them now."'"

Charmingly written, as are all tales that come from the pen of Miss Dalton, and attractively illustrated, this little volume of *League of Nations'*

Stories should prove an acceptable gift for boys and girls of all ages. For there are even grown-ups who do not know why the citizens of Leyden eat carrots on October 3. There may be others who are ignorant of the details of the childhood of the little Chinese boy Mǎng, who more than two thousand years ago grew up to be known as Mencius, one of the wise men of China. And it is certain that many have never heard of Chikara, the boy-hero, whose grave the Japanese still deck with evergreens, honouring it perhaps above those of the forty-six Rōnins who died with him and are buried in the same cemetery.

The omission of a theological phrase or two would add to the value of a future edition.

TWO NOTABLE BOOKS ON RUSSIA.

1. AUTOUR DU MOUJIK. By Raoul Labry. (Paris: *Payot*.) 12 francs.
2. MEMORIES OF RUSSIA, 1916-1919. By Princess Paley. (*Herbert Jenkins*.) 12s. 6d.

(Reviewed by OLGA NOVIKOFF.)

For anyone who wishes to compare Russia as she was with what she has become, I can strongly recommend these two volumes. The first has, however, an unfortunate title. We Russians never speak of our peasants as "moujiks," which is a name that has been applied to them only by foreigners. Apart from this little blemish I can recommend the book. The author's method of showing to the reader the life of the country is to make the peasant describe it himself, which is in itself a charming innovation. That the Bolsheviks should have pillaged his library and made cigarette paper of his literary notes does not astonish me in the least, for that is what they have done with all that is worth preserving. What a change from the peaceful pages of M. Labry to the anguish and tragedy of the present day as shown by Princess Paley. As regards the statements made in her much-debated volume, people can have confidence in her word.

NEAR EAST.

- A PALESTINE NOTEBOOK, 1918-1923. By C. R. Ashbee. (London: *William Heinemann, Ltd.*) 12s. 6d.

(Reviewed by H. V. LANCHESTER.)

Mr. Ashbee has already given us in "Jerusalem, 1918-1920" an explicit statement of the lines on which he and his confrères were at work in Jerusalem. This volume, which is of indubitable value to those interested in city organization and development, whether in the East or the West, deals with the material side of his work, and we now have in his later book a series of sidelights on the methods by which he and those associated with him in this undertaking achieved, to the extent that they did achieve, the ends they aimed at. In the curious welter of conflicting desires and interests we see our band of workers threading their way, by direct attack or by subtle balancing of the opposing forces, and doing

something here and something there to restore to Jerusalem such a measure as is at present possible of its ancient glory.

Incidentally, in setting down the story of those activities Mr. Ashbee has not hesitated to diverge from it in sketching out the attitude towards them of those who, both at home and on the spot, were trying to win the battle for Zionism, or for the Arab, or for the Churches, not excluding the sorely overtaxed minority whose duty lay in reconciling the conflicting claims of Jew, Moslem, and Christian, to all of whom Jerusalem is a sacred city. Mr. Ashbee possesses the faculty of lighting up most vividly the incidents that these clashes of interest must provoke, and his scholarship enables him to give his comments a philosophic turn that adds greatly to their value; but this is not the sole, nor will it be to many the principal, reason why they will read his book from cover to cover with continued interest in what he has to say. To those who have heard his pungent but life-like characterizations of people with whom he has come in contact at various times in his career, the vigour of these studies will not cause so much surprise, as the fact that they are an unexpected departure from his previous attitude towards book-making. But to those who have not come across the author in this refreshing vein, the abandonment in this book of philosophic generalizations in favour of the characterization of individuals reveals a spirit that is not a little startling in regard to the direct and uncompromising way in which is diagnosed the mentality of quite a number of prominent people, whose identity, even when a mild concession to the convention of concealment is made, is unmistakable.

It is for this intriguing delineation of personalities that many will read the book who may be but mildly interested in Jerusalem and its problems, and Mr. Ashbee has, perhaps unaware, made contact with a larger public than heretofore, by means of a gift which he has not previously exploited, but which may lead him to follow the footsteps of his old fellow-worker in the crafts, the late William de Morgan, and to turn his attention to the art of the novel.

KARAGÖS, TÜRKISCHE SCHATTENSPIELE, HERAUSGEGEBEN, UEBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT VON HELLMUT RITTER. (Hannover: *Orient-Buchhandlung*.) 1924.

(Reviewed by Sir THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

A neglected field of investigation is offered by the common life and thought of the Muhammadan world. The official theology of orthodox religious teachers has been carefully studied and presented to European readers again and again in a number of well known and easily accessible treatises; the history of dynasties, the biographies of kings, the outstanding characteristics of Muslim civilization, have likewise been made the subject-matter of a vast literature. But numerous as such works are, they still leave us ignorant of the view that the average Muhammadan takes of his own faith, of his outlook upon life, and of the sum total of his daily interests—least of all, of his amusements. To take one example only, what English book dealing with the Muhammadan world makes any

mention of the drama and of the place that it takes in Muhammadan culture and society? With the exception of the *Miracle Play of the Persians*, a vivid and detailed account of which we owe to Sir Lewis Pelly, the English reader may search in vain for evidence of any outward expression among Muhammadan peoples of that dramatic instinct which has exhibited itself in so many varied and attractive ways in most parts of the world. Because of the remarkable lack of plays or any form of drama throughout the vast range of Arabic literature, in spite of the fact that it has left untouched no other department of human interest and embraces every other variety of literary activity, it has been commonly assumed that no form of dramatic art exists in the Muhammadan world. The representations of the *Miracle Play of Husain* during the month of Muharram in Persia may well appear to be an exception to the common theological condemnation of the drama, and to spring from the intense emotion excited in the Persian mind by reflection on the tragedy of Karbala. But the dramatic instinct has found for itself expression in another part of the Muhammadan world also—namely, in the Turkish shadow-play, and this, too, in spite of its secular and frivolous character, has succeeded in winning for itself theological approval, though many pious persons look askance at it. The curious defence was found for these shadow-plays that they drew men's attention to the transitory and impermanent character of human existence, and the light that streamed through them on to the curtain was made to symbolize the divine light that illuminates all forms of existence. The prohibition of representations of the human figure, which has so potently checked the development of Muhammadan art, was satisfactorily evaded by reference to the hole through which passed the string by which the figures were suspended, for such holes were held to be sufficient evidence that the figures were incapable of life!

Considerable attention has been devoted by German scholars to the subject of the Turkish shadow-play, but Professor Ritter in the work under review presents new material in a form more magnificent than hitherto attempted. He has published the Turkish text (with a racy translation in German) of three complete plays as they used to be represented in the imperial palace in Constantinople. The occasional songs have been cleverly put into verse, but the greater part of the original text is in prose, and here Professor Ritter has shown admirable skill in reproducing puns and plays upon words, so that his version by itself makes amusing reading. Apart from its interest for the student of language, this book has special attractions for the student of Muhammadan, and particularly Turkish, psychology.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

THE NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF INDIA

THE Divalee, the most important of India's holidays originating from the Hindu Calendar, has for some years past been celebrated in England under the auspices of the Indian Social Club. Members, their guests, and visitors from India gather in force on those occasions, for it is a festival observed by all races and communities. As its name signifies, it is a festival of Light, and street after street in almost every town becomes a blaze during the three days over which it spreads. This year the auspicious day fell on October 26 last, and was celebrated with a banquet at the Hotel Cecil that night.

The President of the Society, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, presided over a company, numbering over one hundred ladies and gentlemen, prominent among whom were: Sir B. N. Mitra, Mr. Samarth, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. Gupta, Rao Bahadur and Mrs. Chunilal Setalvad, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Gooding, Mrs. Sen and daughters, Major H. F. Hughes, D.S.O., Mr. Percy Hamilton Hughes (the great coaching sportsman), Mrs. Hughes, Mr. C. E. D. Burchell, Mr. M. Butterworth, Mr. and Mrs. Brae, etc.

At the conclusion of the dinner, the Chairman gave the "Royal Toasts," which was drunk with enthusiasm, and then called upon Colonel D. Warliker, I.M.S. (retired), to propose the toast of the Divalee. He said:

"I consider it a great honour and privilege to be associated with the toast of our National Festival, the Divalee.

"I daresay many of you present here, especially the Indian portion, are aware of the aims and objects of this our honoured festival, but there may be some guests who may not be quite conversant with them, and it is for their benefit that I propose to mention a few salient points of this national festival. First of all, it is supposed to be a day of reconciliation of family feuds and individual differences. On this day mutual visits are paid, implying forgetfulness and forgiveness, and a new year of cordial relations is begun. If, therefore, there are any present here who have not settled their differences of the past year, I would recommend them to take advantage of this our festival, and before they leave this hall to shake hands cordially with each other and start a new year of friendly relations. (Laughter and cheers.)

"Then, again, the merchant brings his accounts up to date, and starts fresh books for the new year, invoking the blessing of the Deity on his transactions. The warrior reburnishes his weapons, pays a certain homage to them, and keeps them ready for the next affray.

"But the most important function of the day is the custom of the sisters inviting their brothers to their homes, singing affectionate songs to them, paying at the same time a certain homage, and the brothers in return for this exhibition of sisterly affection making some suitable presents.

"I appeal to you therefore, our sisters, to patronize us in our efforts.

"If you approve of our efforts in this direction, perhaps those who are

present, and who have not joined this Club, will be induced to do so, as their support will doubtless add to the success of pleasant functions like this. (Cheers.)

RAO BAHADUR SETALVAD responded in an interesting speech, and Sir B. N. MITRA also complied with the Chairman's call and took the opportunity to bear testimony to the usefulness of the Club in furnishing such pleasant facilities for enjoyment as the visitors had experienced that evening. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said such facilities had been made possible by the exertions of their energetic Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Gordon Roy (applause), who was called upon by the audience for a speech, but he transferred the duty to Mr. Muzumdar, the well-known economist.

Mr. MUZUMDAR said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman,—In deference to your wishes, Sir, I shall gladly make a few remarks, though I have no little hesitation in doing so, perhaps because my relationship with Mr. Roy rather forbids it. In the ordinary course of things, uncles are more vocal and articulate than nephews, sometimes inconveniently so; but in the present instance, it seems to be the other way about, probably because Mr. Roy is a staunch teetotaller and I am not. (Laughter.) All that I will therefore say on his behalf is to thank you very much for all the kind things that have been said about him.

And without your permission, Sir, now I am going to propose a toast which is not on the programme, which is that of the "President of the Indian Social Club." (Applause.) You, Sir, are the father of this institution from its very start, as you are and have been, during the long years of your public service, the father of many another Indian institution. And if the Indian Social Club has not only survived, but grown, since the days it was started, may I submit, ladies and gentlemen, that it is because of the stability and enthusiasm imparted into it by Sir Mancherjee. (Hear, hear.) I do not know what other institution could have held a dinner like this in celebration of an All-India day, and I do not know what other institution would have brought us all together as this Club has been doing. I remember one of the very first functions held under its auspices, when you, Sir, graced that same chair, as you have done many a time since and are still doing. The Indian community in England, and I would say, the English community, too, are grateful to you for all that you have done and all that you are still doing to bring the East and West together, and when the East and West does meet some day, as it is bound to, both the East and West will look back with feelings of gratitude to pioneers like you, who helped to bring about that great *rapprochement*. (Hear, hear.)

Long life to you, Sir, good health and continued service in that great cause.

The toast was enthusiastically drunk, the gathering singing: "For he's a jolly good fellow."

The Chairman thanked Mr. Muzumdar and the assembly in cordial terms, after which an interesting magical performance was enjoyed by all present.

INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

(c/o The Northbrook Society; Imperial Institute, London, S.W. 7.)

ANNUAL REPORT

THE Committee of the Indian Women's Education Association have pleasure in submitting their Report and the Hon. Treasurer's Accounts, duly audited, for the period ending October 31, 1924.

This period is longer than the usual twelve months covered in the reports heretofore presented by the Committee at the annual meetings, but this departure has been occasioned by exceptional circumstances, such as the protracted legal correspondence in connection with the Susila Bonnerjee legacy, the change in the Secretaryship, etc. It has the advantage, however, of bringing the Report more up to date than was formerly the case.

Unforeseen delay has arisen in connection with the final settlement of the Susila Bonnerjee Trust, owing to correspondence having to be conducted with lawyers in India. The Committee are in a position, however, to state that the income from the Trust will meet the full expenses of one scholarship in each year, with the further prospect that there will be available sufficient funds from balances in every fourth or fifth year to meet the cost of a second scholar. Arrangements have also been made whereby the expenses ordinarily incurred by the Association will be met from the income on invested funds. Thus it will be seen that the capital funds of the Association, now amounting to over £6,000, will remain permanently intact under conditions of the Trust under which they are placed.

The Association scholar for 1923-24, Miss Danbai I. Cooper, B.A., of Baroda, arrived in London in September, 1923, and has been pursuing her studies at the Maria Grey Training College, Brondesbury. She has come with the

essential qualifications prescribed by the Rules of the Association, both as regards studies and financial arrangements.

The Committee have accepted the nomination of the Calcutta Branch Committee of Miss S. E. Ghose, a teacher in the Gokhale High School for Girls, Calcutta, as the scholar for 1924-25.

They note with satisfaction that the Committee of the Calcutta Branch have recognized that to themselves, and to any other local Committee that may be formed, appertains the duty of finding suitable posts or employment for the teachers trained under the scheme of the Association after their return home. This arrangement is a distinct advantage to the primary object of the Association, which is to fit selected Indian scholars for training women teachers in India.

The success of the scheme had been to some extent marred by the fact that the Committee in England were not always in a position to secure posts in India for the scholar so prepared. That duty could be obviously better discharged by local bodies in India, and the Calcutta Committee have very prudently recognized and undertaken the obligation. It is to be hoped that educational and school authorities in other parts of India will similarly help in obtaining such posts for the scholars trained through our Association.

It is also necessary once again to dissipate an impression which has got abroad that the Association had set itself the task of collecting funds in England and maintaining students on a large scale at less than actual expenditure. If those who promoted the Association had any such idea, experience has conclusively proved that efforts to collect the requisite large sums for such a purpose would meet with scant success.

It must not be forgotten that the main object of this Association is to help forward the endeavour to supply what has been an essential educational need felt in India—viz., women graduates specially trained here in the art

of teaching, who, on return home, might impart their special knowledge in local training schools. Obviously, the financial provision for such scholars must be furnished from India ; but it was found that on arrival here they are confronted with difficulties in respect of admission to proper schools, of finding suitable residence, social introductions, useful guidance, and all such kindly offices as might reconcile them to strange environments, and encourage them in their work. It is to enable them to conquer this difficulty that the members of this Association are prepared and most willing to help. Their endeavours in this direction and in supervising periodically the work of the scholars has proved of real value, to judge by the results achieved so far.

Appended hereto (A) are certain rules provisionally adopted by the Association for Scholarships held under its supervision.

M. M. BHOWNAGGREE

(*Chairman of Committee*).

EDWIN OLIVER

(*Hon. Secretary*).

LONDON,

December, 1924.

APPENDIX A : SCHOLARSHIP RULES

1. Candidates must be graduates of a British or Indian University.

2. The selected candidates will be required to enter into an agreement to teach for three years after the completion of her scholarship course of training in a recognized School or Training College for Teachers in India. If except for reasons of ill-health, certified by a doctor nominated by the Committee, or for other reasons approved by the Committee, the scholar fails to comply with these conditions, she shall refund the scholarship grant as follows :

(a) i. If at the end of *three* years she has failed to take up any teaching appointment as required ; or, ii., if at the end of *six* years she has failed to complete the required three years' service—half the scholarship grant.

(b) If at the end of *five* years she has failed to take up any teaching appointment as required, she shall refund the remaining half of the scholarship grant.

3. During the tenure of the scholarship the scholar will be required to submit terminal reports regarding her studies, and, on the completion of the course of training until she shall have completed the three years' teaching required by the agreement, she shall report annually to the Committee and notify any change of address.

The form of the Agreement shall be as follows :

I, _____, of _____, hereby declare that I intend to adopt and follow the profession of teacher in a recognized School or Training College for Teachers in India, and I acknowledge that I accept this scholarship for the purpose of qualifying myself for this profession and no other, and on the terms mentioned above.

Date,

Witness :

Signed : _____

NOTES.—1. Name and addresses in India and England must be given in full.

2. A "recognized" school or college is one recognized and approved by the Government of India, or one of the Indian Provincial Governments.

Applications should be sent to the Secretary, and should be accompanied by at least two testimonials, one of which should be from an educational authority.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1925

1886-1925

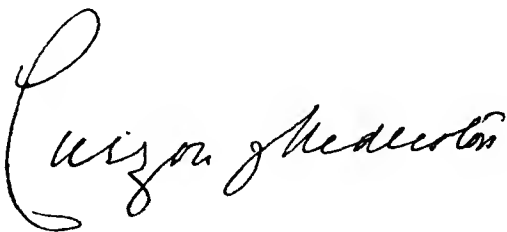
A FEW weeks before his death, the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston sent the following message to the ASIATIC REVIEW in connection with its fortieth year of publication :

I, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
S.W. I.

" Having been a subscriber to the ASIATIC REVIEW almost since its foundation, and a contributor as far back as thirty-six years ago, I have perhaps some little right to speak of its character and service.

" It has always seemed to me an invaluable thing that there should exist in this country a magazine devoted exclusively to the affairs of that continent in which Britain first established her claim to empire, where she occupies the premier place among foreign nations, and which is still the touchstone of her governing capacity.

" There is hardly a question of Asiatic interest which the REVIEW has not explored ; its columns are open to writers of all nationalities and every opinion ; it has carefully avoided the pitfalls either of political partisanship or racial discrimination ; great students and scholars have lent distinction to its pages ; and the wide outlook, sane judgments, and catholic sympathies of the REVIEW have won for it an important place in the periodical literature of our time, which I trust that it may long and successfully maintain."

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Curzon of Kedleston". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the main body of text.

February 22, 1925.

VOL. XXI.

M

LORD CURZON

I AM glad to take this opportunity of paying a last tribute to one who was perhaps the oldest of my friends. I am not going to dwell on his remarkable gifts, his talents, his great intellect, his activities widespread into every department of human life and thought, except that, having been brought into touch with his work in India, I shall refer to some salient features of his rule.

It is safe to say that no one of recent years has left such a mark in India—one would have to go back to Dalhousie to find even a comparison. Judged by present-day standards, it might appear that as Viceroy he was perhaps rather too insistent in giving effect to his views, though it is admitted by most people that these were nearly always sound. He did his utmost to eschew political considerations, except in so far as India as a whole would benefit. His guiding principle was to bring every department to the state of the highest efficiency, particularly in land reform, and to encourage improvements in agriculture. Great was his regard for the Indian Civil Services, which on an occasion when he presided at a meeting of the East India Association he described as the “noblest, the most highly organized, and the best equipped civil service in the world.”

He has been accused of a certain aloofness and lack of sympathy, but these characteristics were possibly only shown towards those whose work he found inadequate. India and her people were his greatest concern; it was his lasting ambition to serve in this direction, and any harsh treatment of Indians met with his displeasure. His love of India was further exemplified by his great appreciation of Indian art and archæology. Thus he centralized the Archæological Survey of India and organized the conservation of monuments. He was rightly proud of this; and in a recent speech declared that the greatest thing he had done for India was sending out Sir John Marshall. Here, again, he gauged accurately the feeling of Indians; for although many criticize his rule, not one of them would deny what he had done for Indian culture and Indian education. Last summer I attended a Conference on

Indian Art at Wembley, and remember feeling at the time that all this interest would have been impossible if Lord Curzon had not pointed the way.

If I may attempt to sum up Lord Curzon in one phrase, I should say that he was the very incarnation of "Service for King and Country." That service he interpreted in the strictest sense. It was his life inspiration, and explains his tireless industry, his mastery of detail, and, firmly based on these, his inflexible determination once he had examined a subject in all its bearings. In the case of his Viceroyalty, he equipped himself, before taking up office, by a profound study of India and its problems, and those of all the adjacent countries. He was, I believe, the only Viceroy who visited Persia during his term of office. His travels, before taking up office, in Central Asia, and East as far as Korea, are well known.

This was his regular practice before going on any journey—to make himself acquainted with the country he intended to visit by reading and inquiry, so that, when on the spot, he knew exactly the particulars he wanted to be informed on, and so lost no time in getting a complete grasp of the situation.

In his crowded life he also found time to give to the world five books of travel in Asia, replete with information, and the fruits of his acute observation. Already in 1889 he contributed to this journal an exhaustive study of British and Russian competition in Central Asia.

After all, he had the profound satisfaction of not only ruling the Indian Empire, but accepting as a truism, "My mind to me a kingdom is." In the exercise of his great intellect, his marvellous memory, and his great gifts of imagination, he must have, day by day, ruled fresh realms, and these triumphs must have enabled him to endure the physical pains to which he was subjected.

His eloquence, his literary and poetical powers, his appreciation and knowledge of music and painting, and other arts, I can only mention here. But I repeat that, above all, his outstanding quality was his devotion to King and Country, and to serve them was the great object of his life.

LAMINGTON.

THE OPIUM TRADE THROUGH PERSIAN SPECTACLES

BY SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

THE enforcement of Prohibition in the U.S.A. has had repercussive effects on international relations that could scarcely have been foreseen by the most lynx-eyed diplomat. It has strained the doctrine of the three-mile limit; it has tempted the United States to encroach on the previously accepted rights of foreign ships in U.S. waters; and finally, having caused, as was foreseen from the first, an alarming increase in the number of drug addicts, it is leading the U.S.A. to endeavour, through the machinery of the League of Nations, to enforce drastic reductions in the area under poppy cultivation in certain Eastern countries. Narcotic drugs have taken the position once held by alcohol in the obsessed minds of social reformers, and there is a strong, if artificially created, sentiment in the U.S.A. in favour of checking the production of such drugs at their source—*i.e.*, the poppy field.* The British view, on the other hand, is that the derivative drugs are manufactured mostly in Japan, Switzerland, and Germany, and that a more hopeful line of approach is to seek to control their manufacture, which is concentrated in a few highly organized chemical works. The opium from which these drugs are prepared does not, to any appreciable extent, originate in India, but in Persia, Turkey, and China; and it will not be a matter of surprise if fresh attempts are made to bring pressure to bear on these countries, but especially on Persia, to enforce a programme of gradual discontinuance of opium cultivation.

The object of this article is to show that Persia cannot be expected to adopt such measures at the behest of the

* See article by the Editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, in *The Times*, January 15.

U.S.A. (no European country appears to be seriously menaced by the drug habit, because none has "gone dry") without very substantial financial compensation, and that we shall be well advised not to allow ourselves to be unduly influenced by the American presentation of the case, which naturally has received far greater publicity here than the Persian point of view.

INTRODUCTION.—Opium, a narcotic drug, prepared from the juice of the opium poppy, is one of the oldest known Asiatic medicines. Its introduction into India was connected with the spread of Islam; and it is said to have been introduced into China by Arabs, probably in the ninth century, and it was originally used there, as it still is in India, as a medicine, the introduction of opium-smoking in China being assigned to the seventeenth century. Tavernier (book v., xviii., p. 243) describes the eating of opium as prevalent in Isfahan (1657-70), but does not refer to opium-smoking. He mentions, however, that "the Usbecks have brought into Persia the Custome of taking in Pipes *Tchouherse*, which is the flower or rather the woolly substance which is found in hemp-closes. This fills the head with strange conceits, sometimes pleasant and sometimes furious; those that take it being quite besides their senses for two or three hours." Chardin (1671) gives an interesting description (vol. iii., chaps. iv. and xv.) of the method of collection of opium sap, of its effects, and of those of other narcotics; but again omits all reference to opium-smoking. He adds that the only cure for one addicted to opium is wine, and expresses the belief that 90 per cent. of the population eat opium more or less habitually.

The learned Dr. Fryer (1672-1681) likewise refers to the habit of eating opium, but does not mention smoking opium, though he mentions the smoking of "bhang" (hemp preparation) as prevalent, and it seems clear from the silence of these authorities that the habit was not generally known until the eighteenth century. Fryer mentions that

several other narcotics are in common use, besides opium and hemp. In many parts of India, and throughout Persia, the commonest use of opium to-day is medicinal; it is, however, consumed by many thousands who regard its consumption in much the same light as the use of alcoholic stimulants is regarded in Europe. To the great majority of smokers who use it moderately it appears to act as a stimulant, and to enable them to undergo great fatigue, and to go for a considerable time with little or no food, and when the smoker has plenty of active work it appears to be no more injurious than smoking tobacco.* When carried to excess it becomes an inveterate habit, but this happens chiefly in individuals of weak will power, and as one of its principal effects is to weaken the reproductive powers, its operation may be regarded as a form of natural selection.

Professor E. G. Browne, in his book "A Year amongst the Persians" (1893), describes how he had recourse to opium-smoking to relieve the pain of ophthalmia. "You may smoke it," he writes, "occasionally at long intervals, and feel no after-craving. You may smoke it two or three days consecutively, and abandon it without difficulty; then you may, after an interval of one or two days, do the like once more, and again forsake it; and then, having smoked it once or twice again, you will try to put it from you as

* Dr. C. J. Wills, an English doctor who had a very wide knowledge and long acquaintance with Persia, wrote as follows in his book, "In the Land of the Lion and Sun," 1883:

"Large quantities of opium are consumed in the country. Almost three-fourths of the aged of both sexes are in the habit of taking from half a grain upwards three times a day, and I am unable to state that the moderate use of opium by the aged or those travelling is attended without any ill-effects. Of course, the abuse of opium is well known for its terrible result."

Dr. E. Treacher Collins, F.R.C.S., another English doctor, wrote in his book, "In the Kingdom of the Shah," 1896:

"The habit of eating or smoking opium is largely indulged in by the Persians of all classes."

The practice did not appear to him, it would seem, to be deserving of condemnation.

before, and you will find you cannot—that the fetters are forged which, likely enough, you will wear for ever.” Professor Browne, however, threw off the habit without serious difficulty and did not resume it.

LEGISLATION FOR RESTRICTION OF CONSUMPTION IN PERSIA.—There is, however, some reason to think that there has been an increase in the consumption of opium in recent years, and the Persian Parliament, realizing the importance of the matter, passed a law as long ago as 1910 establishing a Government monopoly of the manufacture and sale of *shireh* and of *sukhteh*,* imposing increased taxation, and prohibiting the use of opium for other than medicinal purposes after 1917. Regulations were drafted to give effect to this law, by centralizing opium sap and its manipulation in Government warehouses, in order to permit control over the local consumption of opium; these regulations, however, proved difficult to enforce, and in 1921 it might be said that, with the best of intentions, the actual results attained by the Persian Government had been negative. When, however, Sardah Sipah, the present Prime Minister and Minister of War, took over the collection of indirect taxes in 1922 to guarantee the payment of the Army Budget, distinct progress was made in the centralization of opium, though not without serious local disturbances, notably at Isfahan, where a perhaps premature attempt by the American Financial Advisers to complete the centralization programme caused a riot in which several peasants were killed.

The manipulation of opium for local consumption and for export has been brought under practically complete control in all large towns, and is conducted either in Government warehouses or under Government supervision, from half to two-thirds of the crop being thus controlled.

As a further indication of the intention of the legisla-

* *Shireh*, which is manufactured from the residue of *sukhteh* remaining in the pipes after opium has been smoked, is the most dangerous opium derivative now used in Persia. Practically all *shireh* dens have been placed under Government supervision.

tion, a law was recently passed whereby opium smokers who do not abandon the habit within a fixed period are discharged from Government service; the use of morphine for other than medicinal purposes has been prohibited, and the prohibition rendered more or less effective by strict control at the frontiers.

These steps are of great importance, and the Persian Government deserve the fullest credit for them; no Eastern Government has been equally energetic or equally successful in the task of discouraging consumption, and bringing cultivation under control.

PROPOSED MEASURES FOR RESTRICTION OF PRODUCTION IN PERSIA.—The Persian Government have moreover declared that they are prepared in principle to tackle the problem of reducing production to medicinal and scientific requirements within an approximate period of ten years, provided that they are furnished by interested parties (*i.e.*, the U.S.A.) with the considerable capital sum and technical assistance necessary to enable them to proceed, hand in hand with crop reduction, with a carefully thought-out scheme of crop substitution. It must, however, be realized that even under the most favourable auspices such an undertaking involves difficulties of the most serious kind, and unless such restrictive measures as may be proposed or adopted are carefully planned and executed in a spirit of fairness and justice, they are likely to defeat their own ends. The opium growers and merchants are probably the wealthiest class in Persia. The former include many of the most influential clergy of the country, who own or control a considerable portion of the ceded public domain and public endowments or bequests of privately owned lands for charitable or religious purposes.

STRENGTH OF OPPOSITION TO RESTRICTION OF OPIUM PRODUCTION.—Any attempt to interfere with the production, manipulation, or export of opium must arouse the organized opposition of these classes, not only because of their private interests, but also because of the widespread suffering that a sudden reduction in the demand for opium

would entail... Unless equally remunerative outlets are provided for the capital and labour now engaged in this trade, the Government will have to face the opposition, in any programme of restriction, of the merchants and traders, clergy, and landed proprietors who, in a Parliament composed mainly of landed proprietors or their avowed representatives, frequently exercise a decisive power in legislation. To these factors must be added, in the case of the agricultural population, opposition born of ignorance and an inherent dread of any change in their established custom and routine ; it must also be borne in mind that the principal opium-growing areas are only now, for the first time for many decades, being brought under the control of the Central Government, and nothing would be more disastrous for the best interests of Persia than if the restoration of the authority of the Central Government were to synchronize with administrative measures calculated to cause acute economic distress.

Nor, in existing circumstances, would measures for the restriction of export of opium have the desired effect : the traffic would merely be diverted, causing heavy losses to Persia without increasing international control over the traffic. There are few parts of Europe or Asia (or the U.S.A.), within the temperate or tropical zones, where the poppy cannot be cultivated with success, though it is not grown at present on an economic basis except in Asia.

It may be mentioned, in this connection, that there has been an enormous increase in the amount of opium declared for export to Russia, which last year took 65 per cent. of the total export (70,000 batmans of $6\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. each) as against 9 per cent. (3,814 batmans) in 1921-22. Whether or not this quantity represents actual shipment to Russian territory cannot be stated : as it was all shipped from Bushire, the probabilities are that it was destined for some other country.

POSSIBILITIES OF CROP SUBSTITUTION.—As already remarked, the amount of capital invested in the cultivation

and commerce in opium, and the number of people dependent thereon for support are so great, that a carefully worked-out plan of crop substitution, a large capital investment, and the provision of adequate technical advice and direction are necessary before any serious progress can be made. In considering the substitution of other crops for opium, it must be borne in mind that opium yields a very high return for a given area, that it does not demand good roads for transportation, and that there is practically always a demand for the product. It requires little water, and that at a time (March 21 to May 21) when water is plentiful and cheap. Other crops can be planted on the same ground after the opium crop has been gathered. It does not impoverish the soil more than other crops. To enable a cultivator to secure the same net income from other crops, he must cultivate a greater area and use more water, and he must be sure of a market for the substitution crops—desiderata almost impossible to hope for in many of the best opium-growing areas. Possible substitute crops are wheat, silk, tobacco, cotton, sugar, tea, hemp, flax, and dried fruits. These do not, of course, apply solely to the opium areas: such areas must receive prior consideration, but substitute crops in such areas cannot yield revenues equivalent to those lost through reduction in opium production. It is, therefore, necessary that agricultural conditions be improved in non-opium-growing areas also, in order to provide fresh sources of revenue and of occupation.

WHEAT.—Further planting of wheat* or other cereals is impracticable without improved communications. The cost of moving wheat, for example, from Shiraz to Bushire, is approximately equal to the cost of a similar quantity of wheat landed at Bushire from Karachi.

SILK.—This industry, which offers possibilities,† demands capital, technicians and, above all, time—not less than ten

* See "Through Persia by Caravan," Arnold, 1877.

† See "Eastern Persia," Goldsmid, 1876, vol. i., p. 175, and Curzon, "Persia and the Persian Question," ii., p. 242.

years—to grow the mulberry seed and put the industry on a paying basis.

TOBACCO.—The same remarks apply.

COTTON.—Cotton can be grown with advantage over great areas in Persia, but expert advice, seed, and capital for irrigation and transport are needed. Cotton requires water over a long period and is peculiarly liable to be spoiled by locust and other pests.

SUGAR.—Beetroot has been successfully grown ; Khuzistan (Ahwaz) once supplied all Persia and Mesopotamia with sugar from canes. With proper direction, capital and time, Persia might be self-supporting in this matter.

TEA.—Tea growing is in an experimental but promising stage.

HEMP AND FLAX.—Hemp and flax should do well in Persia, but some years are required for experimentation.

PROPOSED SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR CROP SUBSTITUTION.—Persia has intimated to the League of Nations* that, in order to enable active work to be undertaken and prompt results secured in the reduction of opium cultivation to that required for medicinal and scientific uses, she requires a loan of ten million tomans (say two million pounds) for twenty years at not over 5 per cent.—no interest charges for the first five years : 10 per cent. of the loan to be repaid annually after the tenth year, and in addition a moratorium to be accorded by foreign Governments (principally, of course, Great Britain) having claims against Persia, on the ground that, were existing claims funded and paid, an additional burden of from one to two million tomans (say, £200,000 to £400,000) a year would be placed on the country, which would render impracticable any measure involving losses of existing revenues.

It may be taken as certain that no serious steps will be taken by Persia to restrict production or export unless her reasonable needs in the matter of funds are met, and it

* League of Nations Paper O.D.C. 24, Second Opium Conference. *Memorandum on Persian Opium*, submitted by the Persian Delegation.

seems, therefore, not improbable that Great Britain will be met with a demand to surrender for a period of years a sum which may be as much as £250,000 to assist Persia in effecting the reductions of poppy cultivation required, nominally by the League of Nations, but actually by the U.S.A.

PROBABILITY OF SUCCESS.—Were the success of such a scheme to be reasonably certain, such a price, high as it is, might not be too much to pay; we could not demonstrate more effectively our desire to assist both Persia and the U.S.A. to solve what is for the latter a most pressing domestic problem. But the prospect of a successful crop substitution campaign, however well supported by capital funds and expert assistance, is, in the writer's view, remote.

The problem of control of production is greatly complicated by the wide geographical distribution of poppy culture, owing to the possibility of profitable cultivation on very small pieces of ground, such as the walled gardens of private houses, where supervision by Government agents is practically impossible in Islamic countries. Control of the opium sap, the raw material in its elementary form, is rendered very difficult by the large number of people who have a direct interest in the harvest and enter the opium-growing areas when the season approaches.

Until the time of harvest, cultivation is carried on by the peasants, but the poppy head must be scratched as soon as ripe or no juice will be obtained. This necessitates the employment of a large number of extra hands: many of these are drawn from neighbouring towns or villages, and from nomads in the vicinity, but a large number follow the harvest for long distances. These men are usually paid in opium sap or partly in sap and partly in cash.

DIFFICULTY OF CONTROLLING HARVEST OF OPIUM SAP.—During the harvest pedlars and small stall-keepers, who have advanced goods on credit to the peasants during the year, go to the villages and secure their payment in opium sap: village mullahs, barbers and carpenters, and other

humble folk, indispensable to the economy of an agricultural population, are paid in the same medium. As soon as the sap gathering begins, thousands of vendors of small wares and sweetmeats go out from the large towns and barter their wares for sap in the poppy fields.* Dervishes, storytellers, beggars, musicians, and owners of performing animals go from field to field and are rewarded by having the flat side of the opium knife scraped on their palms or on the small bowls carried by the dervishes. These are followed by travelling opium buyers, who purchase their accumulations and also buy from the peasants. When it is realized that there may be as many as 5,000 strangers in a single area during the harvest season, each in possession of opium sap, the difficulty of centralizing the entire crop of opium sap becomes apparent.

CONTRABAND TRAFFIC.—In addition to the foregoing classes interested in the collection of the sap, there are, in the important opium centres, the opium brokers, opium commission merchants, and the merchants who manipulate opium for local consumption and export. These, with their staffs, and the carpenters, packers, porters, etc., partially dependent upon the opium trade, constitute, together with interested land-owners and cultivators, a well-organized and influential section of the population. In spite of the efforts of the Central Government, at least a third and possibly half the total production evades control, and is dealt with through illegitimate channels. Illicit transactions are principally of three kinds: retention by cultivators for their own use; smuggling within the country for local consumption; and import and export smuggling. Of these, the second is by far the more important and is highly organized. During last year one such transaction came to light in which the contraband opium was guarded in transit by 150 well-armed horsemen, for opium "boot-leggers" have to fear not only Govern-

* See "Persia and the Persian Question," Curzon, 1891, ii., p. 499, and Wills, Arnold, and Goldsmid's books, cited above.

ment agents, but, in transatlantic jargon, "hi-jackers" also.

The Persian Government is thus threatened with the same sort of difficulties as confront the United States Government in connection with the enforcement of Prohibition: with an increasing tendency to defy the law, if it runs counter to the long-established customs and interests of large sections of the population, and with grave financial embarrassments if it attempts unassisted to give effect to a programme of crop reduction in the interests primarily not of its own people but of Western nations. For there is no drug problem in Persia (or India) such as exists in the U.S.A.

USE OF OPIUM IN PERSIA.—Opium was familiar to the Sumerians* and Assyrians thirty or forty centuries before Christ: it was known to Theophrastus (fourth century B.C.), to Pliny (A.D. 53 to 79), and to Dioscorides (c. A.D. 77); during the whole of this period its use was widespread, its abuse rare. As in India, it is the muleteer's tonic, the starveling's solace, the rice-grower's febrifuge, the soldier's emergency ration, and it is daily used to ease the pain of thousands of sick and injured men who cannot hope to obtain medical assistance.

To deprive these people, at the instance of a foreign country, by ill-considered legislation, of one of their only household remedies, unless prescribed by a qualified medical man, who would often be not within a fortnight's journey, would be to inflict an intolerable wrong on a race which physically and mentally need not be afraid to challenge

* See R. Campbell Thompson, "Assyrian Herbal," 1924, pp. 41, 75, which gives renderings of bilingual lists of Sumerian words with their Assyrian equivalents in double columns, written for Ashurbanipal's Library (668-226 B.C.). The list mentions both the learned and vulgar name for the poppy, and adds that it is gathered by women and children (as is done to-day). Opium was fairly commonly used in Assyrian medicine, being thirty-third in the list of proportionate occurrences.

Hemp was also known to the Assyrians as "the rope plant," or "drug for sorrow"—*i.e.*, as removing depression of spirits. Herodotus mentions its use by the Scythians (iv. 74, 75). See also Yule and Burnell's "Hobson-Jobson," 1886.

comparison with the polyglot communities of the New World, whose rulers apparently seek to circumscribe the liberties of Eastern races who can use, without abusing, stimulants. The existence of a few weak-minded drug addicts, belonging for the most part to the wealthier classes, is a poor excuse for undermining by harassing legislation—the cost of enforcing which is bound to be very heavy—the sturdy individualism which is perhaps the greatest asset of the Persian nation.

INDIAN RURAL LIFE (A SUGGESTION FOR AN INQUIRY)

BY N. GANGULEE

(Khaira Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economics, Calcutta University)

I

NEVER before in the political history of India has there arisen a situation like that of the present time. While it is clear that neither the Swarajists nor the revolutionaries will be able to organize a really effective movement by which the foundation of an organized State may be shaken, one has to admit that the attitude of distrust gradually spreading among the masses would be a disaster for India as well as for the British Empire. This subject was ably discussed, it is true, by Mr. S. R. Das in the October issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, but the conditions of *rural life* in India are such that the spirit of distrust in the Government is likely to strike deeper roots ; and once the substratum of national life is contaminated, the remnant of her disintegrated socio-economic life will collapse. The Indian politicians are clamouring for constitutional concessions, but they have no settled plan for the regeneration of rural life. The political remedies, as administered to her in successive doses, failed to bring about conditions under which processes for evolving a suitable form of government in India can have full play. In Indian rural communities one misses that healthy display of life which goes to supply energy for the necessary reconstruction of both economic and social organizations of a country. Democracy can only work efficiently in *the guild of life*.

Obviously, the panacea for the most depressing conditions in rural India cannot be found in constitutional changes. It is becoming increasingly evident that the attention of the country must be diverted to the practical

problems of revitalizing the fundamental sources of her socio-economic life ; and as a necessary step in that direction, an inquiry into the prevailing economic conditions of rural India is essentially needed.

Although from time to time the Government of India has set up a number of organizations for the improvement of rural areas, one has to admit that there has been no comprehensive rural policy. Since the Conservative Government came into power the writer ventured to suggest that a Rural Commission appointed by Royal Warrant be sent out to India with a view to submitting to His Majesty's Government a report which would enable the Government and the representatives of the people to formulate a programme for the revitalization of rural life.

As a result of the Royal Industrial Commission appointed during the war period, we are now in possession of a wealth of facts and details on which the Government may formulate an industrial policy ; but agriculture is the basic industry of the country ; by its development not only the supply of raw materials (such as wheat, cotton, jute, oilseed, etc.) may be assured to the Empire, but upon it the prospect of economic and social improvement of 95 per cent. of the Indian population largely depends. In India it is the rural population which must immediately engage our attention, and the conditions of life under which the peasantry live should be the ultimate subject of our inquiry. We must consider the Indian peasant as an important factor in agricultural production, and examine what are the economic obstacles and deficiencies which stand in the way of making him an efficient agent for exploring the potentialities of Indian agriculture. At this stage of transition to commercialized agriculture, such an inquiry is essentially necessary for the interests of India as well as of the Empire. The scope of inquiry must needs cover a large ground and be comprehensive ; but the Commission should direct special attention to the conditions prevailing in the rural areas so far as they affect farm production, and particularly as regards the pre-

valence of practices operating against the fundamental interests of agricultural development.

The writer is aware of the official attitude characterized by excessive political caution towards such an inquiry. But to those who have had occasion to come into close contact with the rural classes, certain psychological changes are quite noticeable. The idea that the Government of the country does not stand by them is gradually gaining ground. The appointment of a Royal Commission will show that the present Government is genuinely solicitous for the economic and moral welfare of the masses, and the immediate effect of such an act cannot but rekindle people's faith in the Government.

A policy of rural reconstruction based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission will assuredly furnish a rallying point for all the more moderate influences ; and the existing movements for the recuperation of rural life organized by numerous social-service organizations in India will receive much-needed direction. Thus the forces which the Government will be able to mobilize for carrying out a well-devised programme for rural reconstruction will gradually help to build a stable economic foundation without which the structure of representative government cannot be supported.

In India we have utterly ignored the fact that the developmental processes of State policy cannot function normally unless and until national activities are directed towards necessary socio-economic adjustments. In the history of political agitation in India constructive ideals are conspicuously absent ; and that is why the Congress has failed to be creative. An inquiry of the nature suggested here would throw much light on the existence of such mal-adjustments in the socio-economic life of the people as are bound to cause serious obstructions to any process of political evolution, and we shall then realize that the first and foremost task in front of us is to discover the elements of affinity amidst the congeries and *ensembles* of various

conditions of life. We have to construct a foundation suitable for the support of a twentieth-century form of government, realizing that if the conditions of life of the greater part of the population remain static, any system of representative government is bound to break down.

The success of a Royal Commission will largely depend on the manner in which the Government approaches the country. Bearing in mind the psychology of the people, all likely sources out of which misunderstandings might arise should be carefully avoided. A Royal Proclamation setting forth the purpose of the Commission will help to win the confidence of the people, and the scepticism of the educated community as regards any benefit accruing from an official inquiry can be overcome by soliciting their active co-operation in getting at the root causes of India's poverty. While the Commission should be presided over by a member of the House of Lords, the majority of the members should be Indians. There should be two lady members of the Commission, one representing the House of Commons and the other Indian women. In preparing the list of witnesses efforts should be made as far as possible to obtain views from all shades of public opinion, so that there may be no trace of suspicion as to the motive of the inquiry.

II

Since the publication of the proposal in the columns of *The Times* the writer has had the privilege of discussing the matter with certain members of the Government and other public-spirited men of this country. While expressing their full sympathy with the purpose of such an inquiry, they raised certain questions which might influence the decision of the Government. Therefore the writer finds it incumbent on him to answer some of the questions put forward.

The first important question is :

Whether constitutional difficulties may not arise in an inquiry which involves departments, such as Agriculture, Education, Sanitation, "transferred" to popular control by the Act of 1919.

Inspired by the wave of idealism that swept over England during the Great War, and anticipating the demands of the politically-minded classes of India, His Majesty's Government laid the foundation of responsible government in India. The sudden change in the political system, however, did not affect—nor could this be expected—the existing economic order. By the Act of 1919 the Indian Ministers have been entrusted with the control of the administrative organizations, and, realizing that the test of efficiency would lie in their ability to run the State machinery, their attention is chiefly focussed on the smooth working of the departments. In their attempts to introduce proposals of economic reforms, one not only misses that understanding of the processes by which the complex economic forces of the day may be harmonized, but also the intimate knowledge of the conditions, economic and social, which are not operating in favour of the progress of the Indian masses. The function of a Royal Commission would be to diagnose the root causes of poverty in the rural life of India. Further, it would indicate the manner in which a comprehensive rural policy might be formulated, both in the interest of furnishing the stages of representative government with stable economic foundations and in making India a more valuable Imperial asset. There is certainly no limitation in the Government of India Act of 1919 which might stand in the way of appointing such a Commission. By that Act the British Government has undertaken a greater responsibility, and, at this stage of India's political history, much depends on the lead that may be given to her in readjusting her socio-economic life to the complex factors of modern civilization. Such a lead as may come from a Royal Commission on rural India will be welcomed by those who are pledged to work the reforms successfully. The representatives of the people will then have before them an analysis of the factors which are influencing the existing rural conditions. In that historic Royal Proclamation acclaiming the Reform Bill, His

Majesty advised the leaders of the people "not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise." The appointment of a Royal Commission with a view to finding how best the interests of the masses may be protected cannot offer any insoluble constitutional difficulties, and its findings will be of great assistance to the Parliamentary Statutory Commission of 1929.

The second question is :

Whether the materials necessary for such an inquiry are not already available in numerous official reports and publications.

While recognizing the wealth of information available in official documents, it must be admitted that they do not take cognizance of important contributory factors which are outside the sphere of official interest and influence. If official documents were sufficient for diagnosing certain vital deficiencies in national economy, there would be no necessity for Royal Commissions in any civilized government. Notwithstanding the Blue Books, the Government of the United Kingdom has had two Royal Commissions within the last fifty years to inquire into the causes of agricultural depressions. In the Commissions appointed by the Crown every effort is made to obtain evidence from the several sources representing different interests. Admittedly, in the official papers relating to a country like India, where the administrators cannot always come into touch with the life-current of the people, it is not only difficult to find the records of divergent views on such questions as may be raised in connection with an inquiry such as proposed in this memorandum, but the changes that are taking place in the rural life are often passed unnoticed, or at best do not receive the attention they merit. "Rural classes have the greatest stake in the country because they contribute most to its revenues," write the authors of the Constitutional Reforms, and yet no comprehensive inquiry into their conditions of life has been made. I submit that the official documents need to be supplemented by evidence

from other sources, and that there would then be abundant material for examination by a Royal Commission.

We now come to the third question :

Whether, owing to the presence of such varied conditions in different parts of India, any benefit may accrue from an inquiry which, it is suggested, should include the whole of British India.

One fully realizes the importance of the regional factor in economics. While it exerts a considerable influence in moulding the character of economic development, the more primary determining factors are those inherent in the very organization of modern civilization, and to these organized and largely mechanical forces the unorganized rural life in India must adjust itself. The first step, therefore, towards formulating a comprehensive rural policy is to discover the principles which are fundamental in determining the direction in which the economic regeneration of the country must proceed. For this purpose the presence of varied conditions in different parts of India will not offer a formidable obstacle. The laws governing the economic interests of the people are at least equally operative in different parts of the country, however divergent may be the conditions of life.

There are other minor questions which may briefly be alluded to. The question of the expense of a Royal Commission may be answered with the remark that a sum spent for an inquiry which may lead to the adoption of an agricultural *policy* in India must be considered as an investment, the benefit of which the country will reap in the restoration of the confidence of the vast rural population in the authority of the State, and in the inauguration of an era of revival in agricultural practices.

As regards the pessimistic outlook that the problem of India's poverty is insoluble owing to the rapid increase in the population, the writer wishes to emphasize that the agricultural possibilities of the country have not as yet been realized, much less fully explored. Furthermore, the true

function of a modern State is to adapt itself to such an inevitable increase.

One word in conclusion. The disproportionate interest in politics has created among the educated classes in India a disproportionate belief in political remedies ; but they must realize that the problem in India is at bottom economic, and unless this vital issue can be successfully dealt with the political problem must remain incapable of solution.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM

BY HENRY J. COWELL

IN the opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (taking place on April 1) there will have been realized a dream which has been cherished for a generation. As far back as the first year of the present century the Fifth Zionist Congress called upon the Executive to examine the possibility of founding a Jewish College in Palestine. By 1914 negotiations had been entered into for the purchase of a site (including a house built by the late Sir John Gray Hill) upon Mount Scopus, and the transaction was just completed when the outbreak of the war placed a bar, temporarily, upon further progress.

In November, 1917, Earl (then Mr. A. J.) Balfour issued his famous declaration of sympathy with Zionist aspirations, definitely stating that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object." It may be added that these words indicated not only the official decision of the Government, but gave expression to the Minister's personal convictions and wishes. Dr. Weizmann, the prophet-leader of Zionism, had convinced the eminent British statesman, years before, that only in the land intertwined with the history, the traditions, the most sacred memories and the most cherished hopes of the Jews could they expect to establish a "National Home."

So, in hope and in faith, there was laid before the end of the war—*i.e.*, on July 24, 1918—a corner stone and twelve foundation stones of the new University (symbolical of the twelve tribes of Israel). Amongst those present at this impressive ceremony were General Allenby and his staff, representatives of the French and Italian armies, the Chief Rabbis of Jerusalem, Cairo and Alexandria, the Anglican and Greek Bishops, and the Grand Mufti.

Dr. Weizmann on that occasion indicated that, while the new University was meant to be "a unifying centre for Jewry's scattered elements," and to form "the focus of the rehabilitation of the Jewish consciousness," the institution was conceived in the broadest spirit of catholicity. Not only was it to study the ancient language of Israel and the languages and civilizations of the East, but it was to comprehend modern science and the humanities—in fact, "everything that the mind of man embraces." Moreover, while the University is to maintain the highest level of scientific research and to be "up to date" in every possible way, it is not to be limited to those possessing or aiming at any particular grade of knowledge, for it is to be accessible not only to the usual run of university student, but to the artisan, the agricultural labourer, and, indeed, to all classes of the people.

Nor must it be thought for a moment that the University, avowedly pro-Jewish, is anti-Gentile. "The Jewish University," says Dr. Weizmann, "though intended primarily for Jews, will give an affectionate welcome to the members of every race and every creed." While the official language at the University is to be Hebrew, and while the paramount idea is to establish an institution representative of and helping forward the interests of the Hebrew race in general, there is to be no barrier of colour, caste, or creed. Indeed, the nationalism of the Jewish race is not to antagonize, but to contribute to and conserve, internationalism in its deepest and broadest sense. The new institution is to be "a place for study and teaching without fear and without hatred, thus deepening the Jewish spirit, so that that Jewish spirit may in turn deepen the spiritual life of mankind as a whole." So the work of the University will happily combine two important features—intensive Judaism and extensive catholicity.

The site of the new institution on Mount Scopus covers an area of fifty acres; it looks down on Jerusalem to the west, and on the east commands a view of the Dead Sea and

the Jordan valley, with the mountains of Moab beyond. A magnificent building has been designed by Professor Geddes, but in the meantime the mansion already on the ground will be utilized. At present, of course, the University is still in its infancy, but two points at any rate may be mentioned—first, that the plans have been drawn up on a comprehensive and catholic scale, at once idealistic and realistic ; and secondly, a fine start has already been made, as there are at the present time four departments actually at work and rendering most valuable service. These four branches are :

1. A Research Institute in Microbiology for fundamental research in bacteriology, serology, immunity and other phases of experimental medicine, with particular reference to the medical and public health problems of Palestine. The institute has associated with it a School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. Ultimately, of course, a modern hospital will be erected, with medical college and laboratories of physiology, anatomy, histology, pathology, etc., lecture and clinic rooms, and so on.

2. A Biochemical Institute to cover (a) research work in the whole sphere of organic chemistry, as far as possible with due regard to the problems of economic and scientific interest in Palestine ; (b) research work in the whole sphere of biochemistry or physiological chemistry, also with due regard to the special needs of the Holy Land. Both the Microbiological Institute and the Biochemical Institute have their own properly equipped laboratories.

3. An Institute for Jewish Studies, conceived of as "a centre for promoting the knowledge of Hebrew and cognate languages, Jewish literature, history, philosophy, and institutions, both from the cultural and the comparative points of view." Leading Jewish scholars (both European and American) have been engaged for courses of lectures. This Institute was opened several months ago in the presence of a company of distinguished representatives of Hebrew, Muslim, and Christian institutions. The High Commis-

sioner of Palestine (Sir Herbert Samuel) recalled on this occasion how the spiritual heritage of ancient Judæa, the Law and the Prophets, had become "a part of the common possession of all humanity," and he spoke of this new Institute as "a bridge joining the East and the West."

In close association with these Research Institutes it is proposed to establish a People's University for the general dissemination of knowledge and the cultural development of larger sections of the population. Ultimately the administration of the whole University will be placed in the hands of an international body composed of men of learning and men of affairs, with an executive committee in Palestine.

4. A Library, already numbering more than 80,000 volumes, to which the British Museum, the New York Public Library, the Governments of France, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia, and many other donors, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have contributed. This library is issuing its own Hebrew journal, in which new publications in the field of Hebraism are chronicled and articles written upon manuscripts or ancient books in the library. Readers and borrowers are already making use of the collection. An interesting fact is that the Franciscan Fathers in Jerusalem (who have a fine library of their own) have been welcomed to partake of the facilities of the Jewish library.

Moreover, a series of learned publications is being issued (even before the University is officially "born"), the contributors to which include many Jewish scholars and scientists of established reputation in the world of knowledge.

The three institutes referred to above are only meant to be a beginning. The Institute for Jewish studies will grow by the formation of other specific departments of Jewish learning. Further branches of humanistic education will be added or formed into separate institutes. On the scientific side research institutes are proposed in physiology, physics, and mathematics. In addition, so soon as conditions in Palestine and the general position allow, the other side of the University will be developed—*i.e.*, "the

teaching and the training of those who are to take part in the intellectual and spiritual revival which shall emanate from Palestine."

The establishment of this institution is attracting attention not simply from patriotic Hebrews all over the world, but from similar institutions in this country, on the Continent, in the Middle East, and even across the Atlantic. Universities which are to be personally represented at the brilliant opening ceremony include Aberdeen, Belfast, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Amsterdam, Frankfort, and Groningen. Other institutions also to be represented in person include the Anglo-Jewish Association, the British Medical Association, the British Museum, the Cambridge School of Archæology, the Royal Institution, the Royal Society, the College de France, and the Swedish Academy. A host of other Universities and learned institutions will send greetings to the new star in the educational heavens.

No one more appropriate than the Earl of Balfour could have been found to officiate at the opening ceremony of the new institution. As already indicated, he is thoroughly familiar with Zionist aims and ideals, and, moreover, while he is not unaware of the immense difficulties which still have to be faced, he firmly believes that those difficulties will be surmounted. A bronze bust of the Earl, presented to the new University by London Zionists, is to be unveiled; this, the work of a Jewish sculptor, was exhibited in the Royal Academy last year. Lord Balfour (who is familiarly known amongst the Jews as "the second Cyrus") will take the opportunity of making a tour of the country with which, as a result of his famous Declaration, his name is so closely associated. Some of the towns and country districts have already been named "Balfour" or "Balfouria" in his honour. His address at the opening of the University is being eagerly looked forward to, as likely to be one worthy to be set by the side of the historic announcement made in November, 1917.

A WORD FOR JAPAN

BY JOHN OXENDON

It is no wonder that Japan should feel indignant over the American "attitude," as manifested so glaringly in the passing of the Japanese Exclusion Act. Yet Japan, or its statesmen and thinkers, should at least recognize the seriousness of the situation in so far as the United States is directly concerned; for, in plain words, the United States *had* to pass some such measure, in order to protect the inalienable rights of vast numbers of its citizens to that freedom and those privileges which the great majority of Americans enjoy or are accustomed to: in other words, the freedom of American labour from the competition of vast numbers of Japanese immigrants, whose standards of living and conceptions of "fitting wages" are at such utter variance with American labour views and customs. Yes, and not only that, but the ever-increasing flood of Japanese immigrants threatened darkly the very maintenance of American traditions and the integrity of the Union in a number of States. For, if such immigration were much longer continued unrestricted, it would only be a question of brief time ere the Japanese preponderated in such States. Either it had to be stopped or the American standard of living and customs had to be lowered in such States. Besides, as with the individual, so with the nation; it is the undoubted right of each either to invite or exclude whom it chooses, while it is the duty of each to exercise both caution and judgment in the selection of either. In brief, it is imperative that it should do so. For how else is either individual or nation to work out its own salvation?

However, when that is said, all is said in America's behalf; for it is deplorable that Congress should have

passed the Japanese Exclusion Bill in the way it did. Hence, no wonder that Japan, as a nation, and a highly civilized one at that, should resent such treatment, or regard it as an intolerable insult. Yet in so far as the American people, as a whole, are concerned, it was never intended as anything of the kind; but simply as an act of imperative necessity on the national behalf. And Japan must surely admit that "self-preservation is the first law of nature"—a truism which applies alike to animals and mankind.

Let us hope, then, that upon reflection, Japan will not only forgive the United States for her lack of diplomacy in this single instance, but remain her constant friend. Certainly, all thoughtful Americans regard the friendship of Japan as of importance, and are well assured of its loyalty in that respect. And truly, Japan has for many decades past set an exceptionally fine example to the whole civilized world, as faithful ally, and of fidelity to its engagements in international relationship. It is, indeed, far more loyal and steadfast, both as ally and as a nation, to its ideals and traditions than are some professedly Christian nations and peoples.

Small wonder, then, that the American people—or their more thoughtful and intelligent classes—should appreciate so highly the friendship of Japan, despite the political complications in regard to Japanese emigration. The best testimony to the virtues and many admirable qualities of the Japanese is that of our own public men and diplomats who best know them. For *their* tribute is almost invariably spontaneous and hearty: whatever may be said by those who are particularly emphatic in their assertions to the effect that the Japanese immigrants are "utterly unfitted for American citizenship," are "detrimental to American labour interests," and are "a menace to our civilization."

For no matter how justified the United States may be in refusing to assimilate the Japanese (or Oriental) overplus,

there is neither sense nor justice in characterizing such immigrants as "inferior." As a matter of fact, they are too frugal and industrious to "fit in" with *our* wasteful and extravagant civilization. It is best to be quite frank about it. So far indeed from being "inferior," Japan is to-day perhaps the best governed nation in the civilized world. It would not seem to have any Bolsheviks either! Yet it is a densely populated and heavily handicapped nation, with an extremely limited area, to say nothing of its convulsive interior. Hence, our admiration and high esteem should be accorded Japan, and *is* accorded by all generous and enlightened Americans.

And, lastly, a word of appreciation of the fine diplomacy at a critical and trying juncture displayed by the late Ambassador Woods, who proved himself at once a true patriot and an enlightened and generous-minded diplomat. President Coolidge would do well to remember his services in the near future, for ambassadors of his type and worth are invaluable.

THE INDIAN BUDGET OF 1925-26

ON February 28 Sir Basil Blackett, the Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, presented his third Budget to the Indian Legislature. Sir Basil found himself in the happy position of describing a further stage in the financial recovery of India. In 1923 the Government of India after five years of deficits were able to budget for equilibrium with the aid of additional taxation which took the form of doubling the salt tax, a measure which had eventually to be carried by the certificate of the Viceroy. In 1924 the position was further improved, and the Assembly were given the choice between two alternatives, each of which was compatible with a balanced Budget—namely, a reduction of the Provincial contributions while retaining a portion of the enhanced salt tax, or a reversion to the old rate of tax, no relief being afforded to the Provinces. On political grounds the Legislative Assembly refused last year to take the Finance Bill into consideration; and the Finance Act was eventually certified by the Viceroy with the old rate of salt tax, and therefore without relief to the Provinces. This year the Legislature have had placed before them a Budget which, while retaining the reduced salt tax, at the same time enables a substantial measure of relief to be given to the Provinces. These three years thus represent progressive stages—1923, equilibrium aided by additional taxation; 1924, equilibrium with the remission of this extra taxation; and 1925, a surplus enabling a start to be made with the process of remitting the Provincial contributions.

The Finance Member in introducing his Budget deals also with the accounts of the last completed year and the revised estimates of the expiring year.

The final account for 1923-24 exhibits a surplus of Rs. 239

lakhs, after debiting certain non-budgeted expenditure of nearly Rs. 4 crores against the revenue of the year.

The revised estimates for 1924-25 show a surplus of Rs. 400 lakhs as compared with the nominal budgeted surplus of Rs. 18½ lakhs. The average rate of exchange for the year, estimated in the Budget at 1s. 4¼d., was actually 1s. 5½d., leading to a total saving in the ordinary Budget of Rs. 215 lakhs. The receipts from railways show an improvement in estimated revenue of Rs. 106 lakhs. Net military expenditure shows a reduction of nearly Rs. 4 crores, while civil expenditure only differs slightly from the budgeted total, a fact which testifies to the success of the Indian Finance Department in controlling expenditure.

The year 1924-25 was noteworthy for two innovations, tending towards the future stabilization of certain important heads of account—the net railway revenue and the provision for the reduction and avoidance of debt.

The main railway systems of India, as is well known, are owned by the State. Until 1924-25 the railway Budget formed part of the general Budget of the Central Government, to which it contributed according to the results of the year's working. Railway earnings are particularly susceptible to vicissitudes of trade. Active trade following a good monsoon and bumper harvests might, as it has sometimes in the past, yield large sums in excess of the amount for which a prudent Finance Member could safely budget. The same result might occur if for any reason outlay on maintenance were curtailed, and working expenses were thus reduced, though in this case the liability would be only postponed. On the other hand, failure of the monsoon or abnormal working expenses might produce an incalculable result in the opposite direction.

The Indian Railway Committee, which reported in 1921 on Indian railway management, strongly recommended that India should fall into line with the practice approved in other important countries where the railways are owned by the State, and should separate the railway Budget from the

central Budget. In pursuance of this policy a resolution was carried last year through the Legislative Assembly, adopting such separation and prescribing principles for calculating the contribution from the railways to central revenues. The railways have to meet all working expenses, including interest charges, and after meeting these charges they are called upon to contribute 1 per cent. on the capital plus one-fifth of the surplus profits to Central revenues. One-third of the remaining surplus, if in excess of Rs. 3 crores, is also handed over to the Central Government, the rest being credited to railway reserve, to be used to strengthen the financial position of the railways and for the improvement of facilities or the reduction of rates. The new system has been introduced under favourable auspices, and in 1924-25 the contribution to the Central Government from the railways is expected to amount to Rs. 564 lakhs, Rs. 409 lakhs being credited to railway reserves. For 1925-26 the anticipated credit to central revenues amounts to Rs. 523 lakhs, and the credit to railway reserves to Rs. 328 lakhs. A railway depreciation fund has also been set up by appropriations charged to working expenses. There is every ground for hoping that the railways will derive increased strength from the new method of apportionment of revenue, which renders them to a large degree independent of the vicissitudes of general finances; the Central Government at the same time will enjoy the assurance of receiving a comparatively stable return from its investment in the Indian railway system.

It has normally been part of the Indian financial system to provide considerable sums from other than borrowed funds for the purpose of capital development. Such sums went towards the reduction or avoidance of debt, and under the Indian system of accounting, non-borrowed funds used in this way enabled reductions to be made in the Indian unproductive debt, which, prior to the war, had been reduced to negligible dimensions. The figure has since been increased by India's war contribution and the heavy

revenue deficits in the years immediately following the war. It has now been decided to stabilize for a period of five years, commencing in 1925-26, the amount of the annual contribution from revenue towards the reduction or avoidance of debt at Rs. 400 lakhs, together with a sum representing one-eightieth of the net amount of new debt contracted since March 31, 1923. In 1925-26 the total sum so made available for debt avoidance is estimated at approximately Rs. 5 crores. This change in Budget procedure brings out the fact that the Indian Government are fully alive to the importance of controlling carefully the growth of public indebtedness.

The satisfactory results of 1924-25 could not, of course, have been achieved had not trade conditions continued the improvement which characterized the preceding year. The total value of the imports and exports of merchandise to and from India in the eleven months ending February, 1925, amounted to Rs. 579 crores, as compared with Rs. 529 crores in the corresponding period of the previous year. The net balance of visible trade in India's favour is, however, likely this year to fall short of last year's record figure of Rs. 86 crores, owing to the unprecedentedly heavy imports of the precious metals, particularly gold. The net import of precious metals into India for the eleven months ending February, 1925, reached the enormous total of Rs. 74 crores, of which the net import of gold alone represented Rs. 56 crores. The total new production of gold to-day has been estimated at about £80,000,000 per annum, so that India is apparently to-day importing over 50 per cent. of the total new production. With the rupee at a gold value of almost 1s. 6d., gold in India is cheaper than it has been for more than a generation. Hence it is not surprising that India, where the demand for gold is affected by social customs, should now be taking a greater supply of the metal than hitherto.

For 1925-26 the Finance Member has been able to budget on the existing basis of taxation for a surplus of

Rs. 324 lakhs. This gratifying result is largely due to careful control of expenditure. In this task the Government of India continue to benefit from the valuable Report prepared by the Retrenchment Committee under Lord Inchcape in 1923. The Government of India are entitled to credit for the progressive reduction of military expenditure, which in 1919-20 and in 1920-21 exceeded Rs. 80 crores net, to Rs. 59 $\frac{1}{4}$ crores net in 1923-24, Rs. 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores net in 1924-25, and (as budgeted) Rs. 57 crores net in 1925-26, after taking into account the utilization of stocks without replenishment. Sir Basil Blackett confidently hopes to secure further reductions in military expenditure next year. Of the Budget surplus of Rs. 324 lakhs he estimates that Rs. 268 lakhs can be regarded as a true recurring surplus, while the remaining Rs. 56 lakhs represents a temporary favourable balance of account. There are a number of possible ways in which the "true" surplus could be returned to the taxpayer. On many grounds the reduction by the Central Government of taxation, which has been much increased in recent years, would be welcome. But apart from some minor modifications in the tariff of little financial effect, no change in the general rates of Customs duty, income tax, salt tax, or postal rates is now proposed. The Government of India have concluded that at the present juncture the most satisfactory method of disposing of the surplus is to devote it to the reduction of the Provincial contributions.

When the scheme of Constitutional Reform was introduced as from the year 1921-22, it was provided, as part of the financial settlement, that the Government of India should receive, by way of contribution from the Provinces, an aggregate sum of Rs. 983 lakhs, owing to the fact that the separation of Central and Provincial finance had operated to the detriment of the revenues of the Central Government. Many of the anticipations of the framers of this settlement have been disappointed. The 2s. rate of exchange on which it was based has not been secured.

Again, the growth of administrative expenditure, mainly due to the rising prices and its consequential effects, has swallowed up resources which it was hoped would have been available to the Provincial Governments for new development. These Governments have on the whole, by means of retrenchment and additional taxation, improved their financial position, which was at one time serious. Deficit Budgets have disappeared in most Provinces, but there is little room for expansion in such departments as Education and Sanitation, which are in urgent need of development. It has always been recognized by the Government of India that the Provincial contributions should be reduced and eventually extinguished as soon as the financial situation of the Central Government allowed. Last year the rejection of the Finance Bill by the Assembly postponed the beginning of the process ; this year there is an abundantly good case for starting it, and the Government of India accordingly propose to devote Rs. 250 lakhs to the permanent reduction of the Provincial contributions. In accordance with the Statutory Rules the permanent reductions will result in Madras obtaining a remission of Rs. 126 lakhs, the United Provinces Rs. 56 lakhs, the Punjab Rs. 61 lakhs, and Burma Rs. 7 lakhs, as these Provinces are at present paying more than their standard rate of contribution to the Central Government. At the same time the Government of India propose to continue for a further three years the remission of Bengal's contribution of Rs. 63 lakhs, which was waived for the three years ending 1924-25. This special concession to Bengal lay outside the Rules as originally passed, and was made with the approval of the Legislature in the light of the financial stringency in Bengal, to which the Joint Select Committee of Parliament had invited special attention.

While the Budget has had a favourable reception in this country by reason of the surplus disclosed and of the sound financial principles on which it is framed, it met with some criticism in India, where the public are interested

not only in the general scheme presented, but in the actual incidence of relief as between the various Provinces. In Bombay and Assam, for instance, disappointment was felt at the absence of any relief to those Provinces. Subsequently, as explained below, the Government of India amplified their proposals on lines which went some way towards meeting this point of view.

The claim of the Bombay cotton industry for a remission of the cotton excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has also been voiced in the Assembly during the Budget debates, and the Assembly rejected certain votable expenditure on the cotton Excise establishment. Since this tax was instituted in 1894 much has happened, including the enhancement of the import duty on cotton manufactures, which has been raised by stages from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 11 per cent., thus affording the Bombay industry a substantial measure of protection. Still the political objections to the tax are strongly felt, and stress is laid on the statement in 1916 of Lord Hardinge that the abolition of this duty would be effected as soon as financial considerations would permit. As recently as September last a resolution was passed in the Indian Legislative Assembly recommending its early repeal. But it has to be remembered that the reduction of the Provincial contributions increases the funds at the disposal of Local Governments for the benefit of the people of the Provinces concerned, whereas a reduction of the cotton excise duty would redound mainly to the benefit of private industrialists in one particular Province. On the merits, the Government of India can surely claim that Indian interests as a whole will derive greater benefit by the substantial reduction of the Provincial contributions than by the remission of the cotton excise duty or any other specific tax. It is satisfactory that the Legislative Assembly has, after some hesitation, accepted this broad conclusion, and has reconsidered its original vote to reduce the salt tax by 4 annas per maund—a measure which would have restricted the relief available for the Provinces. The Council of State

performed a useful service in restoring the rate to the figure proposed by the Government of India, and the Assembly are to be congratulated on accepting the amendment. In the course of the debates the Government of India announced that they proposed to distribute Rs. 50 lakhs of the non-recurring surplus as a grant, for 1925-26 only, to certain Provinces, which either would not benefit, or would only benefit slightly, by the reduction of Rs. 250 lakhs in the contributions—namely, Bombay, Burma, the Central Provinces and Assam. The Government's proposals for provincial relief, which, apart from the extended remission in favour of Bengal, involve the surrender of Rs. 300 lakhs in favour of the Provinces in 1925-26 (Rs. 50 being non-recurring, as explained above), have now been endorsed by the Legislative Assembly.

The realization of the Budget will turn largely on the actual average rate of exchange that may prevail during the year, since every variation of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the rate means a gain or loss of approximately Rs. 50 lakhs. It is of course not possible to forecast the movements of exchange in 1925-26, but, as some rate has to be assumed in the Budget, and the prevailing rate has for some time been in the neighbourhood of 1s. 6d., the choice of this figure is intelligible enough.

The gradual recovery of the rupee, from the low level of 1s. 3d. in 1921, inevitably raises the question of what is to be India's currency policy in the future. There has been some demand, particularly in Bombay, that the present statutory ratio of 2s. gold enacted under different conditions in 1920 should be replaced by the old pre-war ratio of 1s. 4d. gold. This view is based on the ground that a stable exchange is urgently needed, and that some automatic means should exist for currency expansion in response to the demands of trade. The Indian exchange first touched 1s. 4d. gold in September, 1924, and had the pre-war ratio of the rupee been in force, the exchange could not have risen to 1s. 6d. sterling, which is only a little below

1s. 6d. gold. But what would have been the consequences of reversion to the pre-war parity? Clearly it would have involved a substantial increase of currency, which would have tended to raise the level of prices in India. During the last two years, while exchange has been gradually rising, India has enjoyed remarkable stability of prices. The Calcutta index numbers for 1922, 1923, and 1924 have been 180, 176, and 177, respectively, and, though undue stress must not be laid on the significance of index numbers, the purchasing power of the rupee has recently been more constant than that of sterling or of gold, as measured by dollar prices in America. So far as the main elements of the population of India are concerned, stability of prices is of greater importance than stability of exchange, and, as the rise in exchange has not resulted in a contraction of prices or militated against trade, the currency control exercised by the Government of India must be regarded as having been justified by results. Owing to the fact that the statutory rate of exchange is artificial and that the Government have declined to peg the rate at any particular level, they have been able to regulate the currency much on the lines that have been advocated by eminent economic writers with a view to minimizing fluctuations in its purchasing power. But such a policy has its drawbacks, as it is highly desirable, in the interests of trade, that the exchange should be fixed as soon as conditions become sufficiently stable. While, however, world prices are liable to substantial fluctuations and even sterling is still removed from par, it is not surprising that the Government of India have decided to hold their hand. The Viceroy, at the inauguration of the present session of the Legislature, announced that it was the intention of Government to hold an authoritative enquiry into the question of the rupee exchange as soon as world conditions had obtained a sufficient degree of stability. He expressed the anticipation that, if the improvement in world conditions continued, the time might be ripe for such an

enquiry within the next twelve months. In spite of the advance towards normality in world conditions that has recently taken place as evidenced by the present stabilization of the German mark, the Report of the Dawes Committee and the action taken thereon, it is still too early to regard all dangers as past, and India would run greater risk by premature action than by continuing a cautious policy of watchfulness for a further period. In his recent address to the Commercial Committee of the House of Commons on the restoration of the gold standard, Mr. McKenna referred to the general view "that an appreciating exchange is injurious to export trade," and he observed that the rise in the British exchange had been "brought about in some measure by a contraction, or insufficient supply, of credit." The application of these observations to India deserves attention, especially with reference to the effect of the rise in exchange on the export trade, the prosperity of which is a matter of vital consequence to India. The doctrine that a rise in exchange is detrimental to exports is the expression of a tendency only, which may be counteracted by other forces. In the case of India, it would seem that the rise in exchange, which has been associated with a rise in world prices, has not militated against the development of Indian exports. The rise in world prices has led to India's customers meeting the additional cost of exchange, the burden of which has not been borne by the Indian exporter or Indian producer through a reduction in the rupee price of his produce.

The main features of the Indian Budget, and the principal problems of interest which it raises, have now been discussed. The position of the Indian Government's finances is one which must raise feelings of envy in most Finance Ministers. The Budget is balanced after allowing for substantial remissions in favour of the Provinces ; the rupee is recognized as one of the sound currencies of the world ; provision has been made for the reduction or avoidance of debt ; it has been possible to dispense with external bor-

rowing; the trade of the country, despite depression in certain industries, resulting in the main from world factors, is generally prosperous. These results have been achieved by adherence, not only in the past year but over a long period, to sound principles of finance consistent with the best British traditions. When, as occurred under stress of war, the finances became disordered and the currency impaired, prompt steps were taken to eradicate the sources of evil and to reaffirm approved principles.

At the same time, it must not be overlooked that important problems of taxation remain to be solved, and that the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments will require readjustment as soon as circumstances permit. Sir Basil Blackett was, therefore, well advised in stating that, though there were grounds to-day for satisfaction, there were none for premature elation or slackening in endeavour. At the same time the work accomplished entitles the Government and the people of India, as well as the investor, to regard the financial outlook with quiet confidence.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE LEE COMMISSION REPORT: A REPLY

SIR,—In your January issue Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh argues that the status and prestige of the British Services in India are not affected by the dyarchical system, that the protective measures and the pecuniary benefits of the Lee Commission Report are therefore not required, and that even the present limited instalment of democracy, still less any further concession, cannot co-exist with the irresponsibility of the Services. Mr. Ghosh defines “irresponsible” as meaning not amenable to control by the Legislatures of India, and not subject to appointment or dismissal by any power in India. And I infer from later observations that in his opinion dyarchy has no chance of success unless the Ministers have power to appoint and dismiss the officials who have to carry out their policies.

My thesis is that the status of the Services was radically changed by the introduction of dyarchy. The old theory was that the servants of the Government of India should be the efficient agents of an autocratic authority, benevolent and accessible to advice, responsible to its own conscience, but not to the voice of any representative Assembly. Anyone ambitious of inspiring a policy expected to have to prove to the autocrat that its execution would be for the good of the people. The new theory is that compliance with popular desire is the important point. What the people say they want must generally be done. He who wishes to inspire a policy must lead the people to desire it. There are reservations, but the basis is changed. Efficiency (in the old sense) is no longer the goal. It is idle to deny the existence of prejudices in respect of colour. Perhaps, also, they are stronger where white men have been privileged. Some Englishmen might take orders more comfortably from a Siamese than from an Indian. But there are many, conscious of the prejudice but able to master it and to take orders from an Indian without damage to their self-esteem, who find the new system more difficult to work and less attractive to their minds. The new system, it is submitted, has changed the status of the Services.

The change may be admitted, and then it may be said that the British official in India is expected to do no more than the permanent civil servant in England. That is true, but the English civil servant entered upon his work with knowledge of these conditions. He may have to carry out a policy which he believes to be mistaken. His master, the politician, gets the blame if the policy turns out ill; but by the nature of things the politician has a mass of supporters when the execution of the policy begins, and even a considerable body of apologists when it fails. Indian Ministers have not this mass of support. Multitudes of the people continue to regard an official as blameworthy for failing to prevent the execution of a

measure which they dislike, and an executive official is more likely to incur popular odium in India than in England. In the main, the people of England are aware that the Government is what the majority of them make it from time to time, and (apart from grumbles concerning methods) it is the politicians whom they blame for distasteful measures. India cannot be expected to arrive at this stage at a bound. The period of transition is uncomfortable for officials.

If, therefore, it is necessary to retain a considerable proportion of the existing British officials and to attract competent recruits, some such protective measures as the Lee Commission recommended are inevitable. Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh may hold that India could do well enough without the British officials, but such a view is not within the scope of the present argument.

As to pecuniary benefits I do not desire to say much. Probably the new conditions render necessary some increase in attractions. For the rest, the question is mainly one of price levels. But neither a fall of prices in England, nor a decrease in the price of Indian grain, is very relevant by itself. Mr. Ghosh tries to make out that dyarchy has reduced the work of the District Officer. Other information does not corroborate this view.

In thinking it indispensable to the success of dyarchy that the Ministers should have full power over the officials who carry out the Ministers' policies, Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh ignores the opinions of many pure admirers of democracy. The wholesale changes of officials in the United States upon the advent of a different party to power have been often reprobated. By custom and practice the permanent civil servants in Great Britain have much more protection than by legal theory. Mr. Ghosh complains that Lord Chelmsford declared an intention to test the fitness of Indians to govern by their treatment of the Services. Something very similar was said about the Labour Party in Great Britain, and most of those who held office were thought to have passed the test. These matters will certainly require tact on both sides in India, where a new practice has to be established, but the alternative of a *personnel* changing with every change of Minister is a counsel of despair. It is not demanded by democratic principle. Some willingness on the part of Ministers to work a reasonable system, some readiness on the part of officials to sacrifice efficiency in favour of popular applause—these are the requirements of the moment. The plan of a sudden and violent breach offers appalling possibilities. If Mr. Ghosh will investigate the cases, not numerous, in which British Ministers have thought a change of permanent officials to be necessary for reasons of policy, he will find that custom has restricted the Minister in the matter of dismissal and appointment, and protected the official in the sphere of pay and prospects. In India, unfortunately, it was necessary to be explicit.

FRANK GATES.

THE PROBLEM OF MESOPOTAMIA

[The following notes have been sent by a reader in India, who has served in the Mesopotamia campaign, and has a good knowledge of the problems involved.]

SIR,—The original idea of sending a British Expeditionary Force to Mesopotamia arose from the necessity of protecting the oil-fields and plant at Ahwaz and Mohammerah. At the same time it was hoped to win over the Arabs to our side, and thereby influence a large section of the Muhammadan world in our favour. With the occupation of Kurna the first object had been secured, and it then became obvious that the support of the Arab was likely to be lukewarm and ineffectual. It was not long before the project of going to Baghdad was discussed. The name was a magic one to conjure with, and gave a further objective to the expedition after the first had been attained.

This project once having been sanctioned, the limits of the expedition knew no bounds till the Caspian Sea had been reached and Mosul had been occupied. The end of the war found the British Empire committed to vast responsibilities in both Mesopotamia and Persia.

Prior to the Great War, British interests in Mesopotamia were concerned principally in opposing the advance of German influence in that quarter and in keeping friends with native potentates on the littoral of the Persian Gulf. Because Germany was a potential enemy, it was considered desirable to prevent her from gaining a position at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence diversions could be made against our communications with India and the East. Hence certain conditions were made between us and the Turks as regards the terminus of a possible through Baghdad Railway.

As a result of the war our interests in Mesopotamia have naturally increased, but actually have not changed. Our position there has altered. We are now responsible for a land frontier abutting on Turkish territory, we have the French in close proximity in Syria, and finally we have guaranteed the integrity of the new Arab State of Iraq.

For the guidance of future policy it is as well to review what our interests in Mesopotamia really are or should be.

Firstly, there stands our promise to the Arabs. This fixes our responsibilities in Mesopotamia for a considerable time. Not only for four years, but for as long as the mandate lasts, must we be prepared to maintain the integrity of Iraq territory.

The chances of an Arab State in Iraq materializing within even twenty years are remote. It must be remembered that new ideas and inventions have been thrust upon these peoples which Europeans have taken centuries to develop. It is not likely that a self-supporting State can be created within the time which present-day politicians may hope to see. Our interests are opposed, therefore, to such a lengthy commitment.

Secondly, there is our determination to keep the Turk from going back to Mesopotamia.

This will result in continued unfriendliness with Turkey, a line of action which is against Imperial interests, and is a doubtful policy.

Thirdly, there is the hope of obtaining a return for the capital invested in the country, and the hope of future developments in the nature of oil, cereals, and cotton.

For the last two labour is required in large quantities. This is not available in the country, and any scheme for its importation or for colonization by foreigners is to be deprecated. Production of the first item involves long carriage to Europe. The question of a pipe-line to the Mediterranean is discussed later.

Fourthly, it is considered necessary to safeguard the oil-fields at Ahwaz.

This is an important factor, supposing that the British Navy was conducting operations in the Pacific. But as a source for home supply the distance of these fields from the United Kingdom decreases their value; nearer sources in neutral States are likely to be tapped first, as was done in the last war.

Fifthly, there is the fear of loss of prestige if we do clear out of Mesopotamia.

Sixthly, Mesopotamia affords an excellent line of communication by air or land with India and the East. The value of having aerodromes in Mesopotamia is not disputed, and they would be a vital asset to a permanent air-route between England and India. A through railway from Karachi to Baghdad and Damascus might also prove a most valuable asset. But both these communications would depend on land forces for their protection in time of war, and would be a serious drain on the forces available for the main operations.

The project has also been discussed of constructing an oil pipe-line across Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. This, again, would require safeguarding in time of war, though, if run alongside a railway, the protection of the two might be combined in one scheme. Both a railway and a pipe-line are, however, interrupted very easily.

Of these three interests, the facility for the development of an air-route seems by far the most important and deserving of attention. The investment of five or six million pounds sterling per annum, with the probability of a future decrease of this amount, in order to secure this important air-route, does not seem excessive. On the other hand, it is by realizing the commitments to which the maintenance of this air-route may lead us in the future, that the advisability of continuing our present policy can be judged.

The fact must be borne in mind that the improvements in communications carried out by us in Mesopotamia have produced a new strategical feature in any future operations in the Middle East.

The railways in Mesopotamia and the Persian roads have made it possible for troops to be moved about quicker and supported in greater numbers than in the beginning of the last campaign. A few infantry brigades could no longer secure the oil-fields or a bridgehead at Basrah. Summing up the case on the facts presented above, it does not seem that Mesopotamia really interests the British Empire beyond affording facilities

for air communications. Further, that to safeguard these communications, the employment of considerable forces might be involved, and the latter means maintaining a strong military hold of the country permanently.

Supposing we withdraw military support from Iraq, what are the dangers to which the country will be exposed?

Firstly, there is a danger of the Turks attempting to regain the country.

Secondly, there is danger of Bolshevik influences spreading southwards through Persia and Kurdistan.

And, lastly, there is the possibility of the extension of French influence from Syria, in case of our withdrawal.

The latter case might arise in the event of the League of Nations asking France in the event of trouble to furnish military support to Iraq, since we had renounced our obligations.

It may be taken for granted that Iraq unsupported cannot withstand successfully any of these dangers, and that, for many years, she will not be able to perform the rôle of a buffer state, the maintenance of which has been the keynote of our policy around the Persian Gulf.

It is possible that an arrangement might be made whereby Kurdistan and Iraq enjoyed practical local autonomy while acknowledging Turkish suzerainty. Our interests might be secured by our being granted the monopoly of running river-steamers; by the retention by us of certain of the appointments on the railway staff, and by the lease of certain aerodromes.

The reoccupation by Turkey of Iraq would be a safeguard against the other two dangers, and, provided Arab interests were protected, would not be detrimental to Imperial policy.

There is no doubt that a friendly Turkey suits us more than an unfriendly Turkey.

The Gladstonian policy of hostility to the Turk has proved to be an erroneous one—let this fact be admitted openly.

The main argument against such a course rests on a sentimental factor—namely, that it is hard to give up what one has once got, especially if it is to the former possessor from whom it has been taken by force.

X.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

UNEMPLOYMENT—A LEAD FROM INDIA: THE CALCUTTA EDUCATIONAL COLONIES MOVEMENT AND ITS PRINCIPLE

BY PROFESSOR J. W. SCOTT,
University College, Cardiff

ONE of the great things that have been happening since the War is that both political economists and social reformers have been profiting from the experiences of revolution through which most of the world, in milder or sterner form, has been passing. It is not the lessons that political economists have been deriving from the facts of political revolution which I propose to dwell upon in this paper, but a conspicuous instance of the opportunity which the social reformer derives from the threat of revolution.

I am thinking particularly of a movement in India towards a better industrial and social order, which has already been under discussion by this Association, and has been reported of in its *Journal**; a movement which, though originating in England, has been transplanted to India and may be said to have been under way, in the minds of its promoters, for at least a quarter of a century, but which appears to be rapidly coming to the beginnings of practical fruit in these days of disturbed ideas and undercurrents of revolutionary thought in that country. This is the movement towards Production-for-use, a Homecrofting and educational movement, initiated by Captain Petavel of Calcutta, and now on the eve of something like a practical demonstration of what up till now has been more or less †

* See the *Journal of the East India Association*, New Series, vol. x., No. 2.

† Not wholly. The Maharaja of Cossimbazar's flourishing "Polytechnic Institute" was of the nature of a practical demonstration in the same direction. (See *ibid.*, pp. 65-68.)

a theoretical structure, a paper plan, for a far-reaching social reform.

What I should like to do in this paper, if I can, is to set forth what I take to be the essential aims of this Calcutta movement, and then adduce some reasons why I think them sound and suggest some of the steps whereby I conceive those ends might most hopefully be worked for. I do not know how far the steps I am to suggest correspond with the practical steps which the Calcutta people are proposing. I do not wish my paper to be taken as a report of what is being done in Calcutta, but as a discussion of the idea underlying it. Any steps which I may suggest towards accomplishing what I take to be the end in view, will be based mainly on conditions in this country and America, and conditions in India are of course very different. But the general aim is so important, and in my own view socially so sound, that I cannot help thinking some correspondence may appear between what I think would lead to its realization in America or here and the steps which would lead to its realization even in so different a place as India. The question how far the ideals which I am to discourse upon would seem to be realizable under Indian conditions is one that possesses a very great interest for me. And it is one on which I feel sure that many Members of this Association may be in a position to make suggestions of real importance.

The general aim of the Homecrofting movement, as I understand it, is to steady industrial production so that we shall not suffer from those ceaseless alternations between boom and slump, between industrial prosperity and industrial depression, finding ourselves first in the trough of the wave and then on the top, and then back again in the trough, in an endless monotony such as has been the order of things industrial ever since mass-production came in. India wants industrialism, but she does not want that.

This "trade cycle," as it has been called, has been studied

ever since industrialism arose in England ; but so far an economic way out of it has not been found. Among the things that Captain Petavel has done one has been to endeavour to re-direct attention to the idea of industrial co-operation, and to urge that there exists in that quarter an unsuspected power to compass a solution to this standing problem of our civilization.

Let us glance first at the trouble which has to be remedied. By the help of machinery and mass-production goods can be produced now with a mere fraction of the labour which was required when all was done by hand ; in fact, by a mere fraction of what was required even in the old days of the co-operative movement in England, when industrialism had not as yet nearly come to its height. Now, it is both tragic and preposterous that with abundance of raw material in the world, and abundance of people able to do the work, and abundance of machinery standing idle, those people should go about unemployed, starving for lack of the very goods which their own hands could produce by the help of the idle machinery if they could only get at it.

This is the anomaly which has faced the industrial world ever since the latter half of the eighteenth century. This is the "mystery," as some are beginning to call it, of the trade cycle. It is a "mystery" just because it is so simple. The whole problem is to keep the industrial wheels going round, and going round steadily ; to keep the people taking off the goods from the retailers' counters : retailers in consequence drawing continuously on the wholesale stores ; the wholesale stores drawing continuously on the manufacturers ; and the manufacturers in their turn continuously employing the people and giving them the wherewithal to continue drawing off the produce at the shops and consuming it, thus keeping up the circulation. It is exactly like a well. The raw material runs in at the one end and the finished goods flow out at the other. The goods must continue to flow out and be absorbed. And this depends on a curious kind of endless chain of "ifs." They will flow

out *if* people have money to buy them. People will have money to buy them *if* they have work—that is, *if* goods flow in. Once more, goods *will* flow in *if* they flow out. And so on, round and round the circle.

The whole difficulty is to keep this circulation up. There come blocks. There come hitches. Apparently we can't make the industrial well flow steadily. Under another metaphor, the complicated industrial machine is repeatedly running away with us, going too fast in one place and causing a glut in another; and thus it sticks and stops, so that willing people, though they are dying for the goods, cannot get them.

And they cannot, of their own self-activity, proceed to relieve *themselves*. This is really the centre of the matter. They cannot simply fall to and *make* the goods whenever they feel the pinch of necessity in their bodies beginning to call for them. They have willing hands, but they have no way of applying these hands to relieve their wants.

Now, in Captain Petavel's general position you have what I take to be a very simple way of escape proposed from this difficulty. What he says is, give these hands the skill and give them the opportunity.

It is true, nobody could ever learn all the trades required to supply himself with all he needs—food, clothing, light, shelter, and all the rest—*if they had all to be made by hand*. There was a time when a man could approximately do that. But it was a very long time ago, and it was a very crude supply that he made for himself. But this is an age of machinery. And with very little trouble, if only education were directed straight on the point, most men could in a few years master the simple processes involved in feeding most of the machinery which turns out goods *en masse*. So there could easily be such a thing as a self-supporting colony, and the principle of the self-supporting colony could widen itself till it was universalized.

The colony would not be really and essentially difficult

to bring into being. It would merely mean a group of manufacturers—of boots, of stockings, of bread, of the various standard necessities of life—erecting their plants in the middle of a population who worked these plants and were partly paid in kind, on condition of being ready to work at any factory as they were needed. If all of the factories were under one head, the employees would merely have a certain change of occupation as one plant got busier or another slacker owing to changes in the demand. And while their money wages might be subject to fluctuation with the fluctuations in trade, the payment in kind could be constant ; in which case, while their luxuries fluctuated, the essentials would always be assured to them, and there would be no poverty. Here, in outline, you have the principle of what could become a genuine revolution in the industrial system ; the beginnings of a new industrial order, in which it would be impossible for people to be starving for lack of the very things that they could make. There might be a thousand difficulties in working this out in practice, but the central idea is certainly not very difficult to seize.

So much for the kind of thing aimed at. The sketch I have given is extremely rapid and rough, but I think it is intelligible. And I do not think, perhaps, that it will be found entirely wide of the mark by those who have made it their life-work to bring the idea before the public, and who naturally know better than anyone else what they have been working and hoping for. I proceed now to the question in which I am, if possible, more interested than in the end proposed—namely, the practical steps towards reaching it.

The means by which an approximation is being attempted in India is education. And in the latest enterprise much stress—I think I am not mistaken in saying maximal stress—is being laid on education in Homecrofting. It is this that I think so fundamentally sound. I cannot, of course, presume to speak of the practical difficulties which the Calcutta movement may have before it. I can only speak

of how I think this kind of enterprise could, by its very nature, be most hopefully gone about; and I trust that what I have to say may prove of some interest to those who are working at the India problem.

I have said that the colony of which, following Captain Petavel, I have just attempted a rough sketch, might present a thousand difficulties in the practical working out. But the difficulties are enormously lessened if you begin at what I venture to think the natural beginning, and do one thing at a time. As Captain Petavel repeatedly says, there are a hundred different approaches to one and the same ultimate object. Education he regards as the most hopeful. And if the means, as he seems to imply, are primarily education in Homecrofting, I agree with him most heartily.

And the principle which makes me say so is one which is already, I trust, sufficiently clear. It is that there is only one way of placing a man beyond the reach of unemployment. You have placed him beyond unemployment whenever you have put him in a position to turn his powers to account *to make* those indispensables of life which, being out of work, *he cannot buy*. Now, of all the indispensables the most indispensable is food. The reason the Homecrofting suggestion is so sound, then, is that it is easiest to begin with that. Homecrofting is the art of making your own food with your own hands, so that you do not need to buy it. Now, food is both the most indispensable thing and the easiest to learn the art of making; and that, as I say, is what Homecrofting is. It is the art of making your own food entirely with your own hands—a delightful, healthy, elevating, fascinating art. It is an art that has been developed for American conditions by William E. Smythe in his book *City Homes on Country Lanes*. It has been advocated and fostered for many years by the American Homecroft Association founded by George H. Maxwell, of Sonoma, California. And—apart from the

name—it has been advocated by Captain Petavel ever since he began the movement of which I am here writing. And what I want to stress is the educational programme that there is in the development of this art. I propose, therefore, to turn for a moment to another subject—namely, this educational side of the matter.

But notice, our argument is not being side-tracked. True, we are going on to a new subject. We began on Unemployment; and now are about to raise another question—namely, What is the ideal education? We are about to inquire after an educational programme which will have some chance to compass the ideals of the educationists. But we are not in any way drifting out of our course. Because—if I may anticipate a little here—our finding about the ideal education itself will be just this: *It* is the thing to get beneath Unemployment. The Homecrofting art, in other words, is two things at once. It is ideal education; and on the other side, it is the lever beneath the dead-weight of Unemployment.

The pity is that before we can appreciate the value of the education that is to be got out of Homecrofting or anything else our ideas about educational values need so much clarifying. This much is hopeful, however. The clarification which is needed has begun of itself; it has been going on spontaneously in all forward-looking circles for a quarter of a century and more. There is still a tremendous amount of vested interest committed to the maintenance of our traditional notions of education. And that is not a bad thing. It prevents the rapidity of change which, in a large system like our education system, is worse than inconvenient. It is dangerous. But from a thousand different quarters new light is breaking, and it is everywhere the same light—namely, that people should be educated in liberty. I have used the preposition “in.” It is always useful to distinguish between what people are to be educated *in* and what they are to be educated *to*. I should venture to put it down as a central principle of educa-

tion that we have our people educated *in* liberty *to* life's tasks. Liberty is play, of course; and life's tasks are assuredly not play. But play is nevertheless the vestibule through which life is approached—what else does the kitten do with a string or the puppy-dog with a slipper but play at real life? The child with her doll is our first lesson in what education should be. Play is the vestibule through which the child's mind and character ripen towards life's demands. Do not, then, set the child on a road which is robbed of the element of play—or what is the same thing, of interesting occupation—and call it a preparation for life. The child cannot play too much so long as the work is done. If possible, he should play all the way right up to the very door which admits him into the presence of the serious work of life. There is only one danger in this principle, the danger lest he should never get there. He must get there. We must see to it. But if we secure that, then the child can't play too much; he can't be too happy.

Now, if that is education, what is education in Homecrofting? What is Homecrofting itself? It is the art, I said, of making your food with your own hands, so that you do not need to buy it. Now, food for the Indian and food for the average Western European are, I suppose, very different things. And there may, for anything I know, be a very different education to be had for an Indian child in teaching him the whole art of his food-making, from what there is for a child of the West in teaching him the corresponding thing. But I cannot avoid thinking that there would be an education in such work even in the East, better than that which is derived from poring over books; in any case there is one, and one which is incomparably better than a diet of pure books, for Western children. To the normal and average citizen of the West what does food involve? It involves bread, vegetables, fruits, meat, milk, butter, and cheese. And making the child take part in the enterprise of creating all that out of the resources of an acre or less of soil under these Western skies of ours is—

well, to put it concentratedly, I should say *it is play which is just sufficiently work to make it a real introduction to life*. The art, as developed by Mr. Smythe, consists of a combination of domestic science and husbandry. Its principle is, exact correlation of the domestic economy with the whole life of the garden. The art consists in knowing how to handle soil and how to care for small live-stock, so as to bring the maximum variety of food out of a minimum of ground with no waste, either of space or of time. It means planting just what you are going to cook, and no more. It means making a later crop succeed an earlier in the same strip of soil. It means the adoption of all the recognized methods of intensive cultivation. It means the preserving of the summer's supply for the winter's use by all the latest devices for bottling and preserving and drying fruits and vegetables. And it means the production of eggs, of goat's milk, of butter and cottage cheese. And its application to industry is the obvious application. The industrial worker, trained from infancy to the use of a garden like this, can, with the help of his family, so long as his acre and his spade are vouchsafed to him, carry on through slack times and strike times, and any other manner of times when he has to suffer interrupted pay, sure at least of the most indispensable of all life's indispensables—namely, a supply of food both abundant and appetizing.

Suppose for a moment, then, that we have forgotten all about the desperate need which there is to-day for tackling Unemployment ; suppose we were only out for an ideal education, and were following what I have called the newer educational light, which is enabling us to see more and more clearly that true education must mean education *in* liberty *to* life's tasks : what I should like to claim is that we should find this ideal education just by setting about to tackle Unemployment. Unemployment, meanwhile, is more than an inconvenience. It is a deadly threat. But suppose it were no more than an inconvenience, I should

still incline to say to the educationist : Set about the direct task of removing it ; take the course which would break the terror of it ; you will get nothing better for your own purposes, for in that there is an almost perfect education for those you want to educate.

Let the fixed educational objective be the satisfactory accomplishment of a definite utilitarian task ; no other, in the end, than the task of breaking the terror of Unemployment. The terror of Unemployment is hunger, and the task of banishing that is simply the task of making a piece of soil supply a home with such a varied round of things good to eat that hunger will be known no more ; since the family who live there are, as nearly as possible—as nearly as ever the soil and climate of the land where they dwell will permit—self-supporting as regards supply of food. Our reward as educationists will be, to have found an ideal centre around which to have all the children's instruction grouped and gathered. We shall have found the "work" which is to make the "lessons" real. We only need to set our protégés turning soil to its natural purposes ; turning it to its natural work, the work of sustaining that life (both vegetable and animal) whereby in turn it sustains the life of man ; interesting them meanwhile in all the—to childhood—eternally fascinating round of incidentals connected therewith. We shall find in so doing that we are doing more than breaking Unemployment. In the truest sense we shall be nurturing the souls of our children. We shall find ourselves initiating them quietly, almost without words, into all that they most need to know and most deeply wish to know ; including not only the sciences of the inanimate world—the chemistry of the compost-heap and the geometry of the flower-beds—but the great facts of vegetable and animal life, of birth and death and generation, which more by far than any kind of book-learning will touch the springs of character, steady the mind, enable young men and women to find their stride, to know where they are and whereof they are made. This kind of life is

natural. It makes men men, and it makes women women. It is sometimes said that the aim of education is to make citizens. If so, then I say there is one irreproachable way of doing that ; in the last resort, perhaps, only one ; and it consists in just *not* filling the child's head with notions about "citizenship." It is right at the opposite pole from that. "Engrossing his mind joyously in his work," is the principle of it ; his work being work which you know to be good ; work which will elicit the latent manliness in the lad and the womanliness in the girl, silently and ceaselessly, and altogether without disputation and wrangling and discussion. For the mind grows in silence as surely as seeds grow in darkness.

But by what steps could a training like this be got ? How could it be grafted on to the existing education systems ? I can only summarize ; but if my strokes are too hasty, you can supplement by putting any questions that may occur to you.

I do not know how far the lines I have worked out and hope shortly to publish correspond with Captain Petavel's. But I have derived from him an idea which is fundamental, and which I have no doubt, like the majority of important discoveries, could also have been found sleeping in the minds of many other people—the idea of rotation.

As a beginning, I should say, give one week in every three during the last two years of school life to preparing the leaving boys and girls for this world of Unemployment into which, only too likely, they are about to be hurled ; preparing them for it before they leave school by turning them into potential self-feeders ; ready to become actual self-feeders the moment they get hold of a patch of soil, a hoe and some seed. (The patches of soil aren't there for them ; but I am not going further into that matter at present than simply to say that I believe they can easily be provided, and that I believe the desire for them would help powerfully to create the desired object.)

Let the proper authority, then, rent a piece of land within five or ten minutes by tram or train of the town, and let it be land on which food will grow; lay out this land in individual-acre oblongs running off on each side of a central street, and having a somewhat short frontage compared with the distance they run back. Over each of these acres set a practised Homecrofter; and build a large pavilion for tools, shelter, etc., on the ground—a girls' pavilion and a boys', if thought desirable. Let each Homecrofter superintend perhaps five boys, there being women, if desired, as Homecrofter-supervisors for the girls. On every such acre let the overseer and his charges imagine that there is a house, that they are the inmates, and that this acre is all they have to feed themselves on. Under the direction of a general organiser of the scheme, let the whole hundred acres (or however many there are) undertake, each individually, the full Homecroft programme, so far as the husbandry side of it is concerned, catering all the time for the invisible household. The domestic side will be for such future time as the Homecroft dwellings can be built on the Homecroft acres, and the little company can actually live in the house and play the full Homecrofting game.

Let, I suggest, one week out of three for the last two years be directly devoted to this way of making pupils self-feeders. It can be done without in any way upsetting the school classes in the town, by a simple system of rotation.

Every week—say every Monday—not a portion of a class but a whole class (or two whole classes or three) from the town schools, go from their homes to the Homecrofting training-ground, carrying nothing with them but a light lunch. Arrived there, and under the eye of their own school-teacher, they get their things out of their lockers in the pavilion and distribute themselves to their various acres. There the supervisors await them, each awaiting his five. They have their midday lunch on the spot, and they go back by train or tram at night; leaving their old clothes, overalls, clogs or the like, in their lockers. On

wet days they make and mend things for the Homecroft in the pavilion, using the carpenters' benches, tools, etc., which are also housed in this large and roomy place.

If all these Homecrofts kept step, and if, under the organizer's directions, first one item and then another was introduced to all the acres at once till the full Homecroft round was complete, think what a load could be collected every day—by a vehicle simply coming down the street—of each different kind of food product, to be sent to Covent Garden or some such place and sold for money to help to pay for the small army of Homecrofter-supervisors whom the education authority which adopted the plan would have had to add to its staff. It does not take much imagination to picture a general organizer sufficiently skilled to get out of a hundred Homecrofts—without compromising their Homecroft character—enough to pay a good deal more than the salaries of those men and women, who, we should observe, need not necessarily be teachers, but may be drawn from the ranks of the intelligent working men and women of the country, thus incidentally leaving room for some of those who at present swell the roll of the unemployed.

But I have already expanded on my theme to an inordinate length. Let me conclude by trying to bring the whole into something of a focus. I began by a reference to Captain Petavel's efforts in India, towards the ideal of Production-for-use. His fundamental conception, as I apprehend it, is that when men's hands are idle and the machinery is idle, and the raw material is there waiting to be made up into the very goods for which they are starving, the only common-sense thing for us to begin trying to do—and to continue trying to do in spite of all failure till we succeed in it—is so to rearrange things that these willing, hungry people can get at the work which will provide them with what they want. Give them the skill and give them the opportunity. The opportunity to do what? The

opportunity, I think Captain Petavel would answer, to make the necessities of life by modern methods ; and this means for him co-operative methods, since mass-production is emphatically a co-operative affair. The question with which I have been mainly occupied in this paper is, How shall we begin it? And the answer I have come to is, I think, substantially the answer which Captain Petavel would approve, and which he and his colleagues of Calcutta City and University are now endeavouring to give, not in theory only but in practice, through the new educational Homecrofting project which I understand they have before them and for which, if I am not mistaken, they have already secured the great essential—the land. That answer is that we shall begin co-operative production just at the point where co-operation is easiest and the product most important. Co-operation is nowhere easy. But the easiest of all co-operation—we shall leave the cynic out of this—is co-operation with one's own family. And the most important of all products is food. The principle in which I should express the upshot of my paper, then, is, "Through Homecrofting towards Production-for-use." And that is a slogan, I venture to think, not unworthy of being inscribed on the banner of all in this day of growing pessimism who still dare to believe that the world is *not* going to the dogs ; that industrialism as we now know it, is the blight that it is, only because it has not found its feet ; that there is ahead of us the clear possibility of a new industrialism, one which shall not know the bitterness of Unemployment ; that the key to this possibility is education ; and that that key will begin to work whenever we consent to rid education itself of its own lumber, its drudgery and its tears.

It is a great satisfaction to have been able to allude to Calcutta University in this matter as I have done. More than any other one circumstance it justifies the title of my paper. It was indeed "a lead from India," when the foremost of the University institutions had the courage to take up Unemployment and Poverty and make it an explicit

subject of study. This has happened in Calcutta, and the fact deserves to be widely noted.

To have a definite, practical, social problem like this made a matter of University research; and not only that, but to have the lines along which a solution to the problem might be attempted, worked out, and actively communicated to other countries and communities to which such matter was important, is surely something unique in the history of public seats of learning. The "Poverty Problem Study" of Calcutta University, founded largely through the influence of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, has been in Captain Petavel's hands since its initiation. So convinced has the University become of the importance of the results that it has got behind its Lecturer and issued, I believe, a total of over 10,000 copies of various books and pamphlets embodying these results to every University in the British Empire and many others besides. This is India's lead. Other countries have led in other ways. There is no mistake, I think, that a real light is on the horizon. Dim and painful and slow as have been its beginnings, the time is fast coming when the rumour of this way out of the most desperate impasse of our contemporary life will not be able to be confined to a corner. The most hopeful thing about it all is that the fundamental ideas of it—that is to say, different facets of the same fundamental ideas—have been simultaneously maturing in many corners of the world, in many minds; and they look now as though they were about to emerge and meet in the sight of all men. Let us pray the Lord of the Harvest that they may indeed meet; that the process of their synthesis may be sped and duly completed; that broken arc may join to broken arc till there is the perfect round, and that no untoward event, no taint of pride or of spiritual poverty may creep in amongst the co-workers, far and near, to prevent the perfect consummation in practice of a principle which has it in it to go so very far towards the relief of one of the chiefest woes of the modern industrial world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, January 19, 1925, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, at which a paper was read by Professor J. W. Scott, D.Phil., M.A., entitled "Unemployment—A Lead from India: The Calcutta Educational Colonies Movement and its Principle." J. St. Loe Strachey, Esq. (editor of the *Spectator*) occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Giffard, Mrs. Colin White, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Drury Pennington and Miss Pennington, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Mark B. F. Major, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mr. H. Dow, Mrs. Herron, Mrs. Church, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. A. Bailey, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Mrs. Grose, Mr. L. H. Cross, Mr. T. Greathead Harper, Mr. W. G. Renwick, Mr. J. C. Johnstone, Mr. H. J. Hambley, Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. W. Berkeley, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. G. Bainbridge, Mrs. Martley, Miss Wileman, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Colonel Warliker, Miss M. Sorabji, Miss Thorne, Mrs. Drury.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I call upon the lecturer to address us, I have been asked to mention to you the severe loss the Association has sustained in the last few days by the death of your Chairman of Council, Lord Pentland—a name honoured and respected throughout India, and equally honoured and respected at home. Not only is there this very serious gap in your ranks. Another eminent and distinguished Anglo-Indian, and one of the members of your Council, Sir Thomas Bennett, has also died within the last few days. I am sure you will all join with me in expressing the deep regret of this meeting at the loss which the Association has incurred.

I will now call upon Professor Scott to give us his lecture. The subject he is dealing with is one which comes very near to my heart, but I shall keep any remarks I have to make till after we have heard his lecture.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are all very greatly obliged for the way in which Professor Scott has focussed our minds upon what I am in entire agreement with him in thinking is one of the most important subjects that can come before us at this epoch in our economic history. I find, I am glad to say, that I have been a "home-crofter" all my life without knowing it, and I should like to tell you the story of how I became a home-crofter when a young man. It was some thirty or forty years ago, at a time of very bad agricultural depression. I was seeing a clergyman on the subject, and he was telling me of the conditions in his village. He said he hoped that the state of the agricultural community in his part of the country would not be as bad as I feared. It was true the

farmers were throwing up their farms and turning away men, but he thought that the labourers would get through all right. I was very glad to hear that, and I said: "How is that going to be?" In answer he said he would tell me what was said by one of the agricultural labourers in his village, a man with a good garden and a good cottage. The clergyman was condoling with him on the bad prospects of the winter, but he replied: "Don't you worry, sir; I shall get through all right. I have a big cupboard full of potatoes, a good lot of apples, and I have a pig and a goat and some fowls, and although we may not be able to buy much, we shall live through the winter all right on our own." There was the home-croft theory in practice. One of the terrible things about industrialism is its dependence on the market-price. I am not a Socialist, but I have always felt that without home-crofting a villager who lives in a cottage without a garden may actually starve, when, if only he had a piece of land, he could himself be producing the food which would keep himself and his family alive. That has always seemed to me an appalling condition of things. I often indeed felt inclined to press for a Statute by which no new cottage could be built in the country which had not at least half an acre of land going with it. (Hear, hear.)

Now, the discussion is the most important and interesting thing at a meeting like this, as I am sure the lecturer will agree. In a discussion you really get the impact of mind upon mind, but there is one point I would like to make before I call upon Professor Scott, and that concerns the question of small hand-machinery. I do not want to introduce any more industrialism, but I want to see a certain amount of co-operative action in the home, and I want it through these small machines. I was thinking the other day of the old method of grinding corn with a quern for I always felt that it had one great advantage. If a man had grown a certain amount of wheat he could always turn it into flour and use it without further outlay. The trouble now is the great expense of taking it to the mill and having it ground. On enquiry I found it was possible to get something much better than the old quern in the shape of a small hand corn-mill at a cost of two or three pounds. I tried one in the City myself, and in ten minutes I had ground up enough flour to make the bread which would keep a family for a week. It was like a coffee-berry mill on a larger scale. There is no reason why a man should not grind his own corn. But why stop here? All sorts of small machinery can be procured by which a man who wants to work for himself would be able to do what was the ideal set before the mediæval kings by their peoples—*i.e.*, that the king should not tax his subjects, but should "live on his own." That is what a family ought to be able to do, and they would be very much assisted by these small efficient and up-to-date machines. A machine may be economic without being huge.

Now the discussion is open.

Mr. MAJOR said the paper covered a vast amount of ground, and the Chairman had added to its interest by his very suggestive remarks with reference to the small machines for grinding corn. He had recently had the good fortune to read an article entitled "The Mystery of Stereotyped

Customs in India," and he ventured to think that some of the remarks made in winding up the discussion deserved their attention. One was that the best intellects among the Hindus were "averse to social reforms which are prompted only by worldly considerations." Another : "Of all the causes of Indian discontentment, economic disturbance of Indian primitive life was the worst culprit." And the last he would quote was : "People [in India] could not be got to do certain classes of work, even if it meant an increase of worldly wealth ; wealth was not everything." Unfortunately in this country they had got into the habit during the great industrial era of concentrating on the idea of wealth, but he thought that from India they got a corrective to that idea, which was probably very wholesome. No doubt they would remember there had already been some outcry in this country for the simple life. He had had the pleasure of knowing Captain Petavel for many years, and had kept in touch with his movement. He considered that if they began with the children, and gave them an insight into the production of their own food, and at the same time gave them some idea of industrial conditions, there was then only one other thing to do, and that was to ensure that they should get their acre of land on such lines they would know that every improvement they made on the land would belong to them. They ought to give the people an alternative to working for wages by enabling them to work on the home-crofting system, and then they would have done all they could to raise the level of comfort and mental outlook of the people, who in their turn would help to raise the mental outlook of the whole world. In helping India they might feel sure that India in her turn was going to help this country to get some of those great ideals of thought which were greater than mere material value. Then no doubt future generations would have a happier time than at present seemed to be possible.

Mr. A. YUSUF ALI said that he had had the pleasure of knowing Captain Petavel quite early in his career, but he had found that hitherto all the approaches to a successful working out of his ideas had been more or less blind alleys. He hoped the lecturer would forgive him if he tried to present a rather different view of the subject from that which had been taken in the paper. He wished to do full justice to his earnestness of purpose and his praiseworthy endeavours in a good cause. But he thought perhaps an ounce of practical acquaintance would help a great deal more than the theoretical considerations which had been placed before them. He had not been able to see the actual working of the scheme in Calcutta, but he understood that the mainspring of its impetus had been the financing of it by the great philanthropist, the Maharajah of Cossimbazar. It was mainly confined to the middle classes, the reason for which was clear. India was an agricultural country, and the agricultural classes had really no unemployment except during the famines. On the other hand, the middle classes were suffering from a chronic state of unemployment. Changes had taken place in India in such a rapid manner that it had left the middle classes absolutely breathless. The middle classes had many handicaps, but some of them were self-imposed. In practice their social philosophy summed up the quintessence of such economically archaic

ideas as caste and the indignity of labour, which in his opinion ought to be broken down. He remembered when he was a District Officer in India on one occasion giving a large impetus to the garden school movement, which to his surprise was taken up enthusiastically by his Sub-Deputy-Inspector of Schools. Some six months later he received a report to show that everywhere the scheme had been a great success. The sequel, however, was not so encouraging. Some time later when he paid a personal visit to the schools he found that although the piece of land attached to the schools had been scratched here and there by hired labour, there had been no produce, educational or material, at any school. It became clear to him that the movement in order to be successful must take into account a number of psychological facts, and before they got those facts on their side, it seemed to him that any solution of the question would be premature. He had also recently been very much interested, when in charge of the Department of Industries in Hyderabad, in a development of the employment of electric hand-mills for grinding corn. It would have been invaluable as a home industry for the use and support of widows and orphans in large cities, and he had hoped before the end of his term of office that their use in Hyderabad might set a shining example of one aspect of home industrialization before the whole world. Unfortunately, the widows and orphans, and those who sat in the Pardah, had no business sense, and only those succeeded which were taken over by the financiers and worked on a large scale, paying 25 or 30 per cent. The moral was that every time they made a sentimental effort to get away from industrialism they got more into its toils, and the only way in which they could get free was by understanding the actual conditions under which they had to work, by trying to get the best they could out of those conditions, and by adapting them to new ideals of efficiency which would permeate the social fabric and at the same time avoid the evils of industrialism. (Hear, hear and applause.)

MISS SCATCHERD said they owed that very valuable paper to Mr. Pennington's energy. She considered the last speaker's remarks emphasized the necessity for a deeper study of the problems brought before them by the lecturer; the principles were not at fault, but only the details of administration. She would like them all to read McCann's book on the "Science of Eating." If they did that, they would see that as a matter of self-preservation they would have to pay greater attention to such important questions as housing, transport and, especially, *food production*. All the time people were unable to procure adequate supplies of fresh, vital foods, the victims of "deficiency diseases" would continue to fill the hospitals, lunatic asylums, and prisons to an ever-increasing degree. We now know that the bulk of our food is "food that does not feed," since it is electrically and vitally dead before it is consumed. As a lifelong lover of India she was proud to think such a lead should have come from India, and that the East India Association was alive to the supreme importance of the home-crafting and educational schemes put forward by Captain Petavel and his supporters at Calcutta University.

MR. QUINTON said that he much appreciated the paper, and he was

thoroughly in sympathy with it, particularly on the point of education. Some twenty-five years ago he was in charge of an agricultural department in the tropics, and it was borne in upon him that whereas the mis-educated coloured man on the coast scorned work with his hands, the man in the bush who had not been blighted by so-called civilization, counted himself as something less than a man if he could not produce food, shelter, and clothing by the unaided work of his own hands. He felt convinced that the home-crofting policy was the only solution for the terrible disease of unemployment. In discussing the question with many trade unionists, he had often suggested to them that they ought to teach men to be house builders, not merely bricklayers, plasterers, and so on, and he found they fully agreed with him. If they could only get the people to work at half a dozen trades they would solve the question of unemployment. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CROSS said the lecturer had referred to the evils of capitalism ; he was afraid that was something they could not get rid of. With reference to irrigation schemes, it was necessary to raise loans, and presumably the interest would have to be met by the people populating the reclaimed land, and they must therefore part with some of their produce for money in order to pay the interest. In that way the price of food was regulated and made as low as the financiers thought it should be. They could not get away from the factor of finance when they were trying to evolve a scheme to deal with unemployment. The people must have money to enable them to get on, and they must sell part of their produce to obtain the money. When the price of what they produced was restricted by the money-holders there was no escape from the question of unemployment until they got a fair return for what each man produced. In his opinion the whole factor of unemployment would be found in the manipulations of finance by the big money-holders throughout the world.

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said that he had been brought up on a farm, and had learned to cultivate a garden, and therefore the subject was one of which he knew something. When he was in Parliament he had spent a great deal of time in trying to get small holdings for agricultural labourers. With regard to getting industrial classes in this country to do a great deal of home-crofting he was not quite so sure ; in order to do the work of a market gardener, as he had once heard it described, the worker must have a cast-iron back with a hinge in it. People who were accustomed to work in the factories, and who were accustomed to get 10s. to 15s. a day, were not inclined to do work for which they only got about 3s. a day. Of course, he agreed it was better to get that than nothing. In the coal-mining districts, for instance, many of the miners had gardens and small farms, and they filled in their spare time on their own land. That was the ideal condition of things, and that was what was required in India. One great difference between England and India was that in India, Bengal, and southwards they did not require any clothes or housing worth mentioning. The chief thing was to get food, so that the problem was different in India.

With regard to the question of education, he had referred to the

question of the family being the ideal co-operative unit. In his opinion they ought to give up compulsory Government education; they were undoubtedly in the hands of a literary lot of gentlemen who did not know the needs of the country.

He hoped the lecturer would give up the idea that there was any trade cycle. Of course, there were times of depression, but not at all of necessity, mainly resulting from the old-fashioned banking methods of eighty years ago.

With regard to questions of industrialism, that was the grandest development of civilization the world had yet known; they had plenty of food, clothes, and good houses, newspapers, books, theatres and music-halls—what more could they expect? But because there were cases of distress, resulting from a great war, and then trade was depressed, that did not show the industrial system was wrong.

Mr. J. B. PENNINGTON, after proposing a most cordial vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, intended to proceed as follows if there had been time: Having been connected with Captain Petavel for about twenty-five years I feel bound to say a very few words in support of Professor Scott's most interesting paper, though I am so stupid (Captain Petavel would say) that I have never felt quite sure how this home-crofting would work in practice, and have always urged that he should somehow show it in working order (as was done in the similar case of the Garden City), and we have, at last, thanks to the Calcutta University, got nearer the goal than ever before.

Unfortunately, in this country nothing can be done without some sort of Land Reform, which would somehow make land accessible to labour on more reasonable terms than it is at present. We all agree that the land of this country ought to produce far more than it does under the present system, and surely the simplest way of getting more out of the land is by putting more work into it, by men who have a personal interest in the crop. But men must be educated from their youth upwards to grow their own food for their own use primarily, and not so much for sale. Then, if they are engaged in factories for no more than, say, six hours a day, as advocated by Lord Leverhulme, they will have ample time and sufficient skill to cultivate a useful quota of land, whether it be a third of an acre or more.

In agriculture, at any rate, England should always be in the van of progress, no matter what her politicians may be, and Professor Scott's scheme of progress is surely worth trying. There is, of course, nothing very new in these ideas. They may be all found in Mr. Ashbee's book published in 1908, and actually carried out at Chipping Campden; but he was more ambitious, he wanted to turn artisans into artists.

I should like to call attention to a very interesting note on Captain Petavel's work in Calcutta in last Saturday's Educational Supplement of *The Times*; it is most appropriate.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are all very grateful to Professor Scott for his very interesting lecture, and for the excellent discussion we have had.

The proceedings then terminated.

Professor SCOTT has sent the following written reply to the foregoing :

When Mr. Strachey speaks of having been a Home-crofter all his life without knowing it he says a very striking thing. I am sure one of the greatest of the hopes which those who have worked out the Home-crofting idea entertained was that they should find many who had been thinking like themselves, for an equal length of time. And if there is one thing more than another which makes me sure that the idea behind home-crofting is sound, it is the fact that so many people have been thinking unconsciously (if that is not a contradiction) along the same lines.

Mr. Strachey mentions small hand-machinery. There exists a flour mill, apparently, whereby a man can grind his own wheat into flour with his own hands. This rather gives one to think. What does it signify? It signifies ultimately that industrialism, which has run up market prices till people can hardly live on their wages, has also put into men's hands the means of escape from their "dependence on the market price." That is Home-crofting in a nutshell. Home-crofting is simply the perception that the time is ripe for using industrialism's productions to bring in a new industrialism, founded on self-supported workers, who produce the family food from the family soil by the family labour.

Mr. Major emphasizes the necessity of securing the individual in the use of his plot of land. It cannot be too much emphasized that security of use is the important matter here. I think personally that ownership is best. I don't like the tyranny of the possessive instinct. I think, with Mr. Bertrand Russell, it is the ruin of mankind. But you do not get freedom from it by attempting to strangle or repress it. You get true freedom from it by rationally satisfying it. That is why I would vote for ownership of the Home-croft. But if the Labour people will only grant security in the use of the Home-croft, then they may be right in thinking that that is enough for the due satisfaction and "sublimation" of the possessive instinct in man, and if so I am perfectly ready to agree. I only want men and women to be all free to raise their own food supply as part of their daily labour. So long as that is made possible, I do not really care whether there is absolute ownership or not, though I would prefer it.

I was not unaware that unemployment in its Western sense is an evil of the West, and unknown to those of the masses of India who as yet only till the soil. And I should urge as strongly as Mr. Yusuf Ali the importance of studying the psychology of a people among whom one wants to introduce reforms. I was speaking of the problem which industrialism was bringing in India. And I was only focussing the problem in the one point—the keeping of the contact unbroken between the native industrial worker and the earth. Congested industry—this is the whole contention—is a mortal thing. The only industry that can last is one broad-based on the soil. I venture to think with Miss Scatcherd that Mr. Yusuf Ali's criticisms hardly touch the principle of my paper. I hope—and I am sure Mr. Yusuf Ali hopes—that the day is not too far distant when the "dignity of labour" in which we all profess to believe will be accepted both by the natives of India and by ourselves, as meaning for us all that it apparently meant for the simple-hearted African, of whom Mr. Quinton has said

so strikingly that "he counted himself as something less than a man if he could not produce food, shelter, and clothing by the unaided work of his own hands." For us to-day to produce all the essentials for our complex life were indeed a big proposition. I am not saying *that*. But we can at least produce *the most essential of them*—namely, food—to a much greater extent than we dream. And I repeat here what I have often said before : this green and beautiful country of ours will never be even strategically safe—to say nothing of morally and economically safe—until the same sentiment prevails amongst ourselves as Mr. Quinton tells us prevailed among those simple primitive men. We must not only have the corn growing in these islands ; every family must have a vegetable food supply at its own door. Only then will we be able to stand a blockade.

I do not ask the industrial classes to "do a great deal" of home-crofting, as Mr. Lupton suggests. The more the better, of course. But I do not suggest a "great deal" if that means depriving a man of his spare time. The work he does on his home-croft, if once his industrial hours are duly shortened, will be simply part of his ordinary working day. A shift in the factory followed by a shift in the garden, and his leisure over and above that—such would be the accepted working man's programme. And his back won't break.

As to Mr. Cross's contention that we will have unemployment always with us as long as we have "manipulations of finance by big money-holders," I am not prepared to express an opinion. By unemployment, here, he clearly means booms and slumps in trade. And that is an enormous problem on which I do not mean to enter. By unemployment I mean something rather different. Most shortly expressed, I mean by unemployment simply hunger, and by getting free of it, I mean mainly getting free of hunger. And for that I recommend, as I have said, a store of food at every man's door, placed there by his own labour. I recommend giving every man the skill to put it there and the opportunity.

Of Mr. Pennington's remark concerning land reform I am compelled to say the same thing—namely, that although I know it is a most important problem with a most important bearing on my subject, it is not my subject here. My own faith in the matter is this : that while many a thinkable scheme of land reform would make a home-crofting policy easier, a beginning of the plan is practicable even with land as it is at present. I have quite recently been told that land can be had all round London at a figure which, in my opinion, leaves Homecroft Settlements a perfectly feasible commercial proposition.

INDIA'S GIFTS TO ENGLAND

THERE was a time—and that not long ago—when the benefits of British rule in India were the constant theme on the lips of most educated Indians, sometimes doubtless not without suspicion of flattery served up for the consumption of the dominant race, but on the whole in sincerity and good faith. It was a theme, too, on which Englishmen were proud to dilate—not with any consciousness of superior race nor with any conscious idea of propaganda, but with a certain pride in the national achievement. Nor was that pride unwarranted. There is certainly no need to catalogue once again the many advantages that India has reaped from the British connection. Speaking generally, the Englishman could look round the continent of Asia in vain for any country which could compare in progress with India, and so far as progress may be taken to mean such material advantage as would bring her into line with Europe, he had good cause for congratulation. And his achievement held the field in spite of other European influences which were at work. The French were in Indo-China, the Russians in Siberia and Central Asia; but the French colony was too young and the material too crude to pretend to rivalry with India, and the Russians had done so little for Siberia that to most people it is merely synonymous with a convict settlement. Not until the rise of Japan after the Chinese War was the position of India seriously challenged.

But, though less emphasis has been laid upon the point, the benefits have not all been on one side. No nation on this earth has yet shown itself capable of that extreme altruism which would shoulder the responsibility of a great empire without hope of reward. No nation has yet perse-

vered in empire when it is manifestly incapable of sustaining the burden. It is true that nations do not always perceive the point when the balance turns against them; they surrender power unwillingly, much less willingly than do individuals, as the great abdications in history testify. Effort slackens as the reward grows less; we may perhaps say that an empire declines when it ceases to give, and that it ceases to give when it ceases to receive. For the true vitality of an empire the processes must be mutual. You may, of course, object that there is nothing new in this; that it only means, what is now generally acknowledged, that it is in the interest of every governing state to govern well, that the only justification for the government of one state by another is the prosperity and contentment of the people. That is true, but it does not, I think, go all the way. It is quite possible to conceive a condition of things in which the subject inhabitants are granted sufficient and even ample means to live, are secured in external peace and internal order, are left to enjoy their own religion and customs, and are given a full measure of liberty and justice according to the notions of the times, and in which, nevertheless, the governing country takes all the profits and refuses to learn anything from the subject state. In such a case the governing state is receiving material profits to the uttermost farthing, but only at the expense of drying up the wells of prosperity, and there must come a time when wealth is exhausted, and the governing country, ceasing to receive, ceases also to function. If, for example, the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru had adopted this policy, it is not unlikely that their rule would have lasted much longer, but so long as the measure of liberty and good government was confined to the minimum of necessity, the end was inevitable. As it was, they hastened it. They made slaves of their subjects, they interfered with native institutions, they tried to force upon them an unpopular religion, and so ground down the wretched inhabitants that they lost all incentive to work, and physically and morally

became inefficient even as labourers. Spiritually they brought nothing away from the country except an enhanced pride of race which bade them relegate the Indians to the condition of the beasts, and eventually succeeded in destroying the ancient civilizations which they had conquered.

This kind of thing arose very largely from the notion that Europe alone had the monopoly of civilization and progress, and that the sons of Shem and Ham were divinely destined to serve the sons of Japhet, if that is the Asiatic hero from whom Europe claims descent. It is an assumption which is still vigorous, and against which a writer in the *Hibbert Journal* has recently protested. It is hardly surprising, then, that there was at first some danger that India would go the same way as Mexico. Histories tell us of an early misgovernment by which the natives were cruelly exploited, and every man's object was to get rich as quickly as possible at the expense of the inhabitants, regardless of the injury and the injustice that were being done. There is a play called *Nil Darpana*, written in the second half of the nineteenth century, which contains a lurid picture of the exactions of the indigo planters. A translation by a missionary was suppressed, and the missionary was prosecuted; whether the facts were correct or overstated I do not know, nor is it important, for at any rate it shows that there was such material available as would serve for dramatic representation. The play is remarkable as an early example of the political or social drama, and as a revolt against all the conventional ideas of Hindu dramatic art. But it is also remarkable as a contemporary protest against the Government. Happily, better counsels prevailed. The exactions ceased. The true path of prosperity for governing and governed was recognized, and as laws were gradually enacted to suppress licence and tyranny, India began to progress with profit to her rulers and contentment to her people.

It would, of course, be absurd to contend that India has

ever conferred upon England the same measure of material advantage that she has received. For one reason, itself conclusive, she has never had the opportunity. India may indeed claim to have had a share in the development of Kenya Colony, inasmuch as her sons built the Uganda railway, and even now are employed upon it, although the directing brains in each case have been supplied by Europe. India, too, has by the labour of her children contributed to the prosperity both of Natal and Fiji, not to mention Jamaica and Guiana, but no Indian has contributed directly so much as a single rail in Great Britain or a single screw to the British Navy. It may be that should Communism ever rise to dominant power in this country, its success will be coupled with the name of an Indian pioneer, but that dream or nightmare is still so far off that we need not consider it, and that honour so doubtful that we cannot put it to India's credit. It is quite evident that no nation can contribute directly to the material advantage of another and a dominant nation to the same degree as the latter can to the former.

But it is with purpose that I have twice used the word "directly," because indirectly India may have contributed a great deal. The network of railways, the network of canals, the cables and wires, the storage reservoirs of water, and the many other material advantages which India now possesses, have generally contributed to an enormous expansion of trade, so that India is easily the most important customer of the United Kingdom. The total trade, imports and exports, with the British Empire, as given in the official accounts of seaborne trade, for the six months ending September, 1924, was £111,773,400, or in the same ratio for the year about £225,000,000, and of this total Great Britain claims £70,000,000 and £140,000,000 for the same periods. This result is doubtless due very largely to the existence of a stable Government, to expenditure on works of public utility by the British, and to the general development of the country by the world improvement in

transport. But these things are of mutual advantage ; they cannot be claimed as gifts solely for the benefit of the Indian. It would be as absurd to do so as it was preposterous in Tilak to denounce railways because occasionally a woman's honour was violated on the road, and ridiculous in Gandhi to ascribe all European works to the devil, and to declare that India had been ruled from the first as a commercial proposition for the profit of England. Trade is altogether too delicate a piece of machinery to admit of these sweeping statements. Without the water the ryot could not grow his crops ; without the railways he could not take his produce to the seaports ; without the steamers he could not convey it to the English or any other foreign market. But again, without the co-operation of the ryot the British merchant could do very little. Some folks are inclined to deride the methods of the ryot ; no doubt they can be improved upon. But as Lowell once sang that you have

“ to get up early
If you mean to take in God,”

so there are not many things that you can teach the ryot. In scientific agriculture he may be wanting, but it is not unlikely that he has taught the Agricultural Department a good deal. Does any workman—for that matter, does anyone here—always realize that the cup of tea which has become such a national institution is due as much to the co-operation of the Indian coolie as to the enterprise of his employer ? You may smile, but after all you have only to imagine what would happen if either party was so suicidal as to boycott the goods of the other. Whence would come the jute, the hides, the cotton, the tea on which British firms thrive ? Whence would come the cheap cloth, the glass ware, the matches, the hundred and one articles of commerce on which the Indian depends ?

Trade, then, is a mutual advantage on which the prosperity of both peoples depends, and to England it is so great an advantage that it alone comes near to counter-

balancing the many benefits she has bestowed upon India. And next to trade we may, I think, place the career which she has offered to many thousands of English boys and to some hundreds of English girls. A good deal of rather sentimental writing has been done on this subject. We have been reminded that England has a great mission in India, and the hope is expressed that our boys and girls will carry out this mission under the attraction of the great and noble work that lies before them. Let us be under no illusions. A boy goes to India to earn his living. He may take service under Government; he may go out to an established firm, or he may enter a firm in England which has business in the East and which claims that its employees shall go where they are sent. But in every case he chooses his career because it is attractive, and when it loses its personal attraction it ceases to be attractive at all. There is not one boy in a thousand—I except, of course, enthusiasts, what I may call comprehensively, but not, I hope, offensively, the professional class of missionaries—who goes out to India with any intention whatsoever of exerting any kind of influence upon the native of India. We have, I think, for such an one a word which, of course, does not apply to the missionary class whose motive we all respect, though opinions may differ as to their objects; we should call him a prig, and some might add the complementary adjective “insufferable.”

But when once he is out in India all is changed. And here we come to the more spiritual gifts which India has had to bestow. It is not, of course, at first that he comes into his full inheritance: everything is too strange, everything seems contrary to all he has ever known, and the first years in India are often years of tedious drudgery, with the strings that bind him to England pulling at the heart, the fierce sun of May scorching his brain and the tepid air of September melting his flesh. But those years once done, he enters into the joy of such responsibility as few in England can ever feel. He learns to love his work, to feel

with the people among whom his lot is cast, to enter more fully into their simple joys and their simple griefs, all the more because he knows that they trust him, that they look to him for guidance, and that they expect in him an example. It is a sense that grows upon him, and with its growth becomes always lighter. It was at its greatest in the war, when men and women were in rags and no clothing could be had unless at ruinous prices, when the supply of food grew ever scarcer as the means of transport dwindled with the demands made upon it for Imperial necessities. That was a time when the Englishman had to act alone, when there were no orders that any Government could give except in the vaguest terms, when there were no precedents to follow. There was, in fact, only one possible order and only one possible precedent, "Carry on," and they carried on. Where, except in India, is such responsibility cast upon a young man? Where, except in India, will he find such a school of experience, such a trial of character? I speak mainly here of the Government services, and especially of the Civil Service; not only were similar burdens cast upon the Police, the Public Works, the Forests, each in their own department, but also upon the merchants, the non-official community, to whom, perhaps in a somewhat narrower line, their own employees looked as the great mass of the people looked towards Government, and upon the missionaries, of whose quiet, devoted work amongst their humble folk we heard very little at the time.

It is a school of experience the lessons of which last for a lifetime. Those of you who have been in the East, those of you who have travelled widely—and I probably speak to the majority now present—must have noticed a certain insularity about even the most thoughtful and intellectual of our men who have spent all their lives in England, with an occasional trip to the Continent of Europe. You hear it constantly said that Such-and-such is the greatest masterpiece in the world, that So-and-so is the richest man in the world, and so forth, all as if the world was Europe, with, in

certain instances, America thrown in. It never seems to occur to those who talk thus that the world does really extend outside the Continent of Europe and North America, that it is a much bigger place than they know of, and that amidst all that vast mass of men—yellow, brown, black, and red—so huge when compared with the white races, there is the same vice and the same virtue, the same struggle for ideals, the same pursuit of wealth, the same cruelty and the same mercy. Our politicians, too, consider seriously what effect this or that step is likely to have in Europe, but need to be constantly reminded that Asia and to some extent Africa have to be taken into account. But residence in the far-off East, not only in India, but perhaps more in India than elsewhere, has taught us to think more than imperially; our thoughts must be cosmopolitan; and when the first news came through of the stern terms offered to Egypt, the earliest thought to many of us was: "How will India take it?" That is no mean gift, the enlargement of the horizon of many of us. I will not speak at length of India's services in the war: they were very great, and in the hysterical enthusiasm of the moment the estimate of them was somewhat exaggerated, but they showed more than a little imagination, when we consider that, except for the *Emden* raids, the sound of war scarcely reached the shores of India. It is of course as ridiculous a hyperbole to talk of India saving Europe as it is for any one of the Allies to make the same claim; the fact is notorious, that neither France nor England nor any one else could have stood alone against the Central Powers, and that Germany must have given in much sooner had all the weight of France, Russia, Italy and the British Empire been thrown in against her alone. But India showed her sense of Imperial solidarity, and though some question of bargaining for rewards may have been lurking in the minds of certain of her politicians, that hope was not present to the vast majority. May we not set it down to India's credit, that she came to the help of the Empire in time of need?

For India is by nature a peaceful country. Warlike races there are, and history is so written as to make it appear that the long story of India is an endless succession of wars and raids, of invasions, of blood and murder. But all who know India are aware that wars and invasions flowed over her imperturbable peasantry as water flows over a rock. India's preoccupation always has been, and still is, religion. The spirit of devotion is always there, though to our thinking it may be misdirected, and I venture to say that such a movement as the Servants of India, which is based partly upon the idea of social service and partly upon the spirit of self-denial and renunciation, is a product of the Eastern spirit applied to Western conceptions. The very reverence paid to Mr. Gandhi, who sought to carry out logically the precepts of a certain Eastern sermon delivered upon a mountain, is an indication of the value put by India upon the spiritual side of life. We are introduced to two great systems of faith, which we do not adopt for our own, but which no one can fail to see are a living reality to the peoples of India and even to the masses in a far greater degree than our own system appeals to the masses in this country. It may well be argued that this is not a gift; at any rate, it is a lesson from which England may well learn. There are plenty of spiritually minded people in England; there are plenty of materially minded people in India; but, on the whole, it is true to say that India puts upon the spiritual aspect of life a far higher value than is ever put upon it by the nations of the West.

This spiritual outlook appears markedly in all the literature which can properly be called native—it is, indeed, rather wearisome. But here, too, is a gift which England has inherited, because she alone has had the opportunity. She has not made the best use possible of it no doubt. In the ancient Sanskrit literature and especially in the old religious books—what one might call the Hindu scriptures—the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Brahmanas—we are greatly indebted to the Germans; yet surely it was the

presence of a Western nation in the East that directed the thoughts of Germans thither; and whether or no the Germans have outstripped us, India has offered us a gift of precious literature for the taking. There are in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as fine conceptions of character, as fine descriptions of events, as fine delineations of men and women, especially women, as anything to be found in the Iliad and the Odyssey. Is it necessary to do more than mention the Toy Cart, the Sakuntala, the Ratnavali, and the whole galaxy of brilliant drama that deserves to be so much better known? If we pass over lightly such names as Kabir, Tulsidas, Tukárám, of whom not one Englishman in ten has ever heard, it is because another paper would be needed to treat them adequately.

Let us not, then, imagine that all the benefits have come from one side. There is a Greek story that Eros never attained his full stature except in the presence of his brother Anteros. The full stature of India can only be attained by co-operation; and if the idea of non-co-operation seems to us wrong-headed, a perversion of an ideal and a fantastic dream, let us also remember that England, too, cannot work the ship alone, clad against all storms in the outer wrappings of efficiency. Spiritually and materially each has something to give to the other. As long as India gives, so long is her vitality sure; as long as England gives, so long will her empire endure in the land and in the hearts of her Indian people. Surely those who love India must admit that, if they have given her their life's work, they have received something from her, be it only the sense of an abiding affection and the memory of happy days. May I close with a few lines of my own, part of a farewell to India which some, at least, will echo?

O Indian friends in the land of Regret,
You that have been as a part of my life,
I shall say good-bye, I shall not forget
The hours of joy and the hours of strife.
It is over now, and the snows of to-day
To-morrow will all be vanished away,
And the harvest rice is cut by the knife.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, February 23, 1925, at which a paper entitled "India's Gifts to England" was read by Mr. Stanley P. Rice, I.C.S. (retd.). The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Joseph H. Stone, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Lady Huntingfield, Lady Chatterton, Mrs. H. G. W. Herron, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Gwendoline Goodwin, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. C. S. Campbell, C.B.E., Mr. and Mrs. Robert Sewell, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. A. L. Roberts, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. J. J. Barnville, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Dr. S. Kapadia, Mr. R. K. Sorabjee, Miss Mary Sorabjee, Mr. S. B. Mitra, Mr. C. R. Morden, Mr. David Hooper, Miss N. Corner, Mrs. Jenkyns, Mrs. Halsall, Mr. H. B. Mitter, Mr. C. K. Sasek, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. Salway White, Mr. F. J. Richards, Miss Clemesha, Miss Smith, Mrs. Floyd, Miss Wileman, Miss Solomon, Mr. W. A. Babington.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—Mr. Stanley Rice needs no introduction here. I am sure everyone who knows anything about the East India Association welcomes this opportunity of hearing a paper from him, because there are few men who are so deeply and thoroughly imbued with the real spirit of India as Mr. Stanley Rice, and if I had to introduce him to you I should introduce him simply and solely as the author of that charming little book, "Tales from the Mahabharata," in which he reveals not only his own character and mentality, both of which are wholly admirable, but also his deep knowledge of India and the peoples of India, and so without further ado I call on Mr. Rice to read his paper.

The paper was read.

MISS MARY SORABJI said that according to Tagore, India's greatest living philosopher-poet, the gifts that India offered to England, whether England accepted them or not, were spiritual. Tagore always emphasized the need of inner vision, and a tender, mystical, outward calm; the need for detachment from the sensuous and the material; the longing for union with the Infinite; and the boundless wealth of the soul that possesses God. Those were the spiritual gifts which India had to offer, and she offered them with both hands and very respectfully and very lovingly, but it was for England to accept them, and to think them worth while. (Hear, hear.)

MR. CHANNING said he had always thought that one of the great

influences which India had brought to bear on England had been in the matter of philosophical thought, and that the development of the immanence theory had been based in a great measure upon the study of Indian philosophy. With reference to what Mr. Rice had said, that the Germans had outdistanced Englishmen in the study of India, he was a little inclined to doubt it. When he was in Oxford more than half a century ago, there were two very well-known men in the University who were students of Sanscrit—one a German and the other an Englishman. When he was in Oxford a few months ago he was talking to the Librarian of the Indian Institute, who told him that the works of the German were always kept on the top shelf, and they were hardly ever referred to, but the works of the other were still in constant use. Then, again, when later he was attending the German University of Bonn, he found he was the only student in the whole of the University who was reading Sanscrit, and therefore had the lecture-room to himself.

He had not been long in India before he had come to the conclusion that the work of England in India was one of intense difficulty, not the difficulty of administration, but the difficulty one always had when dealing with helping adult men, the difficulty of helping them in a way which would not make them too dependent. There was no doubt a great deal in what Mr. Rice referred to about the scope it had given to young Englishmen to take up work in India. In his opinion it was doubtful whether the benefit to England had been so great as the benefit to India, one reason being that there has been such a great development of the industrial position beyond what is likely to be permanent. England had been bound to undertake many works, not merely for the benefit of England, but because it was a work they had to do in the world, and it so happened that one of the great works England had had to do in the world had been for the improvement of India.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN said they were all very grateful to Mr. Rice for his most interesting paper containing, as it did, such a very sympathetic, not to say generous, reference to the part that India had played in the past in its connection with Great Britain. For himself he could cordially subscribe to the admission contained at the end of the paper. He spoke of course of work in India under conditions which perhaps were now passing away for good. There were, he believed, very few who had served in India under those conditions who had not left it when their life's work was over with a feeling of great regret at the severance of many interests, of very many kindly relations, and with an affectionate regard for the country of their adoption. He thought the lecturer was perhaps a little hard on those young men who in the past had gone out to do their life's work in India. He did not know how it might be with the younger men of the present day. It was, he regretted to think, many years since he himself was a young man, and it was a little difficult to understand what the young man of the present day thinks, or does not think, or thinks that he thinks. But forty years ago, although none of them went from purely humanitarian and philanthropic motives, very few went, he thought, with the motives of

the commercial profiteer, to save as much as he could within his contracted time and return. On the other hand, by no means a few, while expecting to make a living, and probably something more, were impressed with the idea that they had before them a big job, a job that was worthy to be done, and above all a job that was worth doing well.

As regards India's gifts to England, it was always difficult to define them in a concrete shape. The whole idea of an account between India and England as to who had benefited most by the connection seemed to him to be a question which really had very little meaning. However that might be, within recent years they had had one instance where India had done magnificent service for the Empire in the Great War. For his own part he believed that India's gifts to England lay mostly in the future after greater material and economic development had taken place under wise and efficient administration.

Great claims to spirituality had been made on behalf of India. Perhaps on a superficial view one was inclined to think there was not very much to support those claims, but a deeper knowledge of things Indian, of Indian literature, and of India's innermost thoughts, so far as it was possible for any European to penetrate them, did help to reveal a distinct core of spirituality in the mind of India, and it may be that in the future when material and economic development had advanced, it would be India's destiny to impart some of that spirituality to the West, in order that the West might by means of it re-interpret her own philosophy, and it may be her own religion.

Miss WILEMAN said that both in Western Europe and on the American Continent people were very deeply concerned in the burning question of unemployment, and the terrific menace of the drift of the agricultural population, with all its consequent evils. It was of great interest to know that the Calcutta University was the first University in the world to undertake a concentrated research into the conditions in India, as well as in other parts of the British Empire. She understood that some of the great Universities of the United States had now got into touch with the Calcutta University in order to discuss the problem of how they could stop the drift to the towns from the land, and she understood from Professor Scott of the Cardiff University that the result of those communications had been of the very greatest benefit to the American public. She thought England might take a leaf out of the book of the Calcutta University and follow its example by establishing a similar branch at one of the big Universities in this country.

Sir CHARLES YATE said he could not claim to be a philosopher nor an idealist, but he could heartily congratulate the lecturer on having given them certain practical considerations. He entirely agreed with what the lecturer said towards the end of his lecture, that the full stature of India can only be attained by co-operation; that England, too, cannot work the ship alone; that the two countries should work together; and that there should be absolute equality between England and India. Unfortunately, they had not reached that stage yet.

With regard to what the lecturer had said as to how India had contributed to the prosperity of Natal and Fiji, Jamaica and British Guiana, he agreed that there was a great field in India for emigration. He did not think it was advisable for Indians to emigrate to countries where there was already a large native population, but in the case of British Guiana, for instance, there was an enormous country there without any population at all practically speaking, where Indians had already risen to high positions, and where there was room for many hundreds of thousands more, and he hoped the negotiations which were going on would lead to the abolition of the interdict which had lately been imposed on Indians emigrating to British Guiana. In his opinion that was one of the best places for Indians to emigrate to, and where they were most likely to achieve success. Personally, he did not believe in dyarchy or in any form of a divided government for India, and he hoped before long they would see the British and Indians in India working together on terms of perfect equality for the good of the country. Three British and three Indians sitting alternately round a table and all working together for the common good meant success, but three British on one side of the table and three Indians on the other working against each other could only end in disaster.

Mr. R. K. SORABJI said he did not think one could say England had given this and India had given that. No doubt England had given India an enormous amount which could be reckoned in pounds, shillings, and pence, such as irrigation and railways, but he thought India's greatest gift to England was the gift of opportunity, an opportunity to develop India, and make it worthy of the Empire. It was often complained that Indians were not sufficiently seizing the chances of co-operation. He was old enough to remember two classes of Indian civilians. There was the older class who had not clubs to go to every evening, who could not so frequently and easily come to England, and who did their best to get to know the people of India. Then came the younger element with their clubs and games. The consequence was that the Indian did not have much opportunity of knowing the Englishman, and the Englishman, apart from his official duties, did not get to know the mind of the Indian. If they were to have co-operation, the Indian must work with the Englishman, but the Englishman must get over the idea that he has all to give and nothing to get, and the Englishman must have his eyes open to the fact that the Indian has got to help.

With regard to the War, India's gift to England was an absolute duty; they could not have done anything else, and when people praised India for that, it was to him absolutely nothing. The great gift of India to England was opportunity. It was for the Englishman to try and persuade the people to follow the course he deemed best, and he was surprised to find the Universities were not sending out the right men. The present was the very time for the best Englishmen to go to India. The men in the trenches did not sit down and grouse, but they did the best they could with the material they had. That was the spirit wanted now. India was absolutely essential to the well-being of the great Empire, and if

there was to be co-operation on the side of India, there must be co-operation on the side of Britain. Without India the Empire would not be as strong as it was. He did not want England to reckon up the amount of the gifts from either side. India could be made far richer than she was, and notwithstanding all the arguments to the contrary, he considered the Indian agriculturist might be taught better and very productive methods. There was great wealth in India if both sides worked together. England could teach India to be practical, and they must at all costs keep India within the Empire. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM said it was with great pleasure he associated himself with what several of the speakers had already said. He always remembered India with great affection. There were a great many Englishmen in India who felt the call of the East, and who had devoted themselves to the elevation of the people of India, and he hoped that as many would be so devoted in the future as had been in the past. There was no doubt about the abiding benefits England had been enabled to confer upon India, nor about the nature of England's work being to a large extent altruistic. With regard to education in India, for instance, England might have said that if they did not educate the people they would be more easily governed, and much trouble saved for many years : but it was to the glory of the British Empire that England scorned any such position, and that their administration had laid themselves out with a real endeavour to work for the highest benefit of the Indian Empire. Long may that spirit endure.

The CHAIRMAN said that he agreed with a great deal that Mr. Sorabji had said in his vigorous speech, which was very much to the point, but if time permitted nothing would give him greater pleasure than to join issue with him on several of his arguments. Anyone who thought that the mutual benefits conferred upon either country were to be reckoned in pounds, shillings and pence, so that they could draw up a balance sheet with a profit and loss account, had completely misunderstood the purpose of Mr. Rice's paper. His only criticism of the paper was that in his desire not to trespass on their time, the lecturer had not given himself enough time to develop the main object of the paper, which was to point out the spirituality of relations between England and India. Mr. Sorabji had dismissed almost with contempt the idea that there was any feeling of that kind about the Indians who came to help during the Great War, but if he had had the experience which had been his amongst those splendid but humble folk who came over with the Indian Labour Corps he would have taken a different view. (Hear, hear.) They were composed to a large extent of hill-men and jungle-folk, people who had never before left their native hills, and who could know nothing about their duty to the Empire, but without doubt some strange influence had moved those men and drawn them irresistibly to venture across the "Black Water" for the "Great Adventure," and the way they behaved was beyond all praise. He felt convinced that there was some spiritual force behind it all, but they had it from one of the greatest teachers and philosophers that spiritual things can only be spiritually discerned.

With regard to the literature of India, there was not one Englishman in 10,000 who knew anything about the sacred writings of India, and how many of the millions of people in India could pretend to any knowledge of that literature, or were conscious of being influenced by it? In the same way, how many people in England were conscious of the way they must have been influenced by Shakespeare every day of their lives, or realized how much Shakespeare had done in moulding the British national character? How many were aware how much of the development of the national character had been effected by the Bible? Yet it was there; that spiritual factor which was eternal and immutable, the deep thing to which all political and social and economic movements were merely as the ripple on the surface of the ocean. Similarly with the people of India, they had been influenced in the mass—subconsciously influenced—by that which had inspired the writers of their Sacred Books and Epics and made their mystics, ascetics and saints, and so it was that India was pervaded by spirituality, and it so happened that that spirituality was in many ways compatible with our own spirituality. Mr. Sorabji was rather inclined to take the view that the Englishman was inclined to be matter of fact, and that there was very little spirituality about him. Englishmen did not wear their hearts on their sleeves, but he was convinced there was no race in the world more capable of sane idealism than the English. In his opinion the spirituality of the Indian harmonized to a certain extent with that of the Englishman. He thought that was what the lecturer was driving at. Those who had been to India loved the people of India, and looked on India with pride and affection, and with a longing to visit it again. After all, could one measure the reciprocal gifts between parents and their children? Could one say what one gave and what the other received? Yet there was no question about it that parents gave to their children and children gave to their parents, but who could put it into words? Who could measure the gifts which the teacher gave to his pupil, or the pupil to the teacher, yet no teacher would say he had not received a great deal from his pupils. The Colonel in the Army who had commanded men looked back on his association with the men with a feeling of gratitude for that something which he had received from them—which could never be measured in pounds, shillings and pence, but which was priceless above rubies. Well, it was just that kind of indefinable thing that we had got from India. But what may be said with certainty is that England has found in India a field for venture and romance, with a great and boundless opportunity for high duties and noble responsibilities. (Hear, hear.)

He ventured to think that Mr. Rice had done a great service to the Association in calling attention to the things which really mattered, to the influences which underlie but yet profoundly affect for all time political, social, and economic considerations. Probably for centuries to come there would be something underlying the character of Indians and Englishmen which would bring them together even though they might cease to co-operate in the field of government. Did anyone who knew anything about India think for a moment that India would have got on so well with the

Russians, or the Germans, or the French, or that the peoples of India would have felt any less oppressed if, say, the Chinese had penetrated into the Indian Peninsula?

He had been profoundly interested in Mr. Rice's paper, which was worthy of his reputation and all that he did in order to promote the wholly admirable objects of the East India Association. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said that although he was entitled to a reply, he did not feel inclined to take up any more of their time. Lord Amphill had been kind enough to suggest that the paper might have been longer. He was always afraid of taking up too much of their time; it had had the great advantage in that it gave them plenty of time for discussion, but the greatest merit that he claimed for the paper was that it had induced Lord Amphill to come and tell them what he himself thought. (Hear, hear.) He felt sure they would all join with him in thanking Lord Amphill very cordially for having come to preside at that meeting. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

FRONTIER PROBLEMS AND DEFENCE

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR ARMINE DEW, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

WHATEVER direction an attack on India might come from, one of the most pressing problems for consideration would be the North-West and West Frontier, and it is to this aspect of the problem that I will confine myself in this paper. I would only ask those interested not to be cast down or pessimistic, and I would beg of those on whom the decision rests not to listen to all the self-constituted authorities of to-day, but to judge chiefly by experience. Uncivilized border tribes have been a problem to all States and their rulers from the dawn of history. Our own troubles on the Scottish border for centuries, until the last outburst in the middle of the eighteenth century, form a very good example, and in much of its history that border has many parallels to the Indian borderland.

A military correspondent wrote certain articles for the *Pioneer*, in 1921—I think they had the title: "The Reforms and Defence." Well, I can only imagine his experience of the Frontier was limited to some fighting in Waziristan and the reading of many books. We must always remember the aptness of the military in pressing the policy which *they* wish to see the country adopt. To my mind it is no longer a question of policy, it is a question of administration, and administration only, and this being the case it is a matter that the military machine should have no say in except to be ready to carry out plans pertaining to their rôle.

Now, in history it has only been a matter of time, and border tribes have generally settled down into some of the best stock the nation to which they have eventually fallen has had—good soldiers, good traders, good colonists; and I am optimistic enough to believe that that is the future of

the Pathan after a few generations. Education does wonders, as the Scot has proved. May I give you one instance. There is a village on the Frontier, not far from Kohat, the people of which hold land on both sides. They have had difficulty to keep their end up in the varying changes of policy and administration, but I have known four generations. The head of the chief family of the tribe was the ordinary type of old Malik. One of his sons, educated at the Mission School, Peshawar, joined the service as a clerk, and has risen through all grades, and is now Political Agent in charge of a most responsible district on the Afghan border. His eldest son came to a Scottish University for three years, leaving his own wee son, his wife having died, with the grandmother. When I got home and met him before he went back to India he was a fine young man, had passed all his medical examinations, and talked English with a broad Scottish accent. I get letters from him. His outlook on life is very different from that of his grandfather. I know it is the fashion to give the Pathan every possible bad name, but still he has something in him. He has often held up and given our best generals a bad time, and they with much larger forces and all the latest weapons, including Bristol fighters. I have fought the Frontier man, I have lived with him, I have joined him in sport, and his interests have been mine, and with all his faults I would rather live amongst them than among many mealy-mouthed Dagos I have met in Europe. It is so easy to sit in an armchair in Whitehall and write clever articles or notes about the Frontier policy and Frontier men, but live amongst them with nobody else to talk to, and learn what a powerful incentive their primitive customs and love of their own hills is to all their actions. I have heard the Pathan described as vermin, and that they should be killed off by poisoned gas. There is another point of view. To the wild, uneducated Afridi there is little difference between the murder of Mrs. Ellis and the killing of an innocent woman while suckling her

child, by a bomb from an aeroplane out of reach, or the death of a woman in travail who has to flee a village in the winter and go up to some cave in the mountains. I may be very exceptional, but personally I would rather be born a wild Frontier lad in glorious freedom and with a bit of fighting to do, than in a vice-sodden filthy slum in one of our big cities, with the prospect of either spending and ending my life in a prison or being mowed down by an unseen enemy in the trenches in a foreign land. I have been told that the Frontier man is no use as a soldier—I have seen it publicly stated in the Press. I confess I do not understand the argument. He has put up a pretty good show against our troops, and would put up a much better if the dice were not loaded in our favour. Anyhow, we have not made a success of the border, and I think the Government of India have been misled by their advisers if they think that the recent operations in Waziristan will have a lasting success. Now, surely there comes a time in the history of every undertaking to which successive generations of men have contributed their thought and industry when it seems essential to pause and examine the structure to judge how far it answers its purpose or is capable of improvement. So far as the administration of our North-West Frontier is concerned, I think that such a time has now come.

Throughout the world the problems of policy have changed as the result of the world war. In Europe the best brains are devoted to the bewildering task of reconstruction. In the north-west of our Indian Empire the changes caused by the war are no less radical, and the situation demands a no less searching analysis. The old-time position of Afghanistan as an inert buffer state has gone for ever. The whole spirit of the East has altered. From the purely material point of view the problem of administering the well-armed and disciplined independent tribes on our North-West Frontier is altogether more perplexing.

These factors alone would justify a careful consideration of the whole question. But added to them we have the additional and cogent reason that on a calm review of the history of the past twenty years our administration of the North-West Frontier has to be written down a failure.

One of our best-known administrators described the chief result of our policy towards the independent tribes during the last twenty years as being merely "a legacy of hatred."

The official verdict in the publication "Operations in Waziristan" confessed to a "complete breakdown" of the policy adopted towards the Wazir and Mahsud tribes since 1899.

The Legislative Assembly are far from satisfied that all is well, and they view with horror the incessant drain on the revenues by the enormous expenditure involved.

I do not believe that the Assembly will allow a matter fraught with such momentous issues as that of our future Frontier administration to be settled over its head, and without a frank and full revelation of all the facts of the case. And if the feeling that Government must take them into its confidence is strong in the Councils, it is much stronger in the two Frontier Provinces themselves. Indian opinion in Baluchistan, as well as in the North-West Frontier Province, is waking up. One railway journey of a few hours through India will open the eyes of the most ignorant tribesmen. The growth of education, the spread of political ideas in India, are having marked effect on all classes of people on the Frontier from the leading Sardars to the humblest Indian officials. While the rest of India is advancing on the high road to responsible self-government, they will no longer be content that Frontier administration should be allowed to follow the well-worn path of drift and expediency without some explanation being given, and without demanding that Government make a clear attempt, in consultation with the people, to put things on a more satisfactory basis. "Government with the consent of the governed," is a cry which is going to make itself heard

before long even in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier. It will not be possible to resist it. Indeed, in a quick and willing response to the demand for a voice in the administration of the Frontier, and the shaping of its policy, lies our only hope of real progress. If the people are trusted they will, I am convinced, rally round Government.

If all this is true, then it is urgently necessary that we should lose no time in endeavouring to find out where the fault lies and what the remedy is. Our duty—as well as self-interests—compels an enquiry into the causes of the present discontent. “The only system on the Frontier which can give permanently satisfactory results is for Government to realize their responsibilities towards their subjects in British districts, their obligations towards the Amir and their duty towards the independent tribesmen who fell to our lot in the Durand Agreement.” That was said by one of our great administrators some five years ago.

A lamentable admission, surely, that what should have been the most obvious considerations from the very commencement of our dealings with the Frontier must needs be urged at so late a day.

The great importance of the problem will perhaps be accepted as my justification if I attempt its examination and offer some suggestions for its solution. There has been no lack of schemes for Frontier administration in the past. I shall make no attempt to analyze these. I think it is time to throw precedents to one side and start entirely afresh, for the conditions are certainly new. Nor do I presume to come forward with a fresh “scheme” of my own, cut and dried, ready to put into effect with all its details.

Before prescribing a remedy let me attempt a diagnosis of the disease.

If a student of contemporary history were to search the library of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India for a comprehensive narrative of that

Government's policy on the Frontier since it undertook its control, he would be disappointed. He would find no such history. What has been done in regard to the geography and military history of the Frontier—for example, in Holdich's "Indian Borderland," and in Nevill's "Campaigns on the North-West Frontier"—has not been done in the case of policy. And the omission is significant: for there has been no one policy in respect of the Indian borderland. There has been a system in Baluchistan; there have been policies in the North-West Frontier Province. There has not been one system of administration for the whole Frontier, but "Geographically and ethnically the trans-Indus valleys and highlands are part and parcel of Afghanistan and Baluchistan."

In other words, they as naturally present one single administrative problem. But they have emphatically not been so treated in the past.

In Baluchistan—to take that Province first—there has indeed been one policy consistently followed: the policy initiated by Sir Robert Sandeman, and, I think it may be said, faithfully carried on ever since: the policy, to use Sandeman's own words, of "conciliatory intervention." It has resulted in the steady pacification of tribes originally no less independent than the Wazirs and Mahsuds. There is no natural, no legal, no political reason why the Kakar on our side of the Durand Line should be under our unquestioned control any more than the Wazir. The only reason why the latter is not, is that the Baluchistan policy was not followed by the Punjab Government in the first place, nor after them by the Government of India. The result is that while there are peace, goodwill, civil government, some kind of progress on tribal lines in the one case, there is no peace in the other.

It seems necessary to explain the difference—as I see it—in greater detail. In Baluchistan the essence of the system is the administration of the tribes on tribal lines; the growth and development of their own institutions and

customs ; the preservation of the natural feudal system ; the encouragement, even among Pathan tribes who are more democratic, of the influence of the tribal leaders. It is government by the people and for the people. Wherever possible the tribes-people themselves provide the machinery of government ; the law is interpreted easily ; the revenue system is simple, easily understood. The result is that the people, from high to low, understand and appreciate what is the actual truth—that the first and last object of the administration is to satisfy and help them ; and there follows the closest co-operation between the officials and non-officials.

In the North-West Frontier Province the system has been widely different. It is true that in that Province there are few well-consolidated tribes acknowledging an ancient and strong aristocratic principle like the Baluch and Brahui tribes of Baluchistan. But in the administered tracts headmen and Khans there were, natural leaders of the people, who could summon the men of a particular fief for any purpose which was considered of benefit to the country as a whole. These Khans do not survive : their place has been taken by the petty Indian official who has no interest and stake in the country. Over the indigenous system, excellent in itself and capable, I really believe, of being developed into something very like the system we now enjoy in Baluchistan, has been superimposed a foreign, artificial growth—the new garment of “efficiency.” Such in particular is the present revenue system. We have attempted to force upon the tribes of the North-West Frontier Province laws, ideas, which are foreign to them and can therefore do them no good. We have stopped their natural development by substituting a civilization grown for our own use. Between the people and the British official the old link—which was the Khan—has disappeared ; and the two have grown farther and farther apart. At the same time the “independent” tribes—which in Baluchistan are part and parcel of the Province—were

put in charge of separate officers and became the subjects of a totally distinct form of administration. There may have been a legal excuse for this differentiation; natural justification there was none. This differentiation became still further emphasized by the markedly favourable treatment accorded to one particular tribe, the Afridis. After a long course of years the inevitable result of this process has been disintegration, lack of cohesion within the Province itself, lack of combination for one single end among the officers.

But whatever may be thought of the rival methods of administration of the two portions of the Frontier, the point I wish chiefly to emphasize as being important in our diagnosis is that there are two systems and not one; that the borderland, which from Gilgit to the sea ought to present one problem, is regarded as divided into two portions, each subject to a different policy. The fact that an intangible and artificial barrier exists, cutting off Baluchistan from the North-West Frontier Province, is the root of the whole mischief. It may be argued that unity is preserved through the control exercised by the Viceroy as head of the Foreign and Political Department. That might be possible if the Viceroy had no other duty but that of co-ordinating Frontier policy, and abundant time for touring the Frontier and keeping constantly in touch with the two Agents to the Governor-General, and through them with Frontier affairs. But it is quite unnecessary to labour the point that the Viceroy's duties are so multifarious, his time so limited, his other responsibilities so overwhelming that his control over Frontier affairs must necessarily be fragmentary; his time can only at rare intervals be given to a consideration of the numerous problems which are continually demanding a solution and on which a policy has to be laid down; he has no opportunity of visiting each portion of the Frontier—which it takes a man a lifetime to learn—more than perhaps once in five years for a period of perhaps five days. He sees the Agent

to the Governor-General in Simla or Delhi perhaps once or twice in the year.

He has, therefore, of necessity, to depend very largely on the Foreign Secretary for his view of the whole Frontier, and it is through the Foreign Secretary's glasses that he sees its many and complex problems. It is equally impossible—even were it desirable—for the Foreign Secretary to fill the rôle of co-ordinator of Frontier policy. He is burdened with heavy duties which embrace many interests other than those affecting policy on the North-West Frontier. The expansion of work in the Councils, where his presence is constantly required to answer questions, to represent Government policy in regard to all external affairs, or merely to record his vote, involves heavy and steadily increasing demands on his time and energies. He has not as a rule local knowledge of the men who are responsible for carrying out Government's policy in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan; and even if he has had such experience during his career it must very soon become out of date with the rapid progress of events nowadays. He has even less opportunity than the Viceroy of visiting the Frontier, consulting with the heads of the administration and seeing for himself conditions on the spot. With all the goodwill in the world he cannot fail to regard questions concerning these Provinces from the Secretariat as opposed to the local point of view. It is unnecessary to stress this divergence of view, which, if natural, is discouraging to the administrative heads of the two Provinces, which robs them of confidence, and weakens their purpose. That this position has been forced on the Secretary against his will and by the pressure of events makes it no less hard for the Agent to the Governor-General to conduct a vigorous administration. But if the position was difficult before, it promises to become more so in the future, when the financial powers of the Local Administrations have been so drastically curtailed, and all manner of proposals for expenditure on local projects—

with which neither the Legislative Assembly nor the individual members of the Government of India have the smallest personal acquaintance—have to be submitted through the Secretariat of the Foreign and Political Department. Such cases are very numerous, and too often of the most petty description (involving, incidentally, a truly lamentable waste of time and labour and the most irksome delays). It is out of the question that they should all—that even a fraction of them should—be submitted to the Viceroy: impossible, too, that an overworked Foreign Secretary should be able to give his attention to any but the most important. Of necessity, therefore, a Deputy Secretary or Assistant Secretary has often to adjudicate on and condemn or approve the proposals of a Local Government charged with the heavy responsibility of keeping peace on the Frontier. Doubtless the head of that Government has, in theory, a right of appeal to the Viceroy before his proposals are overruled in the Secretariat. In practice that right is not, and cannot, be exercised save in exceptional¹ cases. To begin with, the references to the Viceroy would be too numerous. And further, the right of appeal from a Secretary's decision carries with it the risk of creating an embarrassing relation between the Local Government and the Secretariat—a risk which is not lightly to be run. It comes about, then, that instead of confidence and understanding between the head of the Province and the Viceroy, there are suspicion and misunderstanding between the former and the Secretariat. It is no exaggeration to say that proposals submitted to Government are viewed in the light of a gamble by the Local Government. If a scheme is approved it is hailed as a victory won from the Secretariat by skill combined with good luck. And among the people, too, the impression prevails—and more than ever now when the powers of Local Governments are so greatly reduced—that as the only road to the Viceroy is through the Foreign Secretary, so the success of the Local Government or its failure to secure favourable treatment depends chiefly, not

on the merits of a case, but on the goodwill of the Foreign Secretary for the time being. While, owing to this, the head of the Local Government may win unmerited sympathy from the people, he does so at the expense of the good name of the Department and of the Government of India. The conditions in which the Foreign Secretary and the Agent to the Governor-General, respectively, work are responsible for this unhappy state of affairs. There are no opportunities for mutual discussion and consultation, for gathering each other's point of view, for hammering out a middle way by means of friendly debate.

Side by side with this system of Secretariat rule—this absorption by the Secretariat of administrative functions—which has grown up and threatens to become more instead of less despotic, there is an almost complete lack of contact between the two halves of the Frontier. The head of each Province is working in the dark, in a water-tight compartment. Each will in turn be consulted by the Foreign Secretary regarding questions in which both are interested. Neither has much opportunity of consulting the other, or of meeting the other in conference with the Foreign Secretary. Of course such meetings could be arranged without difficulty. In practice they are not arranged. The head of the administration in one half of the Frontier has the most limited knowledge of how his confrère in the other half views the numerous problems which affect the Frontier as a whole. Nor is there at times a sufficiently clear understanding of the extent and limitations of each other's responsibilities. To take one case only—but a very important case—that of Intelligence. Obviously trans-border Intelligence should be one system from Duzdap to Peshawar, controlled from one central office, the threads held in one hand, the information, whether from Kandahar or Kabul, collected and sifted by one brain, not military. In fine, Government has arbitrarily cut the Frontier into halves; has placed darkened spectacles on the two men responsible for their administration; and handed over the

supremely important duty of correlating their policy and measures to an office (not an officer) out of real practical touch with either.

It may now be convenient if I sum up the conclusions reached in the above diagnosis. They are as follows :

(a) *Errors of Policy*.—In an area which should present one single problem there are two policies, when there ought only to be one up to the Durand Line. Moreover, of these two policies one, judged by results, has been successful ; the other, again judged by results, has been less successful. And I believe that the second has inherent defects, owing to which it could never have been successful.

(b) *Faulty Control*.—In that same area the system of control is one of an artificial division into two separate compartments, each distinct from the other, the administration of the two being theoretically combined in the hands of the Viceroy, but practically centred in an office incapable of discharging, and not intended to discharge, these large and complex duties (a thousand miles of frontier and a great diversity of tribes). There is thus a dual control when there ought only to be a single control.

The remedy may be stated at the outset with equal brevity. It is to give the whole area a real, instead of imaginary, unified administrative control.

I suggest that unified control of this single, if complex, area could be assured by placing the frontier from the Hazara to the Persian Gulf under one officer of the rank and status of a Governor, with such large administrative and financial powers that the executive control at present exercised by the Foreign and Political Department Secretariat would be reduced to the absolute minimum. For only cases of the first importance would be submitted by the Governor, and these would without exception require the orders of the Viceroy himself. The Secretariat would thus discharge its proper function of submitting cases to the Viceroy and of representing the Frontier Government, and it would discharge no other. The cases submitted by

the Governor being enormously reduced in number, there would be no practical difficulty in the way of the Viceroy disposing of them all himself, and his authority need never be delegated to a Secretary. The Governor would make it his business to keep in direct touch with the Viceroy, whom he could consult on all matters of importance. He would be assisted by a council, on which all sections could be represented—the tribes, the landlords, and the mercantile community.

This Frontier Province should have its separate cadre, which should be recruited for Frontier service alone; would consist of men prepared to devote their career to this work, and especially trained for it; and would possess an *esprit de corps* invaluable for the difficult, often dangerous and exacting, conditions of life on the Frontier. Police, education, public works, and other services, would similarly be separate from those of any other Province.

The above is the merest outline of the administrative readjustment which I suggest. But I deliberately refrain from obscuring the main picture by introducing unimportant details which can all be worked out subsequently. It will, at any rate, be clear that the administration of the whole borderland by one Governor would be in reality a single control.

I see no practical difficulties in the way. At the same time there are many obvious advantages :

(1) In this way, and in this way only, will real unity of policy throughout the Frontier be attainable. In our dealings with Afghan officials, with tribes across the border, such as the Sulemankhels, who have at present relations with both Provinces, with tribes within our border, such as the Shiranis, also subject to divided control at present, in controlling the Powindah traffic, unity of policy will enormously strengthen the administration. In particular, I anticipate that our relations with Afghanistan would become easier, our intercourse more friendly; and that the present unsatisfactory state of the border, with its raids and

disturbances encouraged by Afghan officials, would be vastly improved if there were one central authority of high rank responsible for the administration of the entire Frontier contiguous with Afghanistan. Government's policy towards all the tribes could then be systematized, being directed by one man, who would be able to view his policy towards the Wazirs, for example, in relation to his policy towards the Zhob Kakars, and who could approach the problems of the North-West Frontier Province from the point of view of the official responsible at the same time for carrying on the Baluchistan system. Inevitably a wider understanding and a greater prestige would reinforce the decisions of the Governor in his relations with all parts of his charge, supported as he would be on his council by men of influence from Kalat to Chitral, representing every shade of opinion and a great diversity of experience. The Frontier, in fact, would be regarded as one whole.

(2) The Governor, who must necessarily be a picked man with wide experience of all parts of the Frontier, and who must make it his duty to tour frequently throughout his charge, would be able to keep the Viceroy and the Government of India in the closest possible touch with the ever-changing trend of events throughout the Frontier in a way which is impossible under the present system ; but far better than the present system would be to have a Governor appointed by the Secretary of State. The Government of India and the Viceroy would in effect view all Frontier problems at first hand through the one man on the spot responsible for the administration of the whole area. In the case of those large and difficult questions which sometimes arise between two administrations—as between the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan—or such big problems as the Pan-Baluch questions, a Governor dealing with the Frontier as a single charge will certainly be in a better position to give the Government of India and the Councils the larger view of the case for the Frontier, and to do so with

greater weight and authority than a Foreign Secretary whose material is but the opinions of others—opinions, moreover, which may possibly be conflicting.

(3) With unified administrative control would come the priceless advantage of co-ordination and avoidance of overlapping (which also means economy) in all branches of the administration, and in all the routine of business both large and small; in the control of Intelligence operations, which would be in the charge of one central bureau working at the Governor's headquarters in personal touch with the Governor; in securing a uniform distribution of funds on public works and communications; in dealing with such measures as a possible revision of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, in which the interests of Baluchistan (where the Frontier Crimes Regulations occupy a vitally important place in the scheme of things) would have to be considered jointly with those of the North-West Frontier Province; in co-ordinating military with civil policy. This last, indeed, is the most important of all. Unless there is real combination between the military and civil for the peace and security of the Frontier, and military dispositions and arrangements are brought more into harmony with the needs of civil policy in its broader aspects, the advantages of having a unified civil administration will be very seriously discounted.

(4) The benefit to the Frontier administration and the inhabitants of the Frontier which a separate cadre would confer can hardly be exaggerated. Personality on the Frontier counts for everything. The confidence of the tribesmen and Sardars in the sympathy and understanding of their officers is half the battle. At present it is difficult to secure that the right man is sent to or retained in the right place. Exigencies of "posting" officers belonging to a large cadre often necessitate that a man is sent to the Frontier whose training and experience have been gained in Native States, or perhaps as a Consular officer in Persia, who has no particular qualifications and perhaps a positive

dislike for life on the Frontier, or a dislike to the people, and I have heard this clearly expressed by certain officers. To send such a man to the Frontier is to invite trouble. Similarly, it may often be found necessary to take away from the Frontier and send elsewhere an officer who has the peculiar characteristics and aptitude which fit him to be a successful administrator of the wild Frontier tribes. Such things are and must be of frequent occurrence under the present system. The existence of a separate cadre will ensure that only men specially trained and qualified for what is a special kind of career will follow out that career. The lack of amenities, the risks, the hardships, and expenses of living in many parts of the Frontier will necessitate that compensation be provided elsewhere. I believe that the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan together offer sufficient diversity in natural conditions, climate and work to provide in full measure that variety and opportunity for change which are essential to the well-being of any service.

So much for unity of control. There remains to be considered the introduction of one policy for the whole Frontier.

One of the great Frontier officials now dead said, "I consider, and have always considered, that the Government of India should lay down and follow a definite policy of civilizing the Frontier tribes up to the Durand Line." I am in entire agreement that this is the object to be aimed at. I am not so hopeful as regards the means advocated to gain this end. "Crushing," "disarmament," are ruthless, drastic, costly operations which an impoverished Government will not easily undertake, and which are very doubtful of success.

I fear there is no short cut to the goal. What might have been achieved twenty-five years ago with comparative ease may only be won now by infinite patience and after a long lapse of time. We have in our dealings with the North-Western Frontier tribes wandered, by now, very far

from the road followed in Baluchistan. We must start afresh, slowly, and if need be painfully. But I am convinced it is worth while, and that it is possible if we are content not to force the pace.

We must adopt a totally different attitude towards the tribesmen. They must be taught to look to us with confidence in our friendly intentions. Firmness is essential, of course, and punishment of the evil-doer. But if one hand holds the stick, the other must offer the loaf of bread. The firmness must be combined with kindness and sympathy. Keen and whole-hearted interest in the tribesmen's concerns, and a determination to put down violence, will in time lead the tribesmen to co-operate in preventing crime in the general interests of the community. We must deal with the people directly instead of through hordes of alien officials; we must identify them more thoroughly in the administration and defence of their own country by means of increased levy service—a system which, being based on the Afghan model (the “rikabi” or “mulki” sowars entertained by the former Afghan Khans of Kandahar), can hardly be said to be inapplicable to Pathans on the North-West Frontier. Where the old natural leaders of the people have—through the fault of our system—disappeared, we must create a new body of men to take their place by means of, or by the development of, the system of councils of elders, seeing to it that the honour of representation is jealously guarded and becomes a means of dignity and respect. The revenue system should be simplified as far as possible. If it is too late to revert to tribute, instead of revenue, large grants of land should be given. We should reduce red-tape and the rule of law to a minimum: as in the Native States, we should sedulously pursue a policy of non-interference with the old-established ways and customs of the tribes.

These are some of the ways in which I would suggest that it may be possible—even at this late hour—to return to the policy of Sandeman, the keystone of which was, as

he himself said, "Peace and goodwill." The process may be long. It is always easier to make mistakes than to repair them. But if by following this policy there is, to quote the words used by the Secretary of State in 1866, "a reasonable prospect of rendering the people on the frontier line between our territories and Afghanistan peaceful and friendly neighbours," then it will be well worth persevering in the attempt to extend our "humanizing influence" over these tribes.

"Nothing is more surprising," says Hume, "than to see the easiness with which the many are governed by the few." The history of our North-West Frontier, with its long catalogue of campaigns, would seem to show that it has not been such a very easy thing to govern these turbulent tribes. It promises to be even more difficult in the future. The material, political, and military advance of Afghanistan, the formidable powers of resistance shown by the Wazirs and Mahsuds during the past year, the gathering strength of Islamic thought, are factors which make the problem of "governing the many" tribes of our Frontier one of increasing complexity, which will require for its solution all the wisdom, foresight, and patience which we can call to our help. And it behoves us to realize how serious the danger is if we fail. On the map of Asia the North-West Frontier may appear but a small and insignificant slice of territory painted a comfortable red; Afghanistan a petty border state which we may treat with contempt. But a general rising all along the Frontier in aid of Afghanistan and in obedience to the cry of Islam would be a far greater menace to our Empire than the rising of the Sudan; it would strain the resources of India to the uttermost. The very safety of India depends on the success of our administration of this Frontier. Our present policy is one of drift; our administration is weakened by division; fear, suspicion, and hatred mark our relations with the most powerful tribes. Our only hope, I believe, lies in consolidating our strength in the hands of a Governor responsible for the administration of the whole Frontier; in

bringing about unity and order where there is now only confusion ; in knocking down prejudices and old enmities ; in making friends with the tribes as well as with Afghanistan.

I have enlarged a good deal on the Frontier question because I know that if any real trouble—and by this I mean an attempt at revolution in India with the Indian Army also in revolt—should occur, then the key to the whole question would be found on the Frontier. If the peoples of the Frontier were with us, there would be little to fear ; if they were against us, then I think we should be in a pretty parlous state.

Let us now briefly consider the question of a national Army, but I do not see how we could expect to have a national force composed of these same people in revolt. Surely we have arrived at a *reductio ad absurdum*. But we are not going to have a revolt : it is impossible when the facts are understood, as I will presently show ; and so I strongly recommend a national territorial army, and that because I remember the words of Lord Roberts : “ An army of Asiatics on a mercenary basis, such as we maintain in India, is a faithful servant, but a treacherous master ; powerfully influenced by social and religious prejudices with which we are imperfectly acquainted, it requires the most careful handling ; above all, it must never be allowed to lose faith in the prestige and supremacy of the governing race. When mercenaries feel that they are indispensable to the maintenance of that authority which they have no patriotic interest in upholding, they begin to consider whether it would not be more to their advantage to aid in overthrowing that authority, and, if they so decide, they have little scruple in transferring their allegiance from the Government they never loved, and have ceased to fear, to the power more in accordance with their own ideas, and from which, they are easily persuaded, they will obtain unlimited benefits.”

If there were a revolt in India to-morrow—a real serious revolution I mean, not a verbal one—what would happen ? I imagine that either Nepal in the east and Afghanistan

with the Frontier would enter into agreements with Britain—and we could afford to be generous (I am absolutely certain I could place a plan before the tribes of Baluchistan which would cause them the greatest pleasure)—or they would go against us and take a hand in the game on their own account. In either event Nepal would overrun Bengal and the north, and Afghanistan would spread down the west coast to Bombay and beyond. I cannot see what is to withhold either, if the British forces were engaged in holding their own in the Punjab and United Provinces. But this is too far-fetched. No sensible people would bring such awful horrors on their own country. A wise co-ordination and sensible collaboration with Government of each Province should enable a scheme to be worked out of a defence force to train up its youth to an idea of arms and to face the facts of the horrors of modern warfare.

Let us take it for granted that India is gradually going to be more on a Dominion basis, and therefore able to arrange for her own defence; then the first absolute *sine qua non* for defence is unity and combination, unity of thought and unity of principle. When this has been attained then there is no reason why an Indian army should not be capable of undertaking her defence. But this means real unity, the Frontier man and the Punjabi seeing eye to eye with the men of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay as to the main policy, and all reinforced by the willing co-partnership of the Native States. I have absolutely failed, except amongst the small alien population of the trading classes, to find on the Frontier any feeling of sympathy with India as a whole; on the contrary, it has always been a feeling of irritation that the British power has been the cause of preventing raids and conquest. I don't for a moment see why a combined feeling of nationhood should not come in time, but there is a very long way to travel yet—several generations.

I am, and always have been, for joining Indians in every possible way in all branches of the administration, including the Army, and I have always been against the ideas of fuss

and efficiency which have kept them out. I know well that India is governed by ideas and not by principles or even statutes. Concrete justice, as represented by the complicated machinery of the British law, is to the Indian a gamble in which the largest purses and most successful liars win. Abstract justice, as personified in a great ruler or the dictates of religion, touches India to the quick.

India, as she grows out of her political infancy, will want something more than just laws and regulations, and opportunity must be given to all to realize some greater ideal. I would say to India, don't think in compartments or departments—we have had too much of that—think big, but with a true sense of proportion and a correct estimate of values, and let us get on with the task of the Golden Rule, looking for the other side of the shield and keeping up always a mental connection between words and things.

To sum up shortly :

In order to protect and guard India—

Firstly : Do away with fear, and don't let us be stampeded by threats of invasion.

Secondly : Keep friends with our neighbours ; they are often more useful than relations.

Thirdly : Improve the administration of the Frontier and get away from pettifogging fuss and efficiency caused by over-centralization at the Government of India headquarters.

Fourthly : Take more account of the wishes of the Frontier people themselves and take them into our confidence, and don't attempt to rule them only with a big stick either in the shape of military force or laws and rules, which we think very excellent but which are often in every way unsuited to them.

Fifthly : Confine our attention to putting our own house in order, and in every way try to get the various races of India to pull together and work for their country as part of the Empire.

Sixthly : *Festina lente*—don't worry—even these present troubles will pass.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, March 23, 1925, at which a paper was read by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., entitled "Frontier Problems and Defence."

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., occupied the Chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., and Lady Barrow, Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., and Lady Egerton, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Lady Dane, Sir Montague de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Miss Webb, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Colonel P. W. O'Gorman, C.M.G., I.M.S. (retd.), Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. A. L. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. S. D. Pears, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. C. Skrine, Major Blacker, Mrs. Rawlinson, Mr. A. R. Dew, Miss Godfrey, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. J. Barniville, Professor Nagendra N. Gangulee, Mr. G. F. Malik, Mr. A. M. Shah, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. Sydney G. Roberts and Miss Roberts, Colonel Lowry, Colonel Wilson Johnson, Major Gilbertson, Dr. S. S. Mohamedi, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mrs. Herron, Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Gould, Major Chiodetti, Mr. M. E. Aling, Mrs. Drury, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mrs. Martley, Mr. Everard Cotes, Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. R. M. J. Knaster, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Captain E. G. Saunders, Miss Gravatt, Mr. A. T. Penman, Miss N. Corner, Colonel Lowry, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, we are met to-day in the deep shadow of a very grave loss, which this Kingdom and the Empire have sustained. This is not the proper occasion on which to make any attempt to follow the splendid career, or even to appraise in a summary way the great qualities of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, who at last has found rest from his lifelong labours. We, who take an interest in India, have known by experience his wonderful genius, his marvellous many-sidedness, and his stupendous energy, coming into action even when his body was racked with pain. (Hear, hear.) If time permits, a few perhaps of the many measures that he took for the defence of India may be noticed in the discussion on Sir Armine B. Dew's paper to-day. But he still lies unburied, and the voice of criticism is hushed, and indiscriminate eulogy will not honour his memory or be of use to India. We must all agree that he was one of the greatest, most brilliant, versatile, and laborious Viceroys that have ever guided the destinies of India, and I would ask you, after Lord Lamington, on behalf of the Council of the Association, and Professor N. Gangulee, on behalf of his fellow-countrymen in India, have

said a few words, to stand for a few moments as a silent tribute to his memory.

LORD LAMINGTON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, as the Chairman has remarked, it was my desire as President of the East India Association to join myself to that admirable short summary that Sir Louis Dane has just given as to the great ex-Viceroy's qualities. We have had a meeting of the Council of this Association already this afternoon, and we then passed a formal resolution of our great and deep sense of loss at his untimely death, and therefore it is not necessary for us to pass another formal resolution at this more public meeting. It would take many hours really to try and delineate that wonderful many-sidedness of character. In voicing my deep sense on his death as one of the most prominent personages in the Empire, it is also that I have to express my own grief at his death as one of his oldest friends.

To me it was an absolutely real mystery how he got through the work that he did. I never could understand how in the twenty-four hours of the day he achieved so much in the way of actual work, whatever it might be, in the way of correspondence (for rarely did anyone write without getting a reply in his own hand by return of post), or looking into details in his house, and everything connected with it—it was perfectly astounding to me how one man ever got through it with all his public duties to discharge and with countless not strictly official engagements. And yet he never had a private secretary except perhaps latterly. Another quality was his extraordinary memory—his memory for facts and people. I daresay Sir Louis Dane will bear me out that he seemed to know every person in India. His memory for names and places and all the characteristics of individuals was wonderful; besides, of course, he was a widely read man. His sources of information were very vast. You only have to read his standard book on Persia to see what he really knew of the East.

It must be remembered, too, that before he became Viceroy of India he was simply steeped in knowledge of the affairs of our Indian Empire. He went out prepared to take up the reins of office, not as a newcomer, but as a man who understood Indian life and Government.

As I have said, it is not the time to go into details of his life and work, and therefore, I only wish now, as President of the Association, to be allowed publicly to associate myself with the words that have been spoken by our Chairman this afternoon.

PROFESSOR NAGENDRA GANGULEE: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg to be allowed to take this opportunity of associating myself with the tribute paid by the East India Association to Lord Curzon; for it is in India that he has left memories of brilliant achievements both as an efficient administrator and as a friend of culture. Whatever may be the popular estimation of his Viceroyalty of India, it cannot be denied that by the introduction of certain reforms he quickened the very pulse of the administrative machinery. His passionate reverence for India's historic past led to the Ancient Monuments Act of 1904, and thus, by preserving the archæological remains of India, he made a substantial contribution to the revival of her æsthetic and national consciousness.

"As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty," he said, "I have visited them ; but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair."

But to my mind the greatest achievement of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty lies in the inauguration of his agricultural policy, designed to improve the lot of Indian peasantry. He perhaps realized that the motive force—which is the guiding principle of a constitutional democracy—must come from the people ; and therefore he came to regard the interests of the Indian Empire and that of agricultural development as one organic whole. He established the Agricultural Research Institution in India, overhauled the departments of agriculture, introduced co-operative credit societies, revised the land revenue policy, extended the scope of primary education, and created the new Department of Commerce and Industry. Thus, at the end of his Viceroyalty, he was justified in claiming in his Guildhall speech :

"The Indian peasants, the patient, humble, silent millions, have been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible."

My Lord, India owes this distinguished servant of the Empire a deep debt of gratitude. Let not matters of controversy or undue emphasis on his temperamental deficiencies leave us unstirred at the passing of one of the great Indian Viceroys.

(The audience then stood for a few moments as a silent tribute to his memory.)

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, we are going to listen to-day to a paper composed by Sir Armine Dew. You probably know him a great deal better than you do me ; but to those who do not know him, I may mention that he was for more than thirty years employed in political service almost entirely on the North-West Frontier, which is the subject on which he is going to speak to us. He served on the Frontier from Chitral to Baluchistan, where he ended his career as the Commissioner, and what he does not know about the Frontier is probably not worth knowing ; but I might mention, as a somewhat lighter touch, that he was by nature fitted as a guardian of the British Empire. I remember a good many years ago that as a young man he single-handed broke the armed might of Prussia.

The LECTURER : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like, as the Chairman and Lord Lamington have spoken about Lord Curzon, to give one little instance of his desire to find out what everybody thought of their own particular job. I was up in a very rough part of the Indus Valley trying to work a scheme of my own, and, as was often done, I took a trip in the summer to Simla to see if I could not push things along in the Foreign Office, and I was asked to "Viceregal Lodge." While I was talking to the Viceroy Lord Curzon suddenly turned to me and said : "What sort of a man do you think is wanted on the Frontier?" It was rather a poser to a young officer ; but my reply was : "Well, sir, I do not think we want brains so much as a good old-fashioned country-gentleman type of man. If you can get a fellow who has been brought up in the country at home, and who starts out amongst the people knowing where

the head and the tail of a horse are, and what rotation of crops means, I think that you will be getting the right man." He smiled, and said: "I believe you are right."

The paper was then read.

General Sir EDMUND BARROW said that, as he had not been favoured with an advance copy of the lecture, he had not come prepared with any criticisms thereon, and he really did not know whether he could with advantage make any remarks; but in response to the Chairman's invitation he would attempt to do so. The Lecturer had expressed views in favour of a single Province. Possibly he was right; but there were strong arguments on the other side. One reason why the Frontier was divided in two parts was the strategical reason. For many years Frontier policy had been swayed by military considerations, and influenced by what had been alluded to as fear of Russia. The authorities concerned with military policy at that time all contemplated military operations on two lines—that is to say, the Kandahar line and the Kabul line. It was therefore necessary to consider how far the distribution of the Frontier should conform to military policy; and an argument frequently advanced was that if we had two distinct lines of operation, there would be certain advantages in having separate administrations at the base of each line respectively—that is to say, the Government centred in Peshawar would concentrate its attention on the northern line, and on the other line the Government centred in Quetta. He would not say that was altogether sound policy; but there was a good deal to be said on both sides.

Then, again, there was a distinction between north and south in the nature of the people; they were not quite the same races in the south as in the north, nor did they all speak the same language. However, he was inclined to agree that there was much to be said for the undivided frontier policy.

The Lecturer also said that the Governor for the whole Province should be a young man from England. On that point he totally disagreed. The man who ruled on the Frontier should be one with a thorough knowledge of Frontier affairs and its races, preferably one who could talk the language. He could hardly conceive any Government entrusting the Frontier to a young politician on the make from England, because he could not believe that he would make the best Governor for the Frontier Province.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said he had often thought of the questions which were discussed in the paper. Many years ago he had taken part, as a member of the Punjab Civil Service, in the dismemberment of his own Province to form the North-West Frontier Province, and had thereby acquired considerable disrepute.

He had served for seven years in the new Province as head of the Revenue Administration, and thus had some opportunity of regarding the political questions from a detached standpoint. He entirely agreed with what the Lecturer had said, that what they wanted, and what they had been vainly searching for, on the Frontier, was a policy. There were two things wanted in administration: one, a policy, and, in the next place, good

agents to carry out that policy. On the Frontier they had first-rate agents, none better, and, he ventured to say, a more capable and courageous body of men had never served the British Government than the officers who had served, and were serving, on that frontier from Chitral down to Karachi and Kelat.

In theory there were two main and distinct policies; the forward policy, the object of which was to administer up to the Durand Line; there was the closed border policy, of which the object was to retire to the boundary of the administered British districts or even to the Indus; and in between these two there run many other so-called policies. But none of them was consistently followed. They had a splendid body of men, knowing the people well, but having in the past at least no real policy to guide them from the Home Government or the Government of India. That was a terrible position for officers to occupy. It explained the extraordinary changes in our attitude to the tribes and our frequent failures in dealing with them. He gave as an instance the case of Waziristan, the ever open sore of the North-West Frontier. The hardy and fierce inhabitants of Waziristan were unable to make a livelihood in their own barren hills, and the only way they could live was by raiding their richer neighbours in Afghanistan on one side or the Frontier districts on the other. The Afghans understood those people better than the British did, and they took good care to encourage the raiding on the British side. The officers on the British side applied themselves to finding a remedy. At one time grants of land, at another, enlistment in the army and local militia, then an attempt to establish tribal leaders, next an attempt to propitiate all the tribes by allowances to every man carrying a rifle. The main object apparently was "peace in our time," peace at any price, and that peace was generally obtained by piling up a terrible legacy for their successors. All these temporary expedients had broken down one after the other and the Mahsuds and Wazirs had, in consequence, grown much stronger and more defiant. The policy now being pursued—a strong force in the heart of Waziristan, the country opened up by roads for motor traffic, employment of the Mahsuds as levies, finding their own arms—offered the best chance of success. In his opinion a much firmer policy was required with the Government of Afghanistan. The root of the trouble had been the fact that these tribes had been incited to attack the British by the local Afghan officials. They needed to have a firm and consistent policy in dealing with Afghanistan as well as with the tribes. The question was more than a local one. It was vital to the external and internal security of India. He thought the considerations which the Lecturer had put before them, if carefully studied, furnished information as to how those desirable things were to be obtained. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SKRINE said he would like to ask if it was not the fact that between Afghanistan and the British territory there was a "No Man's Land," inhabited by tribes which owed allegiance to neither the British Government nor the Amir; if so, would it not be advisable to push forward the Durand Line and make it coterminous with that of Afghanistan?

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said that when he was in the House of Commons

there was a raid on the North-West Frontier, and the question was asked : Had the chieftains of that country been receiving an allowance ? and the answer was : Yes. The next question was : Was that allowance stopped ? and the answer was : Yes. Hence this raid on the North-West Frontier, and there was no denying it. It seemed to him where they had half-wild people in a mountainous country where it was always difficult to live, and impossible to live in bad seasons, that, an allowance to those warlike men on the Frontier was by far the cheapest way of maintaining order. The British could easily maintain their power in India. We were not going to be governed by fears, but by a sense of what we thought right for the people there. Economy in military expenditure was essential.

A successful revolt in India nowadays would be impossible if there were a well-equipped British force of 30,000 men in the country. In the days of the Mutiny, seventy years ago, conditions were different. There were no railways, no Suez Canal, and the steamships of the period could not go round the Cape of Good Hope at anything like the speed of the modern liners. The Sepoy mutineers were supported by the 80,000 well-armed troops of the previous rulers of Oudh, who had just been deprived of their livelihood by the British annexation of the province. Seventy years ago any iron or brass foundry could make good cannon, and guns and gunpowder were easily made, so that rebels could be as well armed as regular troops. But now no rebels would have a chance, because they would have no arsenals to provide the latest kind of weapon and maintain the supplies of ammunition. The railways could carry 10,000 men in twenty-four hours to any part of the country who could immediately put down any rebellion, unless it was in remote mountains. No foreign power could invade the country by land with any hope of success against British troops supplied by steamboats.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, perhaps you will allow me just to say a few words, not in justification of my misdeeds as Foreign Secretary, but generally upon the situation of the defence of India. Sir Armine Dew said he was always able to find a tribe to punish an offending tribe. You will find on the Frontier that it is enough for one Frontier officer to enunciate a policy for dozens of other Frontier officers to enunciate different policies. Apparently they have learned this policy from the Pathans and the Baluchis whom they control. I plead guilty to knowing something about the Frontier. I first served in Dera Ghazi Khan in 1878. I knew Sir Robert Sandeman, and I should like to draw your attention to this. Sir Robert Sandeman went from the Punjab and carried out practically the same policy in Baluchistan as under the Punjab Government. In those days the Punjab was responsible for the safety and security of the Frontier. As a matter of fact, at least half the Lieutenant-Governor's time was spent in connection with the Frontier, and quite half his touring season. I remember myself, in 1880, riding from Rajanpur to Bannu on camels with the Lieutenant-Governor, and we covered on an average about fifty miles a day. Thence to the Kurram and Khaibar and on to Dhakka, where the Lieutenant-Governor installed a Mohmand Khan of Lalpura. The officers of the districts were furnished from the Punjab, and the

Punjab Government took particular pride in its administration of the frontier. That administration was only made possible by the existence of that magnificent body, the Punjab Frontier Force, which was composed of five regiments of cavalry and six regiments of infantry, with a system of tribal levies throughout the Frontier.

Lord Roberts became acquainted with the super-eminent merits of the Punjab Frontier Force. There were a good many officers with that force who rather hankered for the fleshpots of Simla. When he became Commander-in-Chief we lost this splendid Frontier Force in 1886. It was then a case of saving lives and protecting property without any armed force except a few levies to help us. Gradually, however, we proceeded to make bricks without straw, and we built up some fine levy systems. In fact, we got up a force very closely resembling that old Frontier Force, and we were carrying on fairly well, but every year things became more and more difficult.

If Sir Armine Dew will look back on history, he will find that most of his proposals have been put forward from time to time, and some have survived. Sir Michael O'Dwyer gave you a short summary of some of the multitudinous schemes suggested for the pacification of the Frontier. I am glad to see that he approved of the present policy of road-making. That was the policy of the Punjab Government in the nineties. We made the road from Idak to Thal, and settled the Gumatti Alsatia. We strongly recommended making a metal road, or preferably a railway, through the Kohat Pass, with a tunnel through the Kotal, after the troubles of 1897-98. The military, who have a strange fancy for sticking to routes they have used, preferred the Khushalgarh bridge and railway. Now the Pass road is being made. We urged the construction of a road from Datta Khel by Dre-Nakhtar Narai to Wano, with cantonments at or near Razmak on the healthy uplands to intern and cut off the Mahsuds from Afghanistan, which is the only way of settling some parts of the Frontier. The road and cantonments have now been made, but by the much more difficult and expensive route through Mahsud country. Lord Kitchener's Kabul River railway has been scrapped and a line built through the Khaibar.

The fact was that the Government of India and the Secretary of State could not allow any Local Authority, Governor, Chief Commissioner, or any other, to be fully charged with the maintenance of authority and the exercise of that authority without the previous sanction of the Government of India. We could hardly move a single messenger, and the result was that I said after the Tirah affair: "The present system is impossible; it is responsibility divorced from authority," and unless we are allowed to control the Frontier and maintain order with an adequate force of levies, always provided we do not call in regular troops and do not in any way interfere with the Afghan border, it is very much better to say to the Government of India: "Take over the whole thing and manage it yourself."

Well, the then Viceroy said there was no idea of doing that. I went home on leave, and soon afterwards, in 1901, Lord Curzon arranged to take over the Frontier. I am afraid even the Viceroy was unable to control the Frontier without interference from the Secretary of State. It

is an astounding thing, but I think it is an absolute fact that when there was a question of coercing one section of the Afridi tribes, the sanction of the Secretary of State had to be obtained, and the expedition was the celebrated week-end expedition—the time being absolutely fixed by the Secretary of State from home. Since 1901 the Viceroy personally has managed the Frontier, at any rate during the period when I was connected with the Foreign Office.

Even the question of a single Frontier Province under a Chief Commissioner is not new. That system was actually proposed by Lord Lytton, and was worked out in 1878, and in the autumn of 1879 the whole of the papers were drawn up, the *Gazette* notification was absolutely drafted, and it was to have appeared, when Sir Louis Cavagnari was murdered in Kabul. That was the end of the proposal for having the Frontier governed from end to end by one authority. The real difficulty is that the Frontier is so important as involving our relations with Afghanistan that the authority charged with supreme political control in India is quite unable to allow the Frontier to pass out of his hands.

Now it was one of Lord Curzon's firm desires to form most friendly relations with the Amir of Afghanistan, and he tried all he could to keep on the best terms he could with Abdul Rahman and his son Habibullah, whom he invited to meet him as his father and cousin had done. There was a very strong anti-foreign and anti-British party in Kabul, and Amir Habibullah Khan probably felt that he could not leave his country. So as Muhammad could not come to the mountain, a deputation from the mountain in the shape of the Dacre Mission went in 1904 to Kabul. This paved the way for the Amir's visit to India. In 1907 the Amir came down and formed most friendly relations with Lord Minto, who was a strong supporter of Lord Curzon's policy for the defence of India, and we looked forward with the greatest possible hope to a most friendly and successful Frontier administration. Without the co-operation of the Amir it is absolutely impossible to administer the trans-border tribes. These men like expeditions. The result for them is that some few men are killed, but a considerable quantity of rifles and ammunition is left in the territory, which is most useful to them. Then came what, in my opinion, was the most unfortunate arrangement with the Russian Government. It was anticipated at home that the Amir would not have much difficulty in signing the agreement in question. As a matter of fact he could only have signed it at the peril of his life, and he never signed it. The consequence was that relations were not quite so friendly after I left the Foreign Office. But whatever may be said about the Amir, in my opinion he was in many ways a strong character and a courageous and wonderfully honest man. It is quite possible that in the war he had to play up to the very strong anti-British party in Afghanistan; but the fact remains that he remained faithful to his engagements that he entered into on March 21, 1905, in Kabul, and he lost his life to a very great extent, I believe, in consequence of his fidelity to his Treaty engagements. If the Amir had not stood by us in the spring of 1915, when we had only two British divisions in Northern India, and some of the Indian regiments

were suspect, the Germans and Turks could easily have gone through Mesopotamia and Persia and Afghanistan to the Frontier; I am afraid it would have gone very badly indeed with us. With some hundreds of German officers and 2,000 Turkish troops, I have no hesitation in saying Afghans and Frontier tribesmen in hundreds of thousands would have produced an appalling state of things in Northern India, even if we had not lost it for a time. I do hope my friends in India will really sometimes think of what very nearly happened at that time, and what might possibly have happened again, when they talk about the desire to get rid of the British officers in India.

Sir Armine stressed the necessity of cultivating friendly relations with Nepal. As a matter of fact, those relations could not well have been more friendly than they were during the war, and this was mainly due to the action taken by Lord Curzon. At the end of the nineteenth century our relations with Tibet became very strained. The Chinese residents could not, or would not, make the Tibetans keep their engagements, and it appeared that Russian emissaries had found their way to Lhasa. Now Nepal has always taken much interest in Tibet, and naturally got to hear of all this. In 1792 China, in one of her cyclic waves of conquest, penetrated to within ten miles of the capital of Nepal, and dictated a treaty whereby Nepal had to send tributary missions to Peking. Even more alarming to Nepal than the power of China was the prospect of trouble from Russia. H.E. Maharaja Chandra Shamsher had recently succeeded, and this time without bloodshed, to the post of Prime Minister, and he came to the Coronation Durbar in 1903 at Delhi. Though Lord Curzon was overwhelmed with details of work, he made a special point of seeing the Prime Minister, with whom he had a long conversation. A mutual liking arose, which was strengthened during subsequent visits of the Maharaja to Calcutta. Without the cordial co-operation of Nepal the mission to Tibet in 1905 could not have succeeded. But much more was at stake than this. With a hostile or even a traditionally suspicious Nepal it would have been impossible to have denuded Hindustan of troops as was done during the war, since an inaccessible Nepal lies all along the northern flank. Maharaja Chandra Shamsher not only kept one force of 20,000 Gurkhas fully up to the mark, but actually lent 24,000 of his own Nepalese troops to take the place of our men fighting the Empire's battles elsewhere. The friendly relations with Nepal, due to Lord Curzon's action, were worth at least 100,000 men to us during the war.

With regard to Mesopotamia, people have often said: What on earth did we go to Mesopotamia for? I am speaking under correction, as Sir E. Barrow, one of the authors of that policy, is sitting before me, but if we had not gone to Basrah, I really believe we should probably have lost Northern India. So that Lord Curzon's visit of inspection to the Persian Gulf and the arrangements he then made showed his great prescience of what is likely to happen hereafter. At the time people cavilled and said it was megalomania and that he wished to imitate Alexander the Great. I suppose they meant Nearchos. The fact is that

the Government of India knew that in time of war we might be deprived for six weeks of the command of the sea east of Aden. The *Emden* episode showed that six months was a more accurate time forecast. It was therefore necessary to strengthen all our liens on the Gulf to prevent others coming there and establishing naval squadrons which would have entailed enormous naval expenditure on India. Consulates and agencies were strengthened and fresh ones opened, most friendly relations were established with the great Arab sheikhs at the head of the Gulf, possible harbours were personally examined, strategic points were secured, light-houses were erected, and generally our century-old arrangements for policing, buoying, and lighting the Gulf were brought up to date. How useful all these measures of Lord Curzon were was clearly shown at the beginning of the war, and, but for them, the capture of the vital point of Basrah would not have been so simple a matter.

But that was not the only result of Lord Curzon's visit to the Persian Gulf. Sir Armine Dew said that oil was the thing of the future. Well, you have all heard of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, that magnificent Company of which the Government holds £5,000,000 of the shares, and I should like to tell how that Company came into existence, or, at any rate, how the oil was found there. When Lord Curzon was at a place called Kowait, which was at one time thought of as the base of the Baghdad Railway, a messenger came to me and said there was a European who wished to see me, so I said: "Well, show him in," and I asked what he wanted, and he said: "I am Mr. Reynolds. I have been working for the last six years in Mesopotamia trying to find oil for the D'Arcy Syndicate. All the money is spent, and I came down here hearing that oil was to be found in the desert. I have found nothing, and am marooned here, and now I want to get the Viceroy to give me a berth on one of the ships accompanying the Viceroy to Bushire, so as to catch the mail-steamer home the day after to-morrow." Of course we were very much interested in oil there, because oil at the head of the Gulf would absolutely have prevented any idea of allowing the Russians, and even the Germans, to come down there, which a good many people were in favour of at the time, and if the operations had been discontinued the concession would probably have been revoked by the Persian Government. I said to him: "Have you ever heard of the Maidan-i-naftun—that is, literally translated, the place of naphtha or kerosene? He said they had not heard of it, and I said, "Well, before you give up the pursuit, why not go and have a look at it? It seems a great pity to give it up." He said: "There is no money left, and I have no caravan or equipment, and I think it is impossible to do anything." However, I went to Lord Curzon and I said to him: "It seems a great pity that this man should go away," and he said at first: "I am afraid Mr. D'Arcy has lost his money." I told him I had read very old narratives—the Foreign Office has very long memories—and also some recent reports of our own officers, and there seemed to be some reason to think this place was rather like Baku. Lord Curzon was a man of extraordinarily quick ideas, and he said: "Send him to the Resident, and tell him to fit him out with money and beasts and the necessary men, and

let him go up to look at this place." Well, Mr. Reynolds went up there. He went and saw, and he conquered. He saw it was a magnificent field, and he came home full of enthusiasm. The Home Government got Lord Strathcona and the Burmah Oil Company to form a syndicate with Mr. D'Arcy to explore the thing fully, and the result of those explorations was the finding of this magnificent oilfield in June, 1908.

In a small way I also was able to help in starting a small oilfield in the Punjab near Rawal Pindi, the oil from which is now the motive power of the whole of the military transport of Northern India, so oil has not been neglected.

The Frontier is what you may call the tactical problem of the defence of India, but there are much greater strategical problems, of which I have tried to give you some idea, and in regard to those greater problems I am sure you will all agree with me that there was no man played a greater and more successful part than Lord Curzon, whose memory we all revere.

The LECTURER said: I have only to thank those who have spoken for backing me up in every way, because if you analyze all that has been said it only shows how necessary it is something should be done. I view the Frontier as being most important, because there would be no India if the Frontier is lost. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings concluded by a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman.

Sir MONTAGU WEBB writes: "The length of the speeches and the lateness of the hour precluded me from taking part in the discussion on Sir Armine Dew's very interesting paper on 'Frontier Problems and Defence.' But I should like to point out that the cost of Frontier defence in recent years has been appalling. The result of debiting the whole of this (including the cost of repelling the last Afghan attack on India in 1919) to India's current revenues has been to produce a dangerous succession of deficit Budgets, and to bring all progress in other departments of the Government of India to a standstill. Happily a check on this terrible loss of money has now been effected, and expenditure on Frontier defence is now being steadily reduced. But it is still greater than India can safely afford. Having regard to the general financial situation of India, and of Great Britain and the rest of the Empire, I urge that India's Frontier policy must now be shaped as our purse will permit. If Sir Armine Dew's proposals would mean a substantial reduction in the cost of managing and protecting the North-West Frontier of India, then I am quite sure that most of the public in India and in Great Britain would like to see those proposals take shape, and be given a fair trial."

LORD PENTLAND

AN APPRECIATION

THE untimely death of Lord Pentland will be mourned equally by his many English and Indian friends. Though as Governor of Madras he left no great abiding landmark of his administration, he was always a conscientious worker and deeply interested in the welfare of the people. But perhaps his chief characteristic was a graciousness of manner which endeared him to everyone, be they of exalted position or merely humble toilers in the ranks. Essentially a modest man, he yet filled the position of Governor with dignity, but those who were privileged to meet him at unofficial moments could not fail to notice that a simple, homely life was more congenial to him than the pomp and circumstance necessary to his public life. After his retirement he never ceased to take a deep interest in India, and his house was open on the one hand to his English friends from Madras, whom he was the means of bringing together again in England, and on the other to Indian visitors to England, especially to those whom he had known in Madras. If you wanted to know what Indians were in England, where they were living, and what they were doing, Lord Pentland was as sure a source of information as the India Office or the High Commissioner. Indians themselves recognized that nowhere were they more warmly welcomed. As Chairman of the Council of the East India Association he was no mere figurehead; on the contrary, he was full of suggestions for its advancement, and was always ready with wise counsel in the transaction of its business. Always an ardent Liberal in politics, he was a fairly regular attendant in the House of Lords, though he did not often intervene in debates. It was probably owing to his strenuous work for the Party during the election campaign that he contracted the illness which caused his death. Our sympathies—and the sympathies of all who knew them—go out to Lady Pentland, who always supported Lord Pentland in his work with a loyalty and enthusiasm equal to his own.

STANLEY RICE.

SIX CHINESE LYRICS

From "Little Wings of two Dragons" (Unpublished)

By J. C. JOHNSTON,

Author of "The Book of the Beloved."

THE GORGES OF THE YANG-TSE

The gorges of the Yang-tse have often been praised,
But what praise can touch the reality? Those beetling rocks,
That terrifying rift, the mist that wreathes them,
And above all the pounding, heaped-up flood of yellow, whirling waters!

THE MEDITATIONS OF CHENG

I should like to be a mandarin, were it not for the examinations!
For the mandarins wear plum-coloured silk, while I wear homely blue
cotton.
The writing-brush, I feel sure, is less troublesome than this heavy hoe,
But, alas! to wield the hoe requires no examinations!

THE HONG OF FU-CHIEN

In the *hong* of Fu-Chien you may smoke a pipe of opium,
While one by one Fu-Chien unrolls his hoarded silks.
The shop is dark, but the silks themselves give sunshine,
Rivers of light that flow through Fu-Chien's impassive hands.

THE VICEROY OF YÜN-NAN

In Yün-nan, savage tribes, monstrous beasts, most barbarous conditions;
In Chih-li, court life, ordered days, sweet gardens, cultured leisure.
My mind, is it growing monstrous, and my demeanour savage?
In what is Heaven offended with me, that It sent me to Yün-nan?

THE FEW WORDS

From an handful of millet, ten thousand grains:
From an handful of rice, the year's food of an household:
From the few words of a poet,
Just laws and peace for an hundred years in the province.

CANTON

Peppermint and the lukewarm rice-wine, and tea, yellow as the honey of
the clover-drowsy bees,
And the deep, shrill, squealing notes of my three-stringed zither.
The steel-blue, dark Cantonese sky, the lights of the innumerable house-
boats,
And the slow moon that rises behind the cypresses in the Garden of
Eternal Sleep.

THE *MAGNA CHARTA* OF THE MALABAR CHRISTIANS

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

IN his article on "Armenians in Southern India" (*ASIATIC REVIEW* of January, 1925, pp. 113-123), Mr. S. M. Gregory rightly characterizes Thomas Cana as the most notable among the pioneers who followed the footsteps of St. Thomas, the Apostle* of South India. The object of the present article is to present some details about Thomas Cana not generally known to European scholars.

Adriaan Moens, Dutch Governor of Cochin, in Malabar, wrote thus in his Memorandum of 1781: "One of the most remarkable incidents in the history of the St. Thomas Christians is the following: In the fourth century, according to the reckoning of the Malabar, there arrived at Cranganore a merchant† from Syria named Thomas

* The Malabar tradition of the South Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas has an anachronistic element in it. St. Thomas is said to have set up crosses for worship in all the seven places in Malabar where he founded churches. Was the practice of erecting crosses for worship begun in the first century of the Christian era? Sir Richard Temple, in his postscript to the present writer's article on "A Christian Dynasty in Malabar" in the *Indian Antiquary* for June, 1923, answers in the negative. Dom. H. Leclercq's article on crosses (*Dict. d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie*, iii., part ii., col. 3061) also supports this view. For specific details of St. Thomas's seven crosses, see the present writer's note in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, July, 1923.

† Mr. Gregory says "Thomas Cana simply means Thomas the Cleric" (his article, p. 119). Malabar tradition, however, speaks of him as a merchant. The indigenous forms of the name are Kânâ Tômmâ, Knâyi Tomman, and Tomman Kinân. De Couto's *Da Asia* has Thomas Cananeo. Sir John Kaye's "Christianity in India" makes it Mar Thomas (Mâr is now prefixed to the names of Bishops in Malabar. St. Thomas is known in Malabar as Mâr Tômmâ S'îhâ, St. Thomas the Apostle).

Cnay or Cana, with some priests and other Christians from Bagdad, Mosul, and Jerusalem. After having obtained great influence with the princes by means of his riches and wealth, he secured for the Christians—who had chosen him as their head—great privileges, and brought it about that they were not only ranked among the nobility of Malabar, but were even preferred before the royal Nairs (which is the title given to the notables and noblemen among the Malabaris). They were also granted the privilege of trading all over the country, of building shops and churches, and certain honours, which could be used by no one without special leave of the princes."

"The annals will even have it that this Thomas obtained a written grant of the aforesaid privileges, engraved on a copper plate, which was preserved with the most extreme care . . ." ("The Dutch in Malabar," Madras, 1911, p. 172).

This copper document is the *Magna Charta* of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.

The Portuguese in Malabar, too, esteemed it a very valuable document. For, in 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop, in distressful circumstances, pawned the two copper plates to the Portuguese treasurer in Cochin, and obtained two hundred reals (silver coins). So says Manuel de Faria y Sousa, of the seventeenth century, in his "Portuguese Asia," vol. ii., p. 506. The author is wrong in his statement that these two plates "were original grants and privileges bestowed on the Apostle St. Thomas . . . when he preached" in Malabar (p. 506). He mistakes Thomas Cana the merchant for Mar Thomas the Apostle.

These two plates have been missing from Malabar ever since they were entrusted to the Portuguese in 1544. Attempts have recently been made by the present writer

and other St. Thomas Christians in Malabar to discover these plates, but without success. May I* appeal to European Orientalists to try and find out this very interesting document? "The original copper plates† were sent to Portugal by the Franciscans to whom they had been entrusted by Mar Jacob, who died in their Convent of Cochin in 1549. . . . The surmise is that the *Magna Charta* of the Malabar Syrians lies now in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent of Portugal." So says Rev. Fr. Hosten in the *Catholic Herald of India*, 1924, p. 801, col. 1.

Adriaan Moens searched high and low for this *Magna Charta* and for its public copy on stone, and, very much chagrined, put it on record in 1781 (in his Memorandum above) that "one might well doubt whether such a patent was ever really granted to this Mar Thomas or indeed to these Christians . . ." ("Dutch in Malabar," p. 173). His was a wild-goose chase, simply because the plates had already been sent away to Portugal. Dr. Burnell says that the Portuguese carried away some inscribed stones from India. The public lithic copy of the plates of Thomas of

* The present writer and the rest of the Malabar Christian community will be under the greatest obligations to the person who will discover these plates for them and send to him (Training College for Teachers, Trivandrum, Travancore, South India) ink impressions of the epigraph. He would publish a translation in the ASIATIC REVIEW.

† The Syro-Malabar Christians have three other sets of copper plates on which also are recorded the high social, religious, and commercial privileges, and certain royal revenues granted to them by the ancient princes of Malabar. Two plates from two of these sets also (about 9 inches by 3·3 inches) are missing and have to be discovered. These date from the latter half of the ninth century A.D. For fairly accurate translations of the inscriptions on these three sets of plates see *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. ii., and *Indian Antiquary* for 1924. The Malabar Christians of St. Thomas have also two old Pahlavi inscriptions on stone as well as another recently discovered by me. Vide *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1923, pp. 355, 356, and June, 1924.

Cana might be one of these. No one knows where these stones are at present !

Very probably the Portuguese made a translation of the copper-plate record before they paid two hundred reals for it ; for a necessarily incorrect Portuguese version of this "Notarial Act (*escritura*) of the lowland of Cranganore which the Emperor of all Malabar gave to Thomas Cananeo the Armenian and also to the Christians of St. Thomas," is in a manuscript volume dated 1604 in the British Museum containing reports of the Jesuits on the Malabar coast (Mackenzie's "Christianity in Travancore," Trivandrum, 1901, pp. 60 and 61). De Couto's "Da Asia," twelfth decade, last part, pp. 283-285, has a slightly different version. "The *Vīraṭiyāns*," a sect of wandering mendicants, and the "*Tiruvaraṅkans* or *Pāṇans*" (bards) have been from very ancient times engaged by the Malabar Christians for reciting in their houses the privileges contained in their copper plates. These two castes do it even now and get their remuneration. Their versions, however, are corrupt and confused, and enumerate more than a hundred privileges instead of the accredited seventy-two.

The following privileges specified in the Portuguese versions may be taken to be genuine :

1. The Emperor's "own name." This may be the title of *Māppīla*, son-in-law, said to have been bestowed upon the Malabar Christians by an Emperor of Malabar. The Emperor's indigenous Hindu high caste subjects, both male and female, had the title *Pīḷla*, child ; while his naturalized foreign subjects—the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim colonists—had the title *Māppīla*, son-in-law. This is used to this day. So that the present writer is Joseph *Māppīla*, although the practice of using the title has almost gone out of vogue.

2. "Seven kinds of musical instruments." These are usually of five kinds only—three varieties of drums, and cymbals and trumpet.

3. "Travelling in a palanquin."

4. "Whistling with the finger in the mouth as do the women of the kings." This is a kind of vocal *feu de joie*, a loud, protracted lu-lu-lu sound made by women on joyful occasions like the birth of a male child, wedding, etc. The hollowed hand is used as a resonance chamber. This sort of lingual cheers is called "kurava."

5. "Spreading carpets on the ground." This may be the privilege of spreading long pieces of white cloth on the road for a person of distinction—a king, the bride and bridegroom, a bishop, etc.—to walk along. This has not quite gone out of fashion even now in Malabar.

6. "Sandals." (May be the native variety of thin wooden sandals or those made of leather, velvet, etc.).

7. "Erecting a pandal"—*i.e.*, a richly decorated temporary pavilion for the bride and bridegroom. Or, it may be an ordinary temporary shed for the marriage festival.

8. "Riding on elephants," a rare privilege.

9. "Five taxes." It is now impossible to say what these taxes were.

Riding on an elephant or spreading carpets on the ground may appear to be unimportant things now. But until very recently in Malabar no subject was allowed to use these without the special sanction of the king. Now, thanks to the influence of Western education and culture, no one cares for these antiquated privileges. Instead of an elephant or a palanquin, one can now have a motor-car or an aeroplane without anybody's sanction. Even so late as 1818, Queen Pârvati Bhâi of Travancore issued a royal proclamation, allowing her subjects of the Nair and other

castes to wear ornaments of gold and silver without special sanction. Her Christian and Brahmin subjects already had that privilege. In olden days royal sanction had to be obtained—rather purchased for the customary fee—for such trivial things as using an extra broad piece of cloth to cover one's knees, also for thatching one's roof.

Certainly, the plates of Thomas of Cana form the *Magna Charta* of the Malabar Christians ; and they have to be recovered.

ORIENTALIA

NEW LITERARY WORKS FROM ANCIENT
EGYPT

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

I MUST confess at the outset that the title which I have given to this article is somewhat misleading, for the two compositions with which it deals are so far from "new" that they were written a thousand years before the Christian Era; nor are they new discoveries, for the first of them came into the British Museum in 1888, and the second two years earlier. What I mean to convey by the word "new" is that these texts have only recently been published, and made available to scholars for the first time.

In 1920 Sir Ernest Budge published an account of the many missions to the East which he had undertaken on behalf of the trustees of the British Museum and of the numerous and valuable antiquities which he secured for the national collection.* Amongst the almost innumerable manuscripts thus acquired, one of the most important is a long papyrus roll, obtained in 1888, which was inscribed in hieratic characters on one side with a text of moral admonitions, and on the other, a calendar of all the days in the year, each marked as "lucky" or "unlucky" as the case might be.† A facsimile of this calendar was published in 1910 by Sir Ernest Budge,‡ but no account was then given of the didactic text on the *recto* of the roll, and it was not

* "By Nile and Tigris," 2 vols. Cf. ASIATIC REVIEW, vol. xxvi., pp. 517-520.

† *Op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 337.

‡ "Egyptian Hieratic Papyri" (1st series), Plates 31-33. 1910.

until the appearance of his "Nile and Tigris" that we were told that it was "The Admonitions of Amenemapt, Son of Kanekht," and a photograph of one column was given as a specimen of the writing. This aroused widespread curiosity amongst Egyptologists, and fortunately they had not very long to wait for satisfaction, for Sir Ernest Budge gave a general account of the document, interspersed with translations, in the Champollion Centenary Volume in 1922,* and in the following year he published a collotype reproduction of the entire document, accompanied by a hieroglyphic transcript and a full translation.† Since then he has republished the text and a revised translation in a special volume which deals also with Egyptian wisdom-literature in general and contains extracts from kindred books.‡

The text turns out to be one of exceptional interest, and by rare good fortune it is complete from beginning to end. The ancient author has divided his book by rubrics into thirty numbered chapters, its general title being "The Beginning of the Instruction in Life" (*i.e.*, in good living). The copy preserved to us in this papyrus can on paleographical grounds be dated to about the period of the twenty-first dynasty, that is to say, about 1,000 B.C., but there is textual evidence that its prototype is somewhat earlier. It takes the form of a series of admonitions addressed by a father to his son, a literary artifice usual in Egyptian "Instruction" books, several of which are known. Of these, the best known, as well as the oldest, is the "Instruction of Ptah-hotp." In this work the aged vizier Ptah-hotp instructs his son in the behaviour proper to a noble, and it contains some very lofty ethical principles. The "Instruction of Amenemmes" is a literary testament made by the founder of the twelfth dynasty, whereby he confides a prosperous kingdom to his son's charge. A somewhat similar book of "Instruction" made by the

* "Recueil Champollion," pp. 431-446. Paris, 1922.

† "Egyptian Hieratic Papyri" (2nd series), pp. 9-18, 41-51, Plates I-14, 1923.

‡ "The Wisdom of the Egyptians." London, 1924.

Pharaoh Akhthoes is also known, and the "Instruction of Dawef" deals with the superiority of the scribe's profession over other callings. We shall refer to this book later on. All these works were regarded by the Egyptians as classics, and were much in use as school-exercises, many such copies having come down to us. The "Book of Life" of Amenemapt (which we will hereafter refer to as the "Budge Papyrus") is a general disquisition on good behaviour and morality for a man of ordinary rank (as distinct from the princely personages addressed in some of the other books just mentioned). It inculcates a high standard of morality and ethics, and in addition, it inveighs against many such vices as bragging, hasty temper, greed, quarrelsomeness, cheating and lying. It propounds respect for the aged, consideration for the poor, and sympathy for those in distress, and by a series of aphorisms these high principles are extolled and good advice promulgated. Sir Ernest Budge was quick to recognize a similarity between certain passages of this papyrus and such biblical books as Ecclesiasticus and Proverbs; Egyptian influence in certain books of the Old Testament has long been recognized, and the close similarity between the monotheistic hymn of the Pharaoh Atenakhen to the Sun-god and Psalm 104 is sufficient to convince any enquirer of a relationship between the two compositions. The Rev. G. A. Knight recently insisted on the Egyptian origin of the Book of Job, and brought forward much evidence in support of his contention.* And now, in the Budge Papyrus, we have another striking demonstration of the Egyptian influence in another biblical book. Beyond noting the similarity, Sir Ernest Budge did not follow the matter up, but Professor Erman of Berlin, who has independently studied the papyrus, has gone a step further and has proved that the resemblance is more than superficial, and that the Book of Proverbs, or parts of it, is directly derived from the Budge Papyrus. He has produced a closely reasoned memoir, but to go into

* "Nile and Jordan," pp. 379 ff. London, 1921.

details of this would necessitate too much space. We may, however, refer to a brilliant discovery of his, which, taken in conjunction with the other evidence, absolutely clinches the matter. In the Authorised Version of Proverbs xxii. 20, we read, "Have I not written to thee excellent things in counsels and knowledge." Now the translation "excellent things" is evidently an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew word *sheloshim*, which means "thirty." Literally translated, the verse would read—"Have I not written to thee thirty in counsels and knowledge." The obscurity of this rendering was evidently felt by the translators, and it caused them to substitute "excellent things" as making better sense. In the Greek version we find in place of "thirty" or "excellent things," *τρισσῶς*, "thrice," again manifestly an emendation. The Budge Papyrus solves the mystery, for at the end of the document (col. 27, line 7) we read, "Behold thou these thirty chapters, they will counsel, they will teach."

It is not suggested that the contents of the Budge Papyrus were copied bodily into the Book of Proverbs. Proverbs is admitted by biblical critics to be a compilation, and to contain matter derived from several sources. Professor Erman suggests that the Egyptian text may have been translated into Aramaic or Hebrew by a Jewish settler in Egypt about the seventh century B.C., and that its ideas, and in some cases its actual words, were incorporated into the collection which makes up the Book of Proverbs. The text of the Budge Papyrus was doubtless regarded as a classic in ancient Egypt, just as the other "Instructions" were, and in support of this suggestion it may be noted that an ostrakon exists in the Turin Museum inscribed with a literary text which now proves to be a duplicate of part of our text. This has been used by Dr. Lange of Copenhagen, who has also studied and translated the papyrus.* It is tempting to give a number of extracts

* A bibliography of the works of Erman and Lange upon this papyrus will be found in the *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, vol. x., p. 319. 1924.

from the Budge Papyrus side by side with their counterparts in Proverbs, but space forbids. The whole study can be confidently recommended to biblical students, who will find it replete with interest. Quite apart, however, from its biblical aspect, the Budge Papyrus is well worthy of study on its own merits, and is an important link in the long chain of pre-Christian moral and ethical literature from the dawn of civilization to the beginning of the Christian Era.

We now pass on to the second document, the Papyrus Lansing. This papyrus is rather earlier in date than the other, and was probably written in the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty (about 1200-1150 B.C.). It has sustained some damage and is not in such good condition as the Budge Papyrus, but the greater part of it is legible. It proves to be a miscellany, or collection of model letters and literary pieces written by a pupil, and is, in fact, a school-boy's copy-book of the type familiar to us in the Sallier and Anastasi Papyri in the British Museum.

Once again, we are indebted to Sir Ernest Budge for making the document available for study; he has not translated it, but he has published a fine photographic facsimile of it.* The beginning is badly damaged, and the first section of it, which ends in the third line of the second page, is too full of gaps to make an intelligible translation possible. But from this point onwards, the *recto* is made up of eight model letters, some of which begin with the usual formulæ used in Egyptian letter-writing. There is only one formal letter in the collection, most of the others are short literary pieces presented in epistolary form, the principal theme of which is to compare the dignified profession of the scribe with the hardships endured by those in other callings. It is very similar to another well-known text, to which we have already referred, and of which many school copies are known, the "Instruction of Dawef" (better known by its modern name "La Satire des

* "Egyptian Hieratic Papyri" (2nd series), Plates 15-30. London, 1923.

Métiers"), in which the writer exhorts his pupil to pay attention to learning and thus secure for himself the honourable position of scribe, which exempts him from the menial and harassing work of the manual labourer. The miseries endured by the smith, the mason, the field-labourer, the fisherman, the dyer, and a host of others, are described at length, not without humorous touches. In the Lansing Papyrus the comparison is usually made between the work of the scribe and the multifarious duties of the farm labourer, though other occupations are sometimes introduced, the soldier amongst the rest. In transcribing the hieratic text into hieroglyphs soon after the appearance of the publication, I discovered that three passages occur in the papyrus which are already known from other documents.

1. The letter which begins on the seventh line of the fifth page deals with the farmer, and goes on to describe his sad plight when the time arrives to collect his taxes (which were paid in kind), and, owing to his misfortunes and the poverty of his crops, he finds himself unable to pay. From this point the Lansing Papyrus duplicates the text in two other papyri,* and draws a vivid picture of the arrival of the scribe, who disembarks from his boat, accompanied by porters and negroes, armed with sticks. They demand corn: there is none. The luckless farmer is set upon, bound, and flung head-first into the river. His wife and children fare but little better, and his neighbours flee for safety.

2. The last letter on the *recto* (page 11, lines 1-7) is a model letter addressed by the pupil to his teacher, in which the former acknowledges the good effect of the latter's tuition. He says, "Since childhood I have been near thee: when thou didst beat my back, thine instruction did enter my ear." As the result, the pupil has grown up in habits of diligence without idleness by night or day.

* Papyrus Sallier, I., p. 6, ll. 5-8; Papyrus Anastasi, V., p. 16, l. 5, to p. 17, l. 1.

He goes on to say that he has paid such close attention to his master's affairs that the estate in his charge is prosperous and flourishing. Then follows a long list of many kinds of fruit and herbs which fill the master's storehouses, obviously introduced into the lesson to enlarge the pupil's vocabulary.*

3. An ostrakon in the Florence Museum (No. 2619) has long been known, and describes the hardships of the soldier's life. We now find the same text in the Lansing Papyrus, where, however, it is longer and more fully developed. A closely similar, but not identical, text occurs in two other papyri.† In these passages, again, the scribe is bidden to consider the advantages of his position, which exempts him from hardship and makes him an important person—very different from the undistinguished soldier, whose name no one ever hears, laden like an ass, working from morning till night, and, though he is hungry and fatigued, the night-watch has to be kept by him. "He is dead while still alive," says the scribe.

This vein of playful exaggeration is a characteristic of Egyptian literary compositions of this kind. Thus we are told that the farmer can find nothing in its place: he has to waste three days in searching for everything he wants, and he cannot find the water-skins for his beasts, for the wolves have chewed them up.‡ In another passage a scribe stationed in a provincial town complains that he is very bored, and that the place swarms with dogs: "There are two hundred great mastiffs and three hundred wolf-hounds, five hundred in all," he exclaims.§ Many similar instances might be quoted, but in contrast with this playful and gossiping type of letter, we will conclude by translating a formal business communication, the last letter on the *verso* of the Lansing Papyrus:

* Papyrus Anastasi, IV., p. 8, l. 7, to p. 9, l. 2.

† Papyrus Anastasi, III., p. 5, l. 6, to p. 6, l. 2; Anastasi, IV., p. 9, l. 4, to p. 10, l. 1.

‡ Papyrus Lansing, p. 6, ll. 5-6.

§ Papyrus Anastasi, IV., p. 12, l. 12.

TO THE ROYAL SCRIBE, THE OVERSEER OF THE CATTLE OF AMEN-RĒ,
KING OF THE GODS, NEBMIRĒ-NAKHT.

The scribe Nebamen greets his Lord, in life prosperity and health ! It is a communication to inform my Lord ; another greeting to my Lord, to this effect : I pray to Amen-RĒ Horakhti, I pray to the Sun at his Setting and to all the Gods which are in my district, to grant health to my Lord. Mayest thou enjoy life, prosperity, and health, and a great old-age ! May he find favour with Amen-RĒ, King of the Gods and Goddesses. May he find favour with the Pharaoh his gracious master, continually ! May my Lord enjoy many good favours which are given to him by Amen-RĒ, Mut and Khons and all the kindly gods who greet him every day. Another greeting to my Lord, to this effect : I have carried out all the commissions and all the commands which my Lord has given to me, well and thoroughly : * I have not been negligent nor idle. Another greeting to my Lord : Farewell !

This is a fair specimen of the kind of letter which a subordinate sends to his superior when he wishes "to assure him of his best attention to his esteemed orders." The frequent change of pronoun from first to second and from second to third person is a stylistic affectation, and reminds us of the polite note sent by an English gentleman to his neighbour, who had inadvertently taken the wrong hat from a theatre cloak-room : " Mr. A. presents his compliments to Mr. B., and if you found a hat which is not yours, he thinks it must be mine."

In conclusion, it may be added that in proposing to call the Precepts of Amenemapt by name of *Papyrus Budge*, it was not merely for convenience of reference : it is fitting that this important document should be associated with the name of its discoverer and first editor, through whose instrumentality so many valuable oriental manuscripts have found their way into the national collection.

* Literally, " in a manner as strong as copper."

CARAVAN AND CAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BY "DŪRBIN"

THE War changed many things in the Middle East, not least conditions of travel by the introduction of the motor-car, which previously was practically unknown in Persia, Iraq, Syria, or Palestine. The changes thus brought about can be best appreciated by any traveller who, like the writer, has had some experience of the old pre-war conditions and those which prevail at the present day.

Before the War the only way from Baghdad to Damascus overland was by caravan. The line followed was up the Euphrates as far as Deir-ez-Zor, down to Palmyra, thence to Damascus. In fact the immemorial caravan route which naturally has to go where water is available. The journey took about twenty-four days. There are now two Motor Transport Companies plying between Damascus and Baghdad (with extensions to Beirut), one—the Nairn Transport Company (British)—by the Southern Route, and the other—the Eastern Transport Company—by the Northern Route via Palmyra. Owing to the short time occupied in transit, cars of course need not follow water and can cut straight across the high desert. Both routes converge on Ramadi, and under normal conditions can be covered in about twenty-four hours.

Before the Quetta-Nushki Railway was extended across the Baluchistan Desert to Duzdap during the War, it took about three weeks by caravan at quickest to reach Seistan from Quetta, and another five weeks or so to reach Meshed. While our East Persian Cordon was in existence Quetta could be reached from Meshed in ten days—eight by car to Duzdap, and two on by rail. The Duzdap-Meshed motor road built by British military engineers has been allowed by the Persian authorities to disintegrate since our evacuation, but cars still run on it intermittently and shove through to their destinations somehow.

In pre-war days a journey from Baghdad to Teheran by caravan might take a month. This is the only Persian road built by British military engineers during the War which has been kept in some sort of repair, and cars go from Teheran to the Iraq frontier in about four days. By the Baghdad-Damascus-Beirut-Marseilles route it is possible to reach London from Teheran in a fortnight, a journey which—by that particular route—in pre-war days would have taken more than two months.

In pre-war days the only route from India to Kerman was by Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf, from there to Keram taking nearly three weeks. From Keram to Ispahan took nearly a month, and from Ispahan to Teheran nearly two weeks. Nowadays Keram can be reached from Duzdap by car in four days, Ispahan in another three, and Teheran in two more.

These examples will show how the car has annihilated distances in the Middle East. At the same time it is very easy to be over-optimistic on the prospects of motor traffic in that part of the world. This traffic has been brought into being, not by the natural cause of demand and supply, but by the wholly artificial necessities of the War. The British campaigns in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine would have been impossible without the use of motor transport, for which large sums were expended on road construction. In the Teheran-Baghdad section, and in Syria and Palestine, where there is a sufficient peace-time demand for this transport, the upkeep of these roads pays commercially, and in the Baghdad-Damascus section no roads are necessary as the desert—on the whole—gives good hard going. But in East Persia—as already noted—the road has been allowed to disintegrate, there being insufficient motor traffic to counterbalance the heavy expenses necessary for road repair. The same remarks apply to the Bushrie-Shiraz military road. Elsewhere in Persia fair carriage roads connect Teheran and Resht via Kazvin, Meshed and Ashkabad (both these roads were improved by our engineers

during the War), Teheran and Ispahan. All other routes consist of the untouched caravan tracks, unlike the Baghdad Damascus section crossing many obstacles, and some of them just passable for cars in fine weather. Except on the Teheran-Iraq section there is nothing that can be called a real motor "service" in Persia. The exorbitant cost of petrol and the excessive wear and tear on cars prohibit any enterprise on a large scale. Various individuals own a few cars and make trips when passengers are available. To increase appreciably the motor traffic a network of good roads would have to be constructed. But considering the comparatively small extent to which this traffic could be increased, the high cost of road construction and upkeep in Persia—over mountain passes, through heavy sand, etc.—the fact that roads already built have been allowed to disintegrate, and the poverty of the country in general, it is at least doubtful whether such a large scheme would be financially justifiable.

Another factor must be taken into consideration. Before the War the quickest and cheapest route from Europe (including England) to North Persia was via Russia to Baku on the Caspian Sea. Thence by steamer to Enzeli, and from there via Resht and Kazvin to Teheran. The last named could be reached from London in about fourteen days. This route, closed since the Bolshevik eruption, is now open again with the improved internal condition of Russia. If it remains open, while it will not affect motor transport as far as Baghdad and Damascus, any traveller to Europe from Teheran or vice versa will find it just as quick as, and cheaper than, the Baghdad-Damascus-Marseilles route.

Finally, it must of course be understood that such motor transport as exists deals only with mails and passengers. The heavy merchandise of Persia is still, and probably always will be, carried by caravan, which is also the means of conveyance used by nine out of ten of the poorer Persian. The prices charged for seats in a motor are far beyond them.

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE CALL OF THE EAST

BY STANLEY RICE

THE man who said that the best view of India was the city of Bombay from the stern of a P. and O. steamer uttered a most profound untruth. We may charitably suppose him to have been coining an epigram, a form of words which generally contains a proportion of truth in inverse ratio to its wit ; or, again, he may have been under the influence of that sense of relief which comes at first to those who have laid down great responsibilities for a season ; or we may suppose him to have been suffering acutely some physical discomfort such as the East brings to those who do not, or will not, understand her. But if this vision of a moment seems rapturous to him who has set his face towards his home in the West, it soon fades, and by degrees, as the ship journeys farther away from Eastern shores, gives place to a sneaking desire for Eastern skies and Eastern environment once more. It is a sneaking desire, for there are few men bound for home who would have the courage to confess that, after all, the fascination is not quite so convincing as it was at that ecstatic moment when, worried by mosquitoes and tortured by heat, which the lazy fan of a punka does little to mitigate, he finds amongst a huge pile of letters that fairy one that tells him, in language very unsuitable to fairyland, that "So and so has been granted leave for so many months."

For the Call of the East is strangely elusive, as elusive as music, which the efforts of a host of writers have hitherto failed to present in any adequate form of words. Let us, at the outset, rule out the gay and rather artificial life of the capitals and other great cities. Pleasure calls with a strident and insistent voice which is soon silent, or which, at least, is soon heard for what it really is. Such is the cry of the peacock when, at early dawn, you hear him calling in the distant hills ; his harsh and strident voice seems to harmonize at first with the stir of nature among the delicate bamboos

as the sun begins to show above the trees. But, as day advances, the herald of the dawn becomes merely a shrill cacophony until, to the general relief, he falls silent until the evening. Those who revel for a time in the gaities of Simla, who frequent the race courses, the polo grounds, the clubs, and the ball-rooms of Anglo-India, have never heard the authentic voice of the East. They have but transplanted certain hothouse flowers of the West to a spot where, perhaps, they will grow in greater luxuriance, and where they can be made to flower at less expense. That is the very falsehood of the Eastern voice which one hears ring so untrue in the pages of lady novelists, fascinated by the thought of making their puppets dance upon an Eastern stage.

What, then, is the call of the East? It is a call that so many have heard, though it may be that Mr. Rudyard Kipling first crystallized it into a phrase. It comes first as the steamer slowly makes her way into Port Said, the gateway of the East: the West is left behind, and the traveller feels the sense of a new and unaccustomed world. Of all dreary places on the earth, the Western quays are among the dreariest; under a leaden sky or perhaps in soul-destroying rain the homeward-bound exile feels at Tilbury Docks that here, indeed, is the abomination of desolation which only the hope of London lights and London streets, or perhaps of green fields and smiling skies that lie beyond, can make tolerable. Marseilles is no better: worse, in fact, in that the busy blue blouses round you are talking in a jargon that not even their own countrymen can understand. That is different at the Eastern Gate, for here are men and women picturesque even in squalor, dark faces that consort with the brilliant and unfailing blue of a sky in a land where rain is rare, and in place of the drab warehouses and the unsightly bales of the Western quay, there is a gay street with leisurely traffic, and beyond a vista of an authentic Eastern bazaar where pavements and side-walks are confounded with the roadway, and need serve only as refuges to escape from an occasional gesticulating, vociferating vehicle which impertinently bores its way through a crowd, reluctant to leave the straight line of its progress. There is about Port Said a novelty that soon becomes familiar, and yet a familiarity that never ceases to be novel. If you wander on through the town towards the side where now the principal hotel stands, you come once more upon the Mediterranean, in all likelihood grey and depressing as it washes the grey and depressing shore. With one stride,

as it were, you are transported from the romance and colour of the East, with all its inefficiency and all its insouciance, to the strenuous activity of the West, where man strives against the stern realities of nature, thankful to receive her smiles, and yet prepared to face her frowns. The Red Sea is a poem ; the Mediterranean is a symbol. The Red Sea is a harmony in blue, deep blue of the sky above, deep blue of the sea beneath, varied in its narrower parts by the deep reds of the sandstone hills, and always with the hope of the sunset kaleidoscope. Seldom does a storm ruffle that tranquil surface where "the flying fishes play." It is like the tranquil peasant life of India which so many wars and invasions and tumults have never yet prevailed to disturb. The Mediterranean is the key to world power ; it is the "tideless, dolorous inland sea" where men have fought for the mastery, and over which kings and statesmen have exhausted the devices of diplomacy.

You will say, of course, that these are dreams, mere fragments of a mind that will not face realities. Every traveller that comes from the East sighs with relief when the nightmare heat of those four days are over and the ship emerges into the cool air of the sea beyond the Canal, where clothes are welcome for warmth's sake, and are no longer tolerated as the necessary but uncomfortable veil for modesty. Every traveller outward bound groans at the thought of those four days to be endured as best they may, and longs for the moment when, Gardafui rounded, the wide sweep of the Indian Ocean brings cooler days with what storms and tossings it will. But this Call of the East is a real, an insistent call. It is in despite of these passing discomforts that we hear it. Who amongst us has not felt charm in the memory of a perfect experience, when, perhaps years afterwards, the small rubs, the petty accidents, the trivial discomforts are forgotten, and only the larger outline remains? That is perhaps the true secret of this siren call. It is a call not to the physical part of man, not to his intellect, but to that innate craving for beauty, for colour, for all that the Creator in the Jewish legend pronounced to be very good, for all that appeals to the soul of man, if the word must be used, through the medium of his senses and his emotions.

For if we examine the face of India through the spectacles of the everyday task we shall find it scarred and lined in every direction. From the hot uneasy bed of a breathless night we rise at dawn, dreading to see the merciless disk of the sun inexorably advancing to turn the day into a furnace,

and to make life, if possible, even less tolerable than before. And so to the day's work—to listen perhaps to the irrelevant and possibly untrustworthy stories of irritating witnesses, or the long drawn arguments of imperfectly instructed counsel in interminable cases that contain little more than the celebrated lawsuit to which Serjeant Snubbin turned after his interview with Mr. Pickwick, or perhaps to plough through uninteresting files concerning the laying out of canals which you will never see built, or the selling of standing wood which concerns you only as a commercial bargain. Is it strange that among such surroundings the voice of the East speaks very low, and that the voice of the West, telling of efficiency, of the things that matter, of work worth the doing, and of skies that may be sorrowful but are never pitiless, sounds loud in the ears and speaks with enchantment to the tired brain?

And then come the gracious rains, bringing with them the warning of September, most terrible of all the months, when the sun shines upon the sodden earth and the wind is still, when the hand that writes drips upon the paper, and the nights are made hideous with the song of voracious insects. And still the weary round goes on; the pile of work put out for consumption is devoured, to give place to another, and the Sisypheus labour of one day gives place to that of the next.

These are but the physical discomforts of a moment. The mind dwells rather upon the riot of colour at some festival, the glory of mountain, forest, and river, upon the splendour of sunrise or sunset in the bright crisp air of December, set amidst surroundings that are rarely equalled in Europe. For the Call of the East is partly dependent upon contrast. It is a contrast which to the Oriental adds glamour to the corresponding Call of the West. To us Westerns, such a thing has never happened. The Call of the West is merely the call of the mother to her children. We leave the glamour and the mystery of the East for the moment without regret, because we know that we are going home, home to the old familiar sights of thunderous London streets and gay shops, of green meadows and quiet rivers, of English life in town or country. What the Call of the West means to the Oriental we can only guess. We may at any rate hazard the conjecture that it is intellectual rather than sensuous: it represents Art rather than Nature. In all that England has done for India there is nothing remotely resembling a gift of true art; the drama is shoddy, the music is shoddy, the pictures are shoddy: and

what is to be said of an architecture that can produce little better than a railway station? The best of Europe that Europe has to show is first rate; the best of Europe that India has to show is third rate. In the efficiency of the busy streets of London and Paris, in the quiet majesty of Oxford, of Rouen, of Rome, in the artistic treasures of Venice and Florence, in the concert halls of Leipzig and Munich, Europe reveals the highest that man has conceived. The intellectual atmosphere of Europe, where only the best brains can hope for success or even for a hearing, may perhaps attract the keen intellects of India, where the search for knowledge on modern scientific lines is of comparatively recent growth. How else are we to account for such adoration of the West as had the author of "Caste and Outcast" when he set foot on American soil? He was ready to kiss the ground of that wonderful land, but he soon had the nonsense knocked out of him. The disillusionment of the details of a drab existence soon followed upon his fairy dreams as it probably has done on many another, as it does upon those who, having heard the Call of the East from afar, are brought face to face with reality. And yet one hopes that, in the one case as in the other, the squalid details fade and there is left only the memory of a fairy dream, in part at any rate realized.

But no country—no part of the world—can keep its charm, unless the inhabitants have twined themselves about the heart of those whom curiosity has drawn, or duty has compelled, to live among them. The memory of snow-clad mountains, flushed with the rose of the early sun, of the many-coloured festivals and quaint ceremonies to be seen in any sacred city or on the banks of any sacred stream, the delicacy of palm trees and waving bamboos against the brilliant sapphire sky, the glory of rushing rivers, and the majesty of vast impenetrable jungles—these are but canvasses in the picture gallery of the East, that charm the eye and speak to the emotions, but yet have no power to draw, as with a magnet, irresistibly back to the East. Europe has scenes as fair to show—California attracts her thousands. Yet Switzerland and Italy and the Yosemite do not summon the wayfarer with that insistent voice that we know as the call of the East. There is never that hungry longing to get back again to scenes so gorgeous and to art so splendid; at the most there is a desire, more or less strong, to refresh the memory with the landscapes that have made so lasting an impression, or with the pictures, the buildings, the environment that have once

fascinated. That is a difference in kind and not merely in degree. Rome revisited is merely the recapitulation of definite emotions—the emotions that are stirred by St. Peter's, by the castle of St. Angelo, by the Forum and the Colosseum, and by the dim historic atmosphere that hangs forever about the Seven Hills. He who would revisit India would probably find it hard to give you his reasons. He does not want to see the Táj again, though if he chanced to be in Agra he would not object to spending an hour or two there. Ellora, Vijayanagar, Taxila and Somnath have no attractions for him. Least of all do the great cities call him, for neither in Bombay, nor in Calcutta, nor in Madras is there anything whatever that demands more than the cursory glances of the curious. To see these places once is to see them forever. Anglo-Indian life is at its most artificial—a thing of clubs and amusements—for no one imagines that the East calls insistently for more work in dusty offices—of dinner parties to which reluctant guests go at the bidding of reluctant hosts, of dances where half the folk yawn away the dreary hours until the blessed moment when decency or etiquette or whatever fetish is in command permits a withdrawal without incurring criticism. It is in such cities as these that Indians too are at their worst; it is there that the worst elements congregate from the villages, to deteriorate still more and to become more polluted in the fetid atmosphere of town life. And over these is laid a thin crust of the educated—individually not without charm, but collectively representing that class which chafes jealously at white arrogance, itself to be impeached in its turn for overweening insolence.

The fascination of India does not lie in her cities, but in those vast spaces of plain and mountain and jungle where dwell her multitudes of many-coloured and diverse races, from the fierce, untameable tribes of the Afghan frontier, through the hardy Punjab and the much enduring Deccan, to the softer, if quicker witted, peoples of Madras and Bengal. It is a curious fact—and a striking testimony to the inherent charms of the rural and less sophisticated masses—that wherever the Englishman's lot is cast, there he falls under the spell of his immediate environment. The fatal devotion of English officers to their men at the time of the Mutiny has passed into history. Lord Roberts, going where his heart led him, found his death amid his beloved Indian soldiery. Go where you will it is the same story. He who has lived his life amongst the wild Afridis and

Mahsuds—men in the abstract who have perhaps given more trouble to a stable and civilized Government than any body of men of their numbers and importance in the history of the modern world, men who like the Jews in the Roman dispensation piled revolt upon revolt in spite of inevitable chastisement—he who has lived his life among such as these insists that at heart they are very good fellows, that they need but a little comprehension and a little sympathy; and many a firm friendship has been made over a rough camp fire. In spite of Macaulay and the tradition which he may be said to have founded, the Englishman in Bengal is no less attracted to the people of the Ganges Delta, and farther down in the Peninsula those who come in contact with Tamil or Telugu grow to love them. It is difficult to say why this should be so: who can define an indefinable charm? The charm of a flower resides in the whole and not in its component parts. Pull it to pieces and the charm is lost. You can check off on your fingers many reasons why the Indian peasant is unloveable; he is incredibly superstitious, he is astoundingly ignorant; he opposes at every turn for foolish reasons or for none at all the well-meant efforts for his salvation; he is a thousand and one things that he ought not to be upon any reasoned plan of amiability. And yet you love him. That is the miracle because, just as no man in India will admit the excellence of any servant but his own, so most men will decry every people and every race in the country except those among whom they have lived and worked. You may abuse the Mahratta to the man from Bengal: you may abuse the Madrassi to the man from the Punjab, but you must not abuse to either the men of their own Province. Least of all must you malign those primitive tribes who, in spite of human sacrifices and other abominable practices, have come to be to their White Master as his children.

The Indian is sometimes falsely accused of ingratitude, of want of consideration, of a selfish desire to gain his own ends at whatever expense of time, trouble, and discomfort to the white man. In such a case personal experiences may be pardoned, for personal experiences are after all the strongest argument. On one occasion during a threatened famine I was making a forced march through affected parts, and late in the afternoon I came rather weary to a little village, where the usual inquiries had to be made. What seemed to distress the villagers most was not the prospect of hardships, perhaps of famine should the blessed rain be still

denied them, but the probable thirst and fatigue of the officer who had come to visit them. To every inquiry they answered shortly but civilly, and continued to press milk or fruit or chair upon me. On another occasion drastic measures had to be taken to suppress plague. It is not pleasant to have to turn out of a comfortable home to live in the fields, under the shelter of a few millet stalks, leaving your most cherished belongings to the mercy of inadequate and not always quite reliable coolies, but they obeyed; the remedy was completely successful, and months later when I had left the district, a few of the ryots waited upon me, and at considerable inconvenience to themselves, to tell me what had happened and to thank me.

Instances like these perhaps prove nothing. Certainly they do not establish a theory, and at best can only be cited as incidents which show the ryot at his best. Querulous he sometimes is, and at least in the South and the Deccan he has the faculty of presenting his small grievances in the most unattractive fashion, but on the whole he is a happy creature, happy because his wants are few, happy in the simplicity of his life and in the vast spaces of his surroundings. For there is a something in the fields and the hills and the jungles which seems to react upon the mind of man to his great advantage. Every town-bred man, whether in England or in India or elsewhere, longs to get away into the country where he can breathe the air of heaven as God made it, where the eternal jostling for wealth and power ceases for a while, where even the recreations are no longer hectic and artificial. India and, indeed, the whole East are longing to become industrial, because they perceive, as the old merchant long ago perceived in the Panchatantra, that commerce alone is the royal road to wealth, and that without wealth there can never be power. That would seem to be the ideal for which the East is preparing to barter all that she hitherto held sacred—her simplicity of outlook, her pride of art, even that mysterious spiritual atmosphere on which she has always laid such special emphasis. It is the inevitable price. It is an ideal which has brought vulgarity and materialism to England, which has crushed the soul of music out of Germany and has sent her headlong to the abyss, which threatens to turn even the artistic wonder of the Far East, which drew her inspiration from her own hills and her own flowers, into a forest of chimneys and a desert of dockyards. When the long distant day shall have arrived, when the Jamshedpurs shall have increased and multiplied not only in India, but in Egypt, in Arabia, in Persia, China and Japan, and when the simple population of

the country shall have been gathered into towns, there to collect the inevitable infection and to become contaminated by the inseparable vice, the East will have lost much of its charm, and its call will become less insistent.

For the call of the East is a spiritual call, and being spiritual, it is complex. Its notes are heard in the palm-tree and the bamboo as well as in the gigantic grandeur of mountain and of forest, in the rushing splendour of the rivers as well as in the immense silences of the arid plains. But not least of all does it speak to the heart through the lips of a diversified but always amiable people.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIA IN 1923-24.*

(Reviewed by SIR HENRY SHARP.)

FIRE and brimstone have rained on Mr. Rushbrook Williams's head from a certain quarter. But others than he are involved in the same deluge ; and if he has been expelled from a high heaven, he has at least the satisfaction of knowing that a nether world awaits him already peopled by highly respectable souls. Nor is that all. His annual review does not justify those thunderbolts. For what are the crimes that can be laid to his charge ?

Apparently the first is that he has taken a broad and far-seeing view of his subject. Not content with recording, through statistics, tables, and careful narrative, the progress or decline of the period, he has dared to discuss India as a member of the "British Commonwealth," the possibilities of her secession from that community of nations, and the importance of her retention within it as a means of averting a cataclysmic contest between East and West. Perhaps Mr. Rushbrook Williams strikes in these passages a note of unnecessary menace ; but surely an examination of the position is useful and suggestive.

The second is that, by the use of certain phrases, he appears at times to range himself on the side of a limited and not always well-balanced volume of opinion. He speaks of India's dissatisfaction with her so-called inferior status among free peoples as the dominant factor in the mentality of her educated classes to-day, and of her "indignation and despair" over the treatment of her nationals abroad. In such passages one may perceive the effect upon the writer of the political atmosphere of Simla and Delhi, surcharged and somewhat artificial. A closer study of the less purple pages through which he surveys every field of administrative and social activity will serve to produce a truer perspective, and to rectify the impression made by isolated passages, the context of which, moreover, leaves it doubtful how far Mr. Rushbrook Williams adopts them as expressive of his own sentiments.

Indignation and despair may be loudly voiced. But to what extent are they deeply felt, and by what proportion of the people ? The educated middle class of India is large when considered in relation to the paucity of education among the masses and the openings for professional employment. This topheaviness and this overcrowding in the upper stories are factors which must never be forgotten in reviewing Indian problems. They are clearly and ably indicated towards the close of the report. It is alto-

* "India in 1923-24," by Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Calcutta : Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1924. 2s. 6d.

gether an error to suppose that the whole of this *intelligentsia* (a word which has called down special fulminations) consists of politicians or is even politically minded. Where political thought is existent, it is turned far more to internal problems than to disputes, however irritating, with distant Dominions and Colonies. And at home the Indian patriot can congratulate himself upon an accelerated Indianization of the Services, the promised Indianization of eight units of the army, and the still recent conferment of a large instalment of autonomy. Mr. Rushbrook Williams does not minimize the difficulties of the reformed constitution, and goes so far as to state that only spectacular developments in the transferred subjects could have convinced the general public that Ministers exercise a vital influence upon the conduct of the administration. But he assures us that those subjects have not been starved, and that the achievements of the local legislatures and the reality of their influence over the general policy of the executive have amply demonstrated the efficacy of constitutional methods of political progress. One would gather that the politically minded have concentrated their attention on one side of the shield only; and behind them are many who care for none of these things, and a host of business and professional men, to say nothing of landowners and ruling chiefs, whose daily lives, busy with useful activities, incline them to sanity and moderation in their political outlook.

But it is when he comes to the elements of economic and social existence, to the things that touch the poor and the illiterate as much as the well-to-do and the educated, that Mr. Rushbrook Williams paints a picture in strong contrast with the spirit of alleged despondency. India, in the past subject to catastrophic invasions, even to-day surrounded by savage tribes or menacing civilizations, is protected along her frontiers and coasts at the absurdly low cost of two shillings and eightpence a year per head of the population. And yet the politician thunders against the military budget. Internal order is maintained at a cost of less than one shilling per head. The expenditure of the whole governmental machine represents taxation in the neighbourhood of twelve shillings per head. But the most interesting and cheering passage in this report is that which deals with the economic position of the masses. The increasing use of the railway, the rapid absorption of rupees (one might add of imported gold), and a far greater resistance to famine than in the past, are quoted as evidence of growing prosperity. Recent collections of statistical information tell the same tale. The report summarizes these. To give an instance: in the Bombay Presidency the cost of living has risen by 54 per cent. in the last ten years, but in the same period the average of daily wages has roughly doubled. The oft-repeated statement that the average annual income for India is £2 is completely refuted. And if there are millions who still eke out a bare subsistence, the real cause, we are told, is that the country is not organized for the production of wealth. Tradition and sentiment are stronger motives than economic advantage. The statement may sound almost paradoxical that the most striking characteristic of the Indian peasant is his lack of frugality. For in many ways he appears to be the most temperate and thrifty of men. But thrift in small things is not

incompatible with occasional outbursts of more or less obligatory extravagance, readiness to incur debt, and want of individual effort towards a higher standard. The Indian eats sparingly, and there is no waste of material; yet the diet prescribed by religious sentiment is often such as would be accounted uneconomical in a Western country. In some communities female labour is discountenanced, and the cultivator seldom assists himself by subsidiary pursuits. At the same time, despite these opposing factors, there are manifold signs that the well-being of the people on the whole is on the increase.

The report is a clear statement of ably marshalled facts. A detailed perusal of it leaves the impression that steady progress is assuredly being achieved, and that the dismal prognostications so often uttered about India are not justified by the broad facts. "The dogs bark, but the caravan moves on."

THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA. By Stanley Rice. (*John Murray.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK.)

The main theme of this most interesting book is the analysis of the change that has taken place during the last twenty years in the attitude of Asia towards Europe. The author, as stated in his preface, sets out to demonstrate that this change in attitude is incorrectly described by such terms as "The Revolt" or "The Awakening" of Asia, and is more fitly described by the word chosen as the title of the book—"The Challenge of Asia."

The reader will find that the subject is developed with moderation and impartiality; there is no attempt made to exaggerate the achievements of Europe or to belittle the merits of Asia. Indeed, the author is in several instances a much sterner critic of Europe in general, and of his own countrymen in particular, than he is of the Asiatic. He is particularly severe on some of Lord Macaulay's brilliant but sweeping generalizations. He contrasts with many illustrations the differences which led the British, the French, the Dutch, and the Portuguese respectively to India and the Far East, and the different fates which befell them.

He shows to what extent the superiority of Europe was freely admitted at one time by Asia, and the causes which have led to that superiority now being challenged. He pays a generous tribute to all that Europe owes consciously, or more often unconsciously, to the influence of Asia. "The East has given religion to the West; the West has given science to the East"; but, while the West has but imperfectly acknowledged the one debt, the East has fully acknowledged the other, and this by the sincerest of all flatteries, imitation.

He makes the point that all the virtues of the Japanese would have gone for nothing if Japan had not earned the respect of the world by her efficient organization, her proficiency in developing modern science, and her military and naval prowess. Most people recognize now (though few recognized it at the time) the profound effect upon the self-esteem of Asia of the victory of Japan over Russia, and all the political consequences

which have followed from it. But while the author in no way minimizes the extraordinary results upon the Asiatic outlook of Japan's achievement, the reader will perhaps not follow him all the way when he goes on to say that Lord Dalhousie's minute upon railways in 1853 effected a revolution "almost more stupendous: the one has changed completely the attitude of Europe towards Asia; the other has metamorphosed the whole Asiatic outlook." It is true that railways, most notably in India, have brought about a considerable unification of diverse peoples, and it is also true that the Japanese feats of arms have greatly impressed Europe, but the metamorphosis of the Asiatic outlook would seem to have been more profoundly influenced by Japan's victory over a great European Power than by the introduction of railways. To this day the control over railways in Asia (Japan excepted) is still largely in European hands, and it is in the field of politics rather than in that of modern commerce that European supremacy (Japan again excepted) is being challenged.

Apart, however, from this comparison, which appears to have been somewhat overstressed, the author's sketch of the different component parts of Asia and the different reactions to the various types of European intervention is exceedingly interesting and instructive. He throws fresh light upon the undoubted change which has taken place on the Asiatic horizon.

But the author does not end in any pessimistic vein. He is in doubt, but not in apprehension. He does not fear that "The Yellow Peril" will become a pan-Asiatic peril. He scouts Mr. Lothrop-Stoddart's suggestion of European retirement from Asia in order to concentrate upon a barrier to check an invading Asiatic tide. He queries whether democracy is in the Asiatic blood, and shows how the Asiatic conception of power has always been associated with a man or a dynasty. As he says in one passage, "Democracy remains a catch-word if you merely set up Parliaments and do not believe in government by the people. In a word," he adds, "the change must be organic and not mechanical; the innovation must be adapted, not merely adopted."

He shows how meaningless to many Asiatic problems is the catch-word of "self-determination," but even in his last "prophetic" chapter he has to do what other authors have had to do—to state the riddle and leave it unsolved, but he has at least narrowed the riddle down to an estimate of probability which will appeal to those who have the most intimate knowledge of the Asiatic temperament. Asia has all the intellectual and physical abilities whereby to hold her own with Europe, but she lacks the character. Will she acquire this too?

Apart from the subject matter, however, there are many interesting passages and pregnant phrases in this book which will amply repay the thoughtful reader. All who know India will bear out Mr. Rice's estimate what a great mistake the white races have so frequently made in different parts of the world is despising the Asiatic and failing to realize his merits both apparent and latent.

THE MENACE OF COLOUR. By Professor J. W. Gregory. (*Seeley, Service.*)
12s. 6d.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

Whenever Professor Gregory sits down to write a book, it is certain that whatever be its literary value, whatever weight the opinions expressed may carry, the task will not have been undertaken without exhaustive inquiry and profound knowledge. The bibliography alone of "The Menace of Colour" shows what wealth of material has been used, but Professor Gregory has not been content with that. He has travelled widely and has made numerous personal inquiries in North America and Australia, and his connection with the University Commission of 1917 showed him something also of India. The line he takes is scientific. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those on the results of miscegenation and the adaptability of the white man to a tropical climate. The latter has a somewhat academic flavour, for whether or no the scientists prove that the white man can colonize the tropics, it is fairly certain that no white man wants to, if only because the tropics are uncomfortable. The chapter, however, apart from its intrinsic interest, fits into the scheme of the book, because the general conclusion at which the author arrives is that the juxtaposition of two widely different races is on the whole undesirable, and that therefore the policy of a "white Australia" is preferable to the rival policy of attempting to develop the north of the continent by coloured labour. The price of the latter policy is too great; it would involve the introduction of Asiatics and Polynesians, who would certainly spread south, and would become an economic and racial menace to Australia. Incidentally, it is surprising that the author should imagine that housekeeping puts a greater strain on the woman in the tropics than in England. If India was in his mind, the fact is the exact opposite. Perhaps Professor Gregory has been fortunate.

It is not quite clear in what the menace of colour lies. It is said to be greatest in Asia, but only five pages are given to that branch of the subject. Obviously the problem is not the same. The competition of alert and highly gifted peoples, who are either autonomous or have obtained a large measure of self-government, is something very different from the probable or possible effects of the existence of a numerically inferior coloured population in a country where, as in the United States, the policy is directed by the white man. The fear of miscegenation is negligible in Asia; in America Professor Gregory regards it as a real menace, which in the course of generations may transfer power to the half-breed, and fill North America, as it has South, with a people of mixed stock. The treatment of the negro in America, the exclusion of the Asiatic races from California, and the attitude of South Africa to the coloured races, are illustrated by examples very discreditable to the white man; but justice is hardly done to the white man's difficulties. If it be true, as Professor Gregory's conclusions seem to indicate, that the co-existence of white and coloured races is bound to have evil effects, the instinct of self-preservation would seem to justify measures that appear to be harsh, and one can understand,

while deploring, the excesses of popular excitement when the people are confronted with an almost insoluble problem. But like many others of its kind, the book assumes that democracy, with its ideals of a universal franchise and of no taxation without representation, is the only possible form of government. It may be that the way out will be found by some modification of democracy; it is one of the commonest faults of arm-chair politicians to assume that what is good for advanced countries in Europe, is good for the rest of the world. What is needed is the sense of adaptability to suit conditions that are never the same.

SOLDIERS' MEMORIES

1. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL SIR O'MOORE CREAGH, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., with an Introduction and Notes by Major-General Sir Charles E. Callwell, K.C.B. With 16 illustrations. (*Hutchinson and Co.*) £1 4s.
2. MEMOIRS OF GENERAL SIR GEORGE RICHARDS GREAVES, G.C.B., K.C.M.G. Written by himself, with a Foreword by Field Marshal Earl Haig, O.M., K.T., G.C.B., etc. With illustrations and maps. (London: *John Murray.*) 15s.

(Reviewed by LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.)

There is a certain opportunism in the simultaneous appearance of these two volumes recording the lives and careers of two soldiers who have both left their mark in India during the last half-century. They are instances of the vicissitudes of *pro* and *con* which determine success and failure in attaining the highest military appointment in the greatest Dependency of the British Empire. The one won it by his seniority, and the other lost it to a junior. Men who pass their lives in simply watching others in the fulfilment of the duties of high and responsible posts, who note their strong points and their weak ones, and seek to gauge the standard of character and knowledge which goes to make a competent Commander-in-Chief, may very well, as the result of their reflections, view with some tolerance and sympathy the difficulties of those with whom selection lies.

The early service of Sir George Greaves from 1849 to 1861 brought him into touch with all that service in India means to the young soldier, including sport and experience on the Frontier, and with one exceptional experience—viz., that of the Mutiny. In the later years of his service he held the posts of Adjutant-General in India, G.O.C. the Meerut Division, and Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army.

Viewed all round, such a life and career, coupled with service in the Maori War, in Ashanti, in Cyprus, and at Suakin, might well be held to qualify a man to command the Army in India. However, the authorities in whose hands selection lay gave the preference to another soldier of very high distinction, but junior in service.

Sir O'Moore Creagh spent the first twenty-four years of his service, from 1866 to 1890, for the most part amid the routine of everyday cantonment life, coupled with sport; but he none the less seized the golden

opportunity which service in the Second Afghan War afforded him, and won, and rightly won, the coveted V.C. This he won when in command of a detachment of an Irregular Rajputana Corps, the Mhairwarra Battalion. Both C.O. and detachment won the unstinted praise of Major-General Frederick Maude, V.C., father of the late Sir Stanley Maude, the conqueror of Baghdad, and their steadiness and bravery were recognized and rewarded. To Captain Creagh came the V.C. and a brevet majority. It was his selection by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught in 1890 for the command of the 2nd Baluchis which opened the way for his future success. His services commended him, as I judge, both to Sir George White, commanding the Quetta Division, and to Sir Charles Nairne, commanding the Bombay Army, and he got on well with Sir John Hudson. As I succeeded to the command of the 2nd Baluchis a few years after he vacated it, I note with pleasure that he writes (p. 192): "The 2nd Baluchis had a good reputation before I joined them, and this did not diminish during my tenure of command. That reputation has since been enhanced, and the regiment has gained glory in the plains of Flanders and in other theatres of the Great War." While it was in Flanders (at Hollebeke), Khudádád Khan, a sepoy of the regiment, was the first Indian soldier to win the V.C. Of this incident Sir O'Moore in his "V.C. and D.S.O." book gives an excellent account, and Merewether and Smith in chapter ii. of "The Indian Corps in France" pay a high tribute to the regiment all round. Sir O'Moore says justly that it enhanced its reputation during the Great War. In 1919, at Hampton Court, I spent an hour or two with four men who had been jemidars and havildars in my day, and in the Great War had all risen to the highest grade of native officer, that of subedar-major. They were fine fellows and well deserved to be sent to visit England after the war.

From the staff at Poona, Colonel Creagh passed on to the Aden Command, and then to the command of the 2nd Brigade of the North China Field Force under Lieut.-General Sir Alfred Gaselee. From experience in such posts much was to be learnt.

China was followed by the command of the Mhow Division, and that by the post of Military Secretary at the India Office. While holding that post, Creagh "became senior General Officer of the Indian Army." The post of Commander-in-Chief in India being offered to him, he accepted it. He resigned that post, and was succeeded by Sir Beauchamp Duff a few months before the Great War commenced.

Either of these books affords a score or more of points of interest upon which a reviewer, had he space, might dwell. Sir O'Moore's first chapter on "Origin and Early Years in Ireland" is quite delightful. I remember his telling me of his youthful education in Vienna and of his being originally intended for the Austrian cavalry. He would have been just sixty-six when the Great War began, and, had he joined the Austrian Army, might very well have found himself in high command on the Italian front. It is a very curious fact, and one to which I have only become alive while writing this review, and that is, that the families of both my "reviewees" were equally closely associated with the Austrian Army and

Navy. Sir George Greaves's experiences when "sent to the Austrian manoeuvres" (pp. 123-4) present points of gratification to himself and amusement to his readers: gratification in being invited to travel with the Emperor (Francis Joseph) in his carriage, and amusement in the interest which His Majesty took in the fitting of ladies' hunting-breeches. (The Empress Elizabeth, it will be remembered, hunted for some years in England.) Colonel Greaves turned that delicate subject by paying a tribute to "His Majesty's clever subject Tautz," and then the matter dropped.

Paying a tribute to the Austrians as "a fine race," Sir George adds: "The Emperor knew my father and three of my brothers, two of whom were in the Austrian cavalry and the third in the Austrian Navy. The latter was at Lissa with Admiral Legithoff" (correct to "Tegethoff"). Many Creaghs in their day had been in the Austrian service, and I remember Sir O'Moore speaking to me of his Austrian naval friend Von Spon, who fought at Lissa, was Austrian Naval Attaché in London, and, later, Admiral commanding the Austrian fleet.

I will venture to correct one or two little inaccuracies in the "Greaves Memoirs." Nobody ever heard of "Dyce Schomberg" (p. 199). I am not going to embark on the story of "Dyce Sombre," which is the correct form of the gentleman's name. I may just mention that this person, the heir of the famous Begum Sumroo, bore the baptismal names of David Ochterlony, the gallant General who taught the Gurkhas a lesson, and having thus proved himself a good soldier, was promptly selected by the employees of the H.E.I.C. for political duty. That fine old soldier, Sir David Ochterlony, was in his old age made Resident at Delhi, and was bored to death in that billet. (I have read his MS. letters and speak with knowledge.) Sirdhana was politically under the Resident of Delhi, and I surmise that the Begum Sumroo asked Sir David to be godfather to young Dyce Sombre. I note also on p. 211 "Archdeacon Bayley." It should be "Baly."

I have found both these books excellent and interesting reading. They view life from a very good standpoint. Much is to be learnt from them. The illustrations are good. In them the last sixty to seventy years of British military life are well portrayed. They have a weak point—the index.

The allusion at p. 88 of the Greaves Memoirs to the efficacy of a laugh in Maori-land brings back to my mind an old reminiscence of my boyhood. In the sixties of the nineteenth century a familiar figure in Shrewsbury was that of Rear-Admiral Jenkins, C.B., and his stentorian laugh was famous. I can hear it still as it used to echo down the Abbey-Foregate. The Admiral was always in good spirits as he left the old Abbey after Morning Service on Sunday. He, too, fought in the Maori War, and that laugh of his, he averred, captured a "pah," and won him the C.B. He led his sailors in an assault, jumped the parapet of the "pah," landed in a group of Maoris—to his and their surprise—saved the situation with a spontaneous laugh, and found himself master of the "pah." The C.B. followed more at leisure.

At p. 21 Sir George Greaves gives his experience of riding a hyæna.

I turned one out of a nullah about twenty years ago at Chaman on the Afghan frontier, rode him to a standstill in about forty minutes, and floored him with a heavy stone. I was just out for a morning ride, and carrying a light cane, when I disturbed this hyæna some miles away from the hills. I rode him hard and close, and continually turning him prevented his reaching the unrideable ground under the hills.

BARALÂM AND YEWÂSEF.

BARALÂM AND YEWÂSEF, being the Ethiopic Version of a Christianized Recension of the Buddhist Legend of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. By Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. Vol. I., The Ethiopic Text. Price 42s. net. Vol. II., Introduction and English Translation, with 73 Plates. Price 30s. net. (*Cambridge University Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* WARREN R. DAWSON.)

About twenty centuries ago the legends surrounding the birth and life of Buddha were put in writing by the god's Indian propagandists. The story immediately enjoyed wide popularity and commenced one of the most remarkable careers of diffusion known in ancient literature. It was carried into Persia, thence into Syria and Palestine, where it was adapted to the Christian faith and translated into Greek, Syriac and Arabic, and other languages. It has wandered far and wide and has reappeared all over the East and in Europe and Northern Africa in over sixty versions. In the course of its travels the story has naturally undergone modification: for it has been adapted to the views and tastes of many different faiths and sects. Perhaps no single literary composition has played a greater part in that curious blending of incongruous elements which confront the student of religions in almost every system he investigates. Distinctly Asiatic elements have found their way into European literature and folk-lore, which have often been difficult to explain, and the story of Baralâm and Yewâsef is doubtless the vehicle by which many exotic customs and beliefs have been carried from place to place, undergoing local modification at every port of call. From the Ethiopic version now before us, we have in the main a biography, that of Yewâsef, embedded in a mass of moral and didactic passages, fables, parables and reflexions. In its Christianized form the story's principal function was to exalt the merits of the ascetic life. The story of Yewâsef is briefly as follows:

The active zeal of the monks and early Christian propagandists in India was attended with so much success that the native rulers foresaw the triumph of Christianity and were considerably alarmed. Their native priests and magicians advised that the only way to appease their gods was to be found in the relentless persecution of Christians. Amongst these kings was one Wadagos, who lived surrounded by great wealth and splendour, but who was nevertheless an unhappy man, for his heart's desire, a son and heir, was denied to him. His priests declared that the gods would grant his wish if he gratified them by exterminating Christianity in his kingdom, and the king, encouraged, set about the persecution of the

Christian monks in real earnest, killing them or driving them out into the deserts to die of hunger and want. In the midst of this battue the longed-for son was born, and at the ceremonies of his birth all the wise men and astrologers of the realm were assembled to foretell his future. A future of royal splendour was predicted by all but one, who declared that the prince, who was none other than Yewâsef, would become a Christian. This solitary presage seriously alarmed the king, who determined to safeguard his child in every way from any possibility of its fulfilment. He was accordingly immured in an impregnable palace, but as the boy grew up he longed to see the outer world. The king at length only yielded to his son's entreaties on condition that his son should never stir abroad alone, but should always be accompanied by a trusty escort, who were ordered to clear the streets of all sick people and beggars who might excite the disgust or pity of his son. The boy's destiny, however, had been decreed and all his father's precautions were doomed to failure. Disguised as a merchant who had precious stones to sell, a holy ascetic named Baralâm journeyed from his cell in a far country and obtained audience with the prince. The warning and eloquence of Baralâm soon prevailed and Yewâsef became a zealous convert. The ascetic having instructed his pupil in the Christian doctrine, and having duly baptized him, departed from India and returned to his cell.

On learning the news, the king was beside himself with rage and remorse, and sent out messengers to capture and slay Baralâm. The messengers, however, returned empty handed, for the old ascetic could not be found. The king, after consulting his advisers, arranged a public debate on the merits of Christianity *versus* idolatry, and obtained the services of one Nachor, who was to impersonate Baralâm and to uphold the worship of idols in order to convince Yewasef that he had been deceived. The plan failed, however, for Nachor, instead of carrying out the king's directions, delivered a fervent discourse in praise of Christianity. The foiled king next had recourse to a magician, who advised that the youth should be exposed to the temptation of seduction, and the most alluring women that could be procured for the purpose were introduced to the prince in order to tempt him, both physically and morally, to abandon the path of Christian rectitude. Yewâsef, however, sustained the test, and once more his father was baffled. Impressed not only by his son's constancy, but by the fact that his own magicians, the instruments of his plans, became Christian converts, King Wadagos himself embraced the new faith, and gave half his kingdom to his son. Yewâsef immediately appointed a successor, and stripping himself of all the symbols of kingship, abdicated his throne and retired to live a life of asceticism, and his father soon after did the same.

Yewâsef then sought his teacher Baralâm, and after two years master and pupil met and lived in spiritual companionship until Baralâm died. The pupil lived on for many years in the desert, and finally rejoined his old teacher by being buried in his grave with him.

Such is the outline of the narrative. Its religious and moral value which made it acceptable to so many diverse peoples, lies in the discourses and homilies which are put into the mouths of its personages. The very

lofty ideals upheld are illustrated by many quaint parables and fables, which likewise appealed to the well-known oriental taste for narrative.

In making the Ethiopic text available for study, Sir Ernest Budge has added yet another work to the almost incredibly long list of oriental publications which bears his name. He has not only catered for the philologist by putting before him the complete Ethiopic text, but he has provided an English translation of the whole for the general reader and the student of religious history, and has prefaced the work with a valuable summary of the origin and literary history of the story. It was a happy thought which inspired him to illustrate his book by means of a series of plates reproducing the woodcuts of a fifteenth-century German edition, which are far more in keeping with the quaintness of the narrative than any modern illustrations could have been, apart from the very considerable interest that attaches to these medieval pictures for their own sake.

The history of Baralâm and Yewâsef, as already indicated, is of the highest interest to the student of early literature and folk-lore, and as we now have it, it is unquestionably of Indian origin. An interesting question, however, suggests itself, and that is that the Indian prototype itself may have embraced elements from other countries. As one instance of this hint, we may say that the long-deferred birth of a predestined heir to a childless king is exactly paralleled by an Egyptian story at least a thousand years older which is preserved in a papyrus in the British Museum. The parallelism is still further shown in the fact that exactly the same precautions were taken by the Egyptian king to prevent the fulfilment of the prince's predicted fate, and with the same negative result.

MEDICINE, MAGIC, AND RELIGION. By W. H. R. Rivers, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. With a preface by G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S. (*Kegan Paul*). 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by WARREN R. DAWSON.)

In 1922, anthropology and her sister sciences were suddenly deprived, by the sudden death of Dr. Rivers, of one of the most active and original thinkers devoted to their cause. Rivers was a man of high scientific attainments, but his modest and retiring personality was perhaps to some extent responsible for the fact that his name has not hitherto been as widely known amongst the public as the high estimation in which he was held in learned circles entitled it to be. The present volume contains a reprint of the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered by him before the Royal College of Physicians in 1915 and 1916, and it is fortunate that this and a considerable number of other works left by him in manuscript have been brought into the light of day under the editorship of Professor Elliot Smith.

Rivers has chosen the Melanesian tribes, with which he had special acquaintance, as the basis of his investigations in the primitive conception of medicine, magic, and religion, and their cultural level makes these people especially suitable for the purpose. The author very plainly demonstrates how medicinal, magical, and religious practices grew out of

the phenomena of disease, and of the conceptions concerning the morbid state which primitive minds envisage. He shows that the practices followed by primitive healers and witch-doctors, however absurd they may appear to our more enlightened notions, are not meaningless and illogical practices and customs, but arose definitely out of fixed ideas concerning the nature of illness and death. He very truly says (p. 53), "Savage man is no illogical or prelogical creature, but his actions are guided by reasoning as definite as that which we can claim for our own medical practices." This sentence really sums up the whole motif of the Fitzpatrick Lectures, and of a kindred discourse delivered in the John Ryland's Library at Manchester in 1919, which is printed at the end of the volume (chapter v.).

The study of primitive customs impressed Rivers with the remarkable distribution of certain distinctive practices, and he came to the view, so ably advocated by Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. W. J. Perry, that the old belief in the independent origin of customs is untenable, and that a far-reaching migration of early culture is alone sufficient to account for the appearance in widely separated countries of many customs and beliefs. This aspect of the problem is dealt with at length in this book, which, together with other posthumous editions of Rivers' works, will stand as a worthy monument to a great man, cut off by relentless fate in his prime and at the height of his intellectual activity.

THE SCIENCE OF PUBLIC FINANCE. By G. Findlay Shirras, Director of the Labour Office of the Government of Bombay. (*Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by P. PADMANABHA PILLAI, Fellow of the Royal Economic Society.)

Commander Hilton Young, in one of his recent articles, tells us that his studies in public finance have convinced him that, after restating the four rules of arithmetic and the principles of common sense that govern all human affairs, there is little to say about public finance that is worth saying; what is new would probably not be true; and what is true would certainly not be new.* Another distinguished student of public finance, Professor Jèze, considers the problem so vast that he proposes to devote to its treatment no less than twelve bulky volumes. The subject matter of public finance is simple enough; but the practice of it in everyday life presents problems of such complexity that it is necessary to advance from the fundamental rules of arithmetic and explore the ways and means by which money is obtained and spent by the State. The only book that adequately dealt with the problem in English was Bastable's "Public Finance"; but recent developments have made it somewhat out of date; and Mr. Shirras has undertaken the task of restating the principles of the

* "Illusions and Arithmetic in Public Finance," *Bankers' Magazine*, January, 1925.

science in the light of modern experience and teaching—a task which he has performed in a manner which reflects the greatest credit on his scholarship and industry.

The reasons why pre-war textbooks on the subject already appear “dated” are thus succinctly summarized by Jèze: “Avec le développement prodigieux des services publics, les problèmes financiers ont pris une importance extraordinaire. La grande guerre de 1914-18 a entraîné un formidable accroissement des dépenses publiques. Pour y faire face, toutes sortes de moyens financiers ont été pratiqués ou sont préconisés. Ainsi se sont posées des questions multiples nouvelles; les anciens problèmes se présentent sous un aspect nouveau.” The experience gained in the last two decades only confirms the economic principles enunciated by the older writers, but we have travelled far from the narrow Gladstonian financial traditions, and are now living in days when the State seeks, with the fullest public approval, to extend its activities in many new directions. One of the characteristic features of present-day public finance is the enormous amount spent on what are called the social services—education, old age pensions, health insurance, poor relief, etc. Public undertakings run by Government—such as railways and post and telegraph—are also absorbing increasing amounts from the national purse. Such an extension of Governmental functions would have appalled the statesmen of the early nineteenth century, who held, with Sir H. Parnell, that “every particle of expenditure beyond what necessity absolutely requires for the preservation of social order and for protection against foreign attack is waste, and an unjust and oppressive imposition upon the public.” If the principle here enunciated is correct, we must give up growing crocuses in public parks unless it can be proved that they preserve social order, for they are certainly no protection against foreign attack. Mr. Shirras indicates in a footnote Gladstone’s objection to an increase of national expenditure in proportion to the spread of wealth; the change that has since taken place is best indicated by the fact that, on an average, something in the neighbourhood of 20 per cent. of the national income, other things being equal, is spent by public authorities in normal times.

From expenditure Mr. Shirras passes to a consideration of public revenue or income; and after re-emphasizing Adam Smith’s maxims of taxation, proceeds to discuss taxable capacity, with special reference to Great Britain and India. Such a discussion is very opportune, especially in view of the labours of the Indian Taxation Committee, which is now pursuing its enquiries in that country. The lack of information on taxable capacity, says Mr. Shirras, has reminded not a few Governments of the parable of the foolish virgins who went forth to meet the bridegroom without oil in their lamps. He deprives the expression of its halo of academic sanctity by translating it in terms the man in the street will understand—“Taxable capacity is only the limit of squeezability; it is the total surplus of production over the minimum of consumption required to produce that volume of production, the standard of living remaining intact.” And to further clarify the idea and rid it of its vagueness, he proceeds to analyze

in some detail the taxable capacity of England and of India. One question here suggests itself : are not discussions of taxable capacity, after all, irrelevant and pointless, unless they have immediate reference to the object of expenditure ? It is obvious that taxable capacity varies, or ought to vary, with the comparative benefits the community will receive from the objects on which the taxes so collected will be expended. Even an acknowledgedly rich community will find its taxable capacity exceeded if the money so derived is solemnly dumped into the sea. On the other hand, if the scope of State activity is so extended that, by the opening of communal kitchens and other measures, the State undertakes to assure to the individual his accustomed standard of living, and to meet all his reasonable needs, is it not clear that the taxable capacity would extend to the last penny in the individual's pocket ? Mr. Shirras is therefore perfectly justified when he says that this capacity depends, among other things, on the purposes for which the Government imposes taxation. One could, however, wish that he had laid greater emphasis on the close connection existing between the theory of taxable capacity and the theory of expenditure. For, in final analysis, the whole discussion will be found to turn on the point of public benefit derived from Government expenditure. In discussing taxation, as, indeed, throughout the entire course of his volume, Mr. Shirras takes a practical view of his problem, and after a short, but clear, enunciation of the principles involved, comes to direct grip with actualities by a survey of comparative statistics and practices. Thus he says : " There is no necessary relation between direct and indirect taxation, and in every country this is the result of historic influences. Those who speak of a balance between direct and indirect taxation are apt to assume that direct taxes are paid by the rich and indirect by the poor, and also that the totals paid by the rich and by the poor should be in some constant ratio. This is not borne out in practice." Gladstone's dictum that it was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to pay his addresses at the same time, and with equal assiduity, to the two attractive sisters of direct and indirect taxation, thus finds short shrift at the hands of Mr. Shirras, and a clearer perception of this fallacy would have given a different course to the hostile criticisms directed against Mr. Snowden's Budget last year. But while this position is theoretically correct, it may be pointed out that most *existing* direct taxes in modern communities do in fact involve larger contributions from the rich than the poor in proportion to their incomes, and the opposite is the case with indirect taxes. This is, however, a pure accident.

The last two parts in Mr. Shirras's book are devoted to public debt—the importance of the study of which is evident from the figures, which show that twenty-five representative countries which had a total debt weight of £6,263,000,000 in 1900, and £7,877,000,000 in 1913, had in 1922 (or 1922-23) a load of £50,313,000,000—and to financial administration. Financial administration is a science and an art, the practice of which calls for a high degree of specialized common sense. The days are past when any raw politician could be called to the helm of the Ministry of Finance. Lord Palmerston was asked to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer

when he was only twenty-five, and, on his own admission to Percival, who offered him the place, quite without knowledge of finance; and until the time of Sir Robert Peel nobody seems to have felt that the work of the Finance Minister is an expert's job. And the story of Lord Randolph Churchill's "damned dots" will be familiar to the reader. In India, however, it has all along been realized that the office could be filled only by a man who knew his job thoroughly, and the Government of India's financial policy has been guided by a succession of brilliant experts, of whom Sir Basil Blackett is not the least distinguished. For the Finance Minister is expected to be familiar not only with the mechanism of the Budget and public accounting, which Mr. Shirras has described for us, but also with the broader and more vital issues of the country's present and future prosperity.

Mr. Shirras's book runs to 677 pages, and costs 21s. But the buyer will get his money's worth; for he presents his facts and theories in such a clear and direct style, and his views are so sane and progressive, that a reading of the book is sure to give enjoyment with instruction. To the student in particular, it is "public finance without tears," and the frequent quotations from leading thinkers and references to the experiences of other countries than India and England make it the most complete and adequate textbook on public finance in the English language. A special word of praise must be added for the statistical tables, with their special index, and the exhaustive general index.

P. P. PILLAI, B.A., B.L., PH.D. (ECON.).

ART NOTICES

THE HIMALAYAS IN INDIAN ART. By E. B. Havell. (*John Murray.*)

(*Reviewed by J. C. FRENCH.*)

"In a thousand years I could not tell you a tithe of their glories."

This is a traditional saying about the Himalayas, or, as they are anciently sometimes called, the Hindu Koh, "The Hindu Mountains." The impression produced by this stupendous range on the Aryan invaders has never ceased to permeate the imagination of India. The Himalayas have always been the pivot of Indian art.

The author shows us how the Himalayas are conceived as the Creator's shrine and the World's Pillar. He goes into the Puranic idea of the World Lotus, whose four petals are Persia, China, Turkestan, and India, with the centre the sacred mountain of Kailasha and the superb lake of Manasarovara, which itself resembles a lotus in shape. The lotus pervades Indian art, and the reader does not require to be reminded of the spiritual significance of this symbol, how the lotus typifies the soul of man, emerging from dark depths, and aspiring towards the light. Manasarovara means the Lake of the Mind—*Manas*, creative force—and the mountain above it is sacred to Siva. The other great sect of Hindus

also have the shrine of their god in the Himalayas, though it has never been seen by mortal man, Vishnu's mystic mountain of Meru. The Himalayas have always been the goal of the greatest of the Hindu ascetics in their final stage towards Nirvana ; for the icy peaks of the Himalayas are symbols of the spiritual purity aspired to by the highest Hinduism. Thus in the pilgrimage at the close of the Mahabharata to the Devas' citadel of snow made by the five Pandava brothers and Draupadi, all fell on the way because they were impure, except Yudhisthira and his dog. The story ends with the beautiful legend of Yudhisthira and his dog at the Gate of Heaven in the Himalayas. Let anyone who has travelled close to the eternal snows recall the scenes of almost unearthly beauty which he has witnessed, and he will not be surprised at this religious significance.

The author points out how the curvilinear type of temple in Northern India is mountain-shaped, and further south he shows us how the side elevation of the temple of Kailasa in Ellora resembles the skyline of Mount Kailasa. Whether the architect of the temple was indeed a pilgrim from Mount Kailasa or not, it is certain that the sculptures of the temple are pervaded with the spirit of the Himalayas. One has only to mention the marvellous work of Shiva on Kailasa with Ravana beneath.

When the author has given us so much, it seems ungrateful to ask for more ; but one cannot help regretting that the scope of this book was not extended to include Himalayan Rajput art, especially as this school of Indian art so well illustrates the author's reference to "that line of research more archæological than artistic, which limits the analysis of art to the inquiry as to how far one school borrowed forms and fashions from its neighbours, like the modern tailors and dressmakers." A Kangra Valley artist takes some dull and commonplace scene from the Delhi or Lucknow schools, and behold, in his hands the figures acquire life and grace, the branches tremble in the wind, and the breath of the Himalayas blows through the picture.

"The sight of the snows takes away the sins of the world."

THE CATALOGUE OF JAINA PAINTINGS IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM.

(*Reviewed by* LIEUT.-COLONEL C. E. LUARD.)

We have received Part IV. of the Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (U.S.A.)

This volume, by Dr. Coomaraswamy, deals with Jaina paintings and MSS. It fully carries on the high level of excellence set by previous issues, the arrangement of the material, printing, and paper being excellent.

This volume is necessarily of less general interest than that on Indian sculpture and painting, and will appeal perhaps to few except those interested in Jainism.

The Jain community is one of singular interest. Its members are almost all men of business, and the majority of the great Indian bankers and merchant princes, belonging to the Manwari clan, are of this faith.

It approaches Buddhism in making the doctrine of *ahinsa* (inviolability of life) one of its principal tenets, but differs widely from it in essentials.

A good deal has been written on Jainism, but much still remains to be done. This community has fortunately preserved its literary records with unusual care, but has simultaneously exercised a reserve in displaying them which has rendered it difficult for competent scholars to examine and report on the treasures lying in Jain libraries. A more enlightened view is, however, now being taken by educated Jains, who are in some cases themselves qualifying as scholars.

This volume commences with brief but clear dissertations on Jainism, and the lives of the three Tirthankars or Jain teachers best known to the public, Mahāvīra, Pārasnāth, and Nemnāth, on the legends of Kālakācharya and Sālibhadra, Jain cosmology, literature, and painting. These are all ample for an understanding of the drawings, while a bibliography gives a list of authorities. It would have been an advantage if one picture could have been given in colour.

As will be at once seen the art is primitive. Moreover, it is an art which, as Dr. Coomaraswamy points out, is very rigidly bound by the traditions of the faith. Yet these illustrations amply suffice for the unlettered, their adherence to convention making them easily recognizable.

The sense of design, always predominant in Indian art, is clearly visible here. Dr. Coomaraswamy states that there is no "preoccupation with pattern colour or texture," but surely this statement seems to be unwarranted. Watching a modern Jain artist at similar work one sees that while he is obliged to adhere closely to the traditional forms and groupings, he is allowed latitude beyond these in design, and takes, moreover, considerable pains in arranging the decorative values of his production; it is, however, true that he can use his individuality only to this extent. The drawings, primitive as they appear to us, fully satisfy the object for which they are designed; they convey to the worshippers of the Tirthankars the spiritual facts they illustrate, without distracting.

The growing interest of the Jains in the origins of their faith and the history of their community is leading to the formation of libraries. One has been started in Agra, and is connected with a Jain training school at Shivpuri in Gwalior State. Those in charge of these institutions are fully alive to the genuine assistance European scholars can give, and are using their influence to induce those in charge of temple collections to allow their treasures to be examined.

While we recognize the excellent work in the preservation of oriental art treasures which the Boston Museum is performing, yet we, who love that real India which lies enshrined within her arts, cannot but feel regret that these treasures are passing out of India.

The Jain community possesses vast wealth: will they not devote some of it to forming a great central institution under European and Indian scholars where their archives can be examined and preserved? There are unfortunately sectarian differences to be overcome, but these are in no sense insurmountable.

ART IN JAPAN

It must be freely admitted that the remarkable degree of excellence obtained by Japanese artists in expressing art through difficult technical means, such as metal work and ivory cutting, is unsurpassed in any other country; and practically all great Japanese painters are also masters at expressing their ideas in woodcuts. It is true a lot of apparently Japanese ideas concerning art have in reality filtered through from China, accepted by the Japanese, as the Japanese themselves call it; but the Japanese have a natural genius of their own which shines through.

Perhaps we Westerns do not fully realize what a hard and callous nature we have developed, until we come into contact with the genuine Oriental nature, which is so sensitive to the smallest thing that it gives us quite a surprise. And, no doubt, it is this deeply sensitive nature which is the cause of the delicacy we always notice in Japanese art of all kinds.

In an interesting and instructive book on "Japanese Woodcutting," published by R. Piper and Co., Munich, the author, Julius Kurth, goes right through the history of the development of art and illustration in Japan from the earliest times. The first book ever printed in Japan was called the "Muku Shoko gyo," published by order of the Emperor Shotoku; this was in the year 765; it had, however, no illustrations. The exact date when the first printed illustrations appeared is not known, but in 1325 Priest Ryokin had already published a number of religious souvenirs to be bought by pilgrims, some of which are still in existence. During the centuries which followed, many so-called masters of art appeared; but anything like real advance seems to have been slow: indeed, some of the very early work appears to have been quite as good or better than the later. One always notices the same remarkable delicacy and care throughout Japanese work.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the old style in Japan, learnt from China, was nearing its end. Ukiyo broke away from the Tosa School; he was called the "moving world" because he went to the common life of the people for his inspiration, and, as it is said, "liberated Japan from the traditional Chinese dogs and donkeys."

Then again, as in other countries, art in Japan has had its vigorous "back to Nature" periods, its "heraldic" or hero-worship episodes, its "Eklektikers," as our German author terms the artists of the Utamaro period, and so on. It seems to be a debatable point as to whether printing in colours was first executed in Japan or China; at any rate, two- or three-colour printing was done by the Japanese in the early part of the eighteenth century; and more colours were not slow in following, owing to the superiority of the Japanese over the Chinese in the manufacture of pigments.

The history of the development of Japanese art is a long and interesting study. The more one studies Japanese work, the more fascinated one becomes with it. Naturally, owing to the adoption of European methods by the Japanese, great changes have come about during the last twenty years. But it is evident that we Westerns have a good deal to learn also



THE SHIP OF THE GOD OF FORTUNE (RED-BLUE-YELLOW-GREEN-VIOLET).

By Utagawa Toyokuni: the Utagawa style, European perspective, of about 1805.

By courtesy of R. Tifer and Co.



WARRIOR FIGHTING WITH TWO WOLVES.

Tile work, early fourteenth century.

By courtesy of R. Piper and Co

from the Easterns; and this well-compiled German book is thoroughly worth translating for English readers.

HUBERT C. S. COLBORNE.

GILGAMESH: A DREAM OF THE ETERNAL QUEST. By Zabelle C. Boyajian. (*George W. Jones: At the Sign of the Dolphin, 12, 13, 14, Gough Square, Fleet Street, E.C.*)

(Reviewed by M. MAITLAND.)

The Epic of Gilgamesh is a legend which has been "kept" too long within the four walls of the British Museum and away from an English-speaking people.

It is Miss Zabelle Boyajian who has made it more possible for us to know Gilgamesh in England. And I am glad of it, for the Epic of Gilgamesh is a legend which should not have been mislaid in that manner. Was it not possible to have him along with that courteous gentleman Arthur and that horrid boy Struwwelpeter, who would neither cut his nails or hair?

However, Gilgamesh is as much a piece of household furniture in Sumeria and Babylonia as that perfectly endowed hero Beowulf is to us. Even at the time when the Chaldeans dwelt on the plains of the Tigris and the Euphrates the adventures of Gilgamesh were narrated amongst the warriors, who admired the cut of his coat and his almost superhuman strength.

The story of Gilgamesh had gradually developed from the piecing together of various legends connected with the different epochs of the year. Consequently, Gilgamesh, the fiery and solar hero, became associated with the great periodical phenomena of the atmosphere. But most essentially was he linked up with the sun's course through the year.

Miss Boyajian has interwoven these various legends into her poem. They are so full of fantasy and dreary horror that the exclusion of them could not have been borne.

As a nature myth the Epic is remarkably interesting. Gilgamesh begins his career by planting a crown of laurels on his brow, challenging the very gods to open warfare, and grinding his people down into the dust. At this point Gilgamesh is at the high-water line of his career, and here also the sun is at its fiercest and strongest.

After Gilgamesh has spurned the love of Ishtar, and a little later, when he mourns for the death of Eabani, his sun is on the wane; there is a chilliness in the air, and Gilgamesh, appalled at the idea of death, seeks for the life eternal.

The combination of the ancient philosophy and old-time usages of Babylonia and the modern philosophy and ideas of Miss Boyajian makes the book a fascinating one. Gilgamesh in his Odyssean wanderings expresses much. His almost endless pain to acquire some knowledge of the Beyond is nothing short of godlike. But his childlike terror of death is distressing, though this is hardly to be wondered at when we read of the descent of Ishtar into Aralu in search of her dead lover, Tammuz.

This endless search after immortality must have started in the "dim red dawn of man," long before the search for happiness became so popular. And in direct contrast, the meeting of Gilgamesh with the exquisite goddess Sabitum at her palace beside the Waters of Death is a peculiar one. Sabitum is aching with the weight of her immortality. And oppressed with the eternal sameness of the life everlasting, she would give one hour of love for all her immortality.

But Gilgamesh has travelled too far, and his sun is going down. He must seek on. So that, finally, when he meets Hasisadra, the one mortal immortalized, he is "past the age when life is garlanded with flowers."

And Hasisadra said :

"Seek not to probe the mysteries of death :
Thy work is life ; life wants thy utmost thoughts."

But he told Gilgamesh where the Plant of Life could be found, and Gilgamesh went in search of it. And just as he put out his hand to seize it, a great serpent darted forward and snatched the Plant of Life away from him. It was a bitter moment. And Gilgamesh must have wept.

At last he speaks with the spirit of Eabani, and pleads with him to relate the nature of the unknown. But Eabani says to him :

". . . Learn the things
Which lie within thy grasp, and fear not death."

And so the poem ends.

In with it the Babylonian story of the Flood is most simply related, and for beauty of expression it can be compared to any of the old Chaldean hymns to the sun. But the highly imaginative flight through space of Eabani is, to my mind, the most delightful piece of writing in the whole poem. Miss Boyajian's illustrations, of a purely decorative nature, are full of fantasy and fine colouring.

It is a book which will appeal to every lover of folk-lore, to those delighting in a philosophy of life or death, and to those others who are fond of heroes, most especially the heroes who do not get precisely what they want.

SURVIVALS OF SASANIAN AND MANICHÆAN ART IN PERSIAN PAINTING.

By Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., LITT.D. (Oxford: *Clarendon Press.*) 1924.

The subject of this treatise, as indicated by its heading, is a most valuable contribution not only to the history of Eastern art, but also to our knowledge of religious movements in the East in general. Results of a specialist's researches, based on wide knowledge, are here coupled with a rare lucidity of presentation. The author's arguments, substantiated by excellent and well-chosen illustrations, enable the reader to follow his reasoning step by step, thus dispelling all possible doubts about his *prima facie* incredible and surprising statements.

Very little is known of Sasanian art. It is important to remember that the Sasanian dynasty in Persia lasted for more than four centuries, until it was swept away by the Arab conquest in the seventh century. The reader

has to bear in mind that under the Sasanians Persia had passed through one of the greatest periods of her history, and that she had been a formidable rival to the Roman Empire itself. The border between these two great Powers was in fact drawn for a considerable time at the western end of Mesopotamia.

As in the case of ancient Greek art, we have, for the reconstruction of its evolution and history, to borrow evidences from its derivations, and sometimes defacements in the pretentious and gorgeous art of Imperial Rome; so also, as Sir Thomas Arnold has been the first to show, Sasanian art has had Persian figurative art as its successor, even after the lapse of several centuries, when the former could reasonably be expected to have completely disappeared, considering the thorough changes which the introduction of Muhammadanism had brought about in Persia.

The author's startling discoveries in the field of Manichæan art, as surviving in Persian painting, are even more surprising. Splendid facsimile copies in colours from illustrated manuscripts serve to dispel all possible doubts about the conclusions which, it is no exaggeration to say, open a new chapter in art history.

J. P. R.

MANUEL D'ARCHÉOLOGIE EGYPTIENNE, LES ÉLÉMENTS DE L'ARCHITECTURE. Par G. Jéquier. (Paris : *Auguste Picard*, 82, Rue Bonaparte.)

We have only to glance at the bibliography of M. Jéquier's interesting work, naming books by Mariette, Maspéro, Lepsius, Petrie, and many others, to realize how much has been written on Egypt since the beginning of last century, and how well read the author must be on this subject. He himself had not long ago published three volumes on the architecture and ancient decoration of Egypt, with a number of illustrations, which, he suggests, might be used with his manual to great advantage.

In his preface he points out that our knowledge of Egypt dates chiefly from the expedition of the French army under Napoleon, from which time dates the five-volume work "*Description de l'Égypte*," and it is well known that subsequently Champollion with the aid of it created his Egyptology. Yet we must remember that a certain mythical conception of Egypt never entirely ceased to exist. The Greeks knew and were influenced by Egyptian art. Herodotus already spoke explicitly about Egypt and its wonders, which, he said, "can hardly be described." Plato praised the circumspection of the Egyptians, "who knew how to preserve the tradition of their old songs and dances, connecting them with their religious rites, because in that way they could not be altered nor added to." In fact, knowledge of Egypt dates from ancient times down to our present century, and now makes its influence felt, as it did in the past, in art and literature. It encouraged the excavations undertaken by English, American, French, and German archæologists with far-reaching results.

It is a pity that the author does not give us more of his valuable opinion with regard to the Tutankhamen tomb, on which centres so much interest at the present moment. He only mentions "that it is composed of three catafalques, one leading into the other, the same as is the case with the tomb of Rameses."

Whereas the monuments of other Oriental and European civilizations lasted only a few centuries, we find in the country of the Nile a continuity of art extending over well-nigh 4,000 years. The author dwells at length on the materials Egyptians used for their architecture. At first, during the earliest beginnings, these were the palm-tree, the sycamore, and even the acacia ; but, soon finding that these did not endure for their purposes, they went to the coast of Syria, where they found the cedar and the pine, which induced them to build boats, and thus made them the first mariners of the world. The earth, so compact and homogeneous in the land of the Nile, was subsequently largely used for Egyptian buildings ; they turned it into bricks, as we see from the decorations on the friezes of the sarcophagi of the Middle Empire. But presently the Egyptians learnt to utilize also the stones which they quarried in their mountains—namely, granite, all the varieties of porphyry, and limestone. They used them for their temples and tombs, the abode of their dead, who, they believed, continued their existence ; hence the great care they bestowed upon them. They designed the *stèle*, which was afterwards adopted by the Greeks and the Romans, and is to be found in our churchyards to the present day. For them, however, the *stèle* represented a door, separating the subterranean tomb, where the mummy was deposited, from the place accessible to the living, where they could place their offerings. A large portion of this interesting work is devoted to the study of the Egyptian columns with their fine capitals. Their various styles and forms are brought before us in numerous illustrations, among them the campaniform column of Karnak (mentioned by Lepsius), with its artistic capital, of which we give here an illustration. From the beginning of the New Empire the campaniform column was used in preference to all others. It was particularly applied to the adorning the entrance of the light edifices, built with palm and papyrus-trees, where the great, seated in the open air, interviewed their inferiors. With their long shafts painted in green and yellow they present a very elegant appearance. Among the statues mentioned by the author are that of Khonsou at Karnak and that of Mera. He ends his scholarly and instructive manual with a discussion of the Sphynx, the oldest of this line, and at the same time the most gigantic, which has for well-nigh 5,000 years watched over the necropolis of Gizeh.

L. M. R.

SHORTER NOTICES

THREE NEW TRAVEL BOOKS

1. TRANS-JORDAN: SOME IMPRESSIONS. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. (*Ernest Benn, Ltd.*) 12s. 6d. net.
2. IN THE NICOBAR ISLANDS. By George Whitehead, B.A. (*Seeley, Service and Co.*) 21s. net.
3. TIDEMARKS. By H. M. Tomlinson. (*Cassell.*) 12s. 6d. net.

The nature of the first of these volumes, apart from being delightful reading, lies in its historical account of that little-known region, and the large number of photographs largely of Roman remains. It would appear, indeed, that there is wide scope for a special archaeological survey to deal with all these monuments. The author gives an interesting account of King Hussein, "who reminded her of an early impression of Queen Victoria; there was something quietly autocratic about him." It is unfortunate that this book is not furnished with an index such as is found in "The Nicobar Islands." In his preface Mr. Whitehead refers to the French proverb, "Tout comprendre est tout pardonner," and he has certainly given a very sympathetic account of the inhabitants who are offshoots of a Mongoloid race, and, in general terms, "a community of friends," easy to govern and easy-going. These islands were the scene during the Great War of a heroine's exploit, which was as follows: "On the approach of the *Emden*, the *Rani* (as she was often called) was not going to show the white feather and run away, but hoisted up the Union Jack. . . . Captain Müller thought that the hoisting of the flag was the signal for the commencement of hostilities . . . so as there could be absolutely nothing gained by firing on the shore, taking no risks the German ship steamed away without delay." The book has an interesting preface by Sir Richard Temple, who was for ten years Chief Commissioner.

The last of these volumes is a roving account of travel adventures in Malaya, rendered attractive to the layman by the narrative style of the author. This makes it an ideal Christmas book. He writes with emphasis about the havoc wrought by some Western films: "A mild Japanese crowd sat watching the history of 'Faithless Wives,' and other pleasing pictorial narratives of Anglo-Saxon fraud, infidelity, treachery, silliness, and robbery under arms . . . if the magic lantern, with such vital and unquestioned revelation of our curious conduct when we are comfortably at home, does not accomplish more than all the propaganda of Moscow in encouraging the Orient to suppose that white folk ought to be treated with contempt, then there is nothing in common sense." The Indian Government has shown some energy in this matter, but action is called for throughout the East.

THE GREAT WAR

THE DIARY OF LORD BERTIE (1914-1918). Two Volumes. (*Hodder and Stoughton.*) 42s. net.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from this diary is the inestimable advantage of long tenure of Ambassadorial honours in one city. Capacity must be allied with knowledge. When England at the crisis of her fate in 1914 was represented well in France, this was due not only to Lord Bertie's talents, but also to his long sojourn in Paris. Consequently he knew everybody, and could exert personal influence. It is unfortunate that there have been since no less than three changes in six years, and one cannot but conclude that this fact alone may account for many *malentendus* that have occurred since. This diary has been described as disappointing. The fact is that its author was much too busy to do more than write a few lines each day, and, as he died in 1919, had no opportunities for careful revision or additions. To us this appears to be one of its chief attractions. It is a series of flashlight photographs, taken almost daily, of the thoughts of a leading statesman in the great drama. The task of editing them has been well achieved by Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox. From the foreword by Viscount Grey we take this striking phrase: "He had no illusions . . . Bertie had scant patience with anything that he did not feel to be practicable." One cannot but think that his presence at Versailles would have changed the whole course of events.

FICTION

A TASTE OF HONEY. By Eric Maschwitz. (*Constable.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The above is a novel which in environment and treatment is reminiscent of "Sweet Pepper," which, it will be recalled, also described the post-war turmoil in a South-East European capital. It is, however, more powerful in its plot, and the author of this first novel shows even greater descriptive power. Both writers, however, have found an effective background for their story in the sweeping changes that have resulted from the war in those parts and the pathos that accompanied them.

HARVEST IN POLAND. By Geoffrey Dennis. (*Heinemann.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This, Mr. Dennis's second novel, in every way fulfils the promise of the first. The descriptions of Oxford life are all too short, for they are the most vivid we remember to have seen, and more dramatic than anything to be found even in "Sinister Street." We are then whisked away to pre-war Eastern Europe, and introduced, *inter alia*, to the Jewish problem in Poland. The psychic note that runs through the whole volume is of the deepest interest.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: WOMEN AND WORLD PEACE

ANCILLA'S SHARE: AN INDICTMENT OF SEX ANTAGONISM. Anonymous.
(*Hutchinson and Co.*, Paternoster Row, London.) 18s. net.

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD.)

No student of the times can afford to ignore that remarkable book "Ancilla's Share," claiming, as it does, to show how to avert the coming catastrophic war which many authorities acquiesce in as being inevitable.

Gone are the days when people drew back in horror from anyone who dared to talk of "The Next War," writes "Anonymous"; and thus it comes about "that the Greatest of all Great Wars takes its place as one of a series, if not as precursor of that ultimate cataclysm from which shall be no arising even to slay."

Strangest of all, she reflects, is that so many regard the worst as inevitable. Leaders and thinkers vie with each other in pointing out that civilization has never been uninterrupted, and we are only about to revert to that barbarism from which humanity has so barely emerged, and from which it will have to begin the painful ascent all over again.

It must be admitted that whole chapters of "Ancilla's Share" read like an incitement to, rather than an indictment of, sex antagonism. Nevertheless, we must forgive the author's seeming bitterness. With her woman's intuition she sees where others are blind; and though she deals for the greater part of her work with ordinary life, her theme is not ordinary life.

It is threatened war. And she knows there is no time to lose. Hence her impatience, her insistence.

"Is there time for all this?" cried out a woman when a U.S.A. lawyer, sponsor for the Outlawry of War, was expatiating on how it should be brought about.

"No," he replied calmly; "not to avert the war that is on the way. Nothing can stop that."

He is probably right, agrees "Anonymous," in thinking that men alone are impotent.

"Indeed, how should man not expect the same doom as of old, if he goes straight to meet it by the ancient road—if the only forces he summons to save him are those same forces which, from his first great struggle to his latest, have failed him at the climax of his need?"

And here in two lines she gives her remedy:

"Wars will cease when woman's will-to-peace is given equal hearing and equal authority in council with man's will-to-war."

In the introduction, which should be printed separately and distributed broadcast among the women whose sympathy she seeks to enlist, the dread results of advocating physical force as a means to securing desired ends is set out with logical precision. The menace ever growing in the East will overwhelm the world unless the West reforms its ways; but "to

give out reformation to the world" does not appear to be "the mission of any nation as interpreted by its public policy to-day." Is not "Anonymous" very unjust to those statesmen who are doing their utmost to bring home the nature of this menace? She quotes from *The Times* leaders of February 9, 1924, to show what Mr. Zinovieff, President of the Third International, means when he speaks of the Union of Soviet Republics: "We must hasten the moment," said Zinovieff, "when the scores, nay, hundreds of millions of China, India, and the whole Orient, shall come to our assistance and join the Soviet Union."

And on page 308 we find the following citation from Mr. Baldwin's warning to the House of Commons on February 13 of the same year as to the consequences following recognition of the Soviet Government:

"I am thinking," he said, "of the terrible risk to the whole world if propaganda of the kind which is being pushed out into Asia should ever bear its fruit." (Cheers.) "No man can calculate what the sum of blood and human misery would be if a state of anarchy were ever called into existence among the teeming millions of the East."

As far back as the second year of the War, Mohini Chatterjee, educated at Oxford, addressing a University audience in New England, said:

"The colossal struggle in Europe brings to our mind visions of the future—appalling when we think of the destruction, waste, and massacre of a far greater war that is to come. . . . It is not 'America and the next war,' it is not 'Japan and the next war'; it is 'the West against the East and the next war.' Then we shall see a world-war in a real sense."

When opening the American Woman's Club in London, June 26, 1923, Lord Cecil is reported to have said that if peace was to come to the world it must come through women—probably through American women.* Practically he shares the opinion of "Anonymous" in this respect.

The League of Nations is undoubtedly the greatest of organized efforts to avert war. If the precedent to secure peace is the mobilization of woman power, what part has this bulwark and safeguard of peace in that League?

This pertinent question put by "Anonymous" is thus answered by its propounder:

There can be no woman on the League Council, since there is no woman Cabinet Minister or woman Ambassador. No woman sits in the International Court, since the one country with a woman judge is not a member of the League. In the Assembly of the League, no one of the fifty-four nations has appointed a woman delegate, although six have gone

* WOMEN FOR THE NEXT WAR.—United States scheme for an army of Amazons. Volunteer corps ready for "a future emergency." An Amazon army is planned by the United States War Department, which is now studying a scheme designed to give women a recognized place "in all branches of the military service, of a reserve women's army corps by voluntary enlistment," says a despatch to the *Chicago Tribune* (Paris edition).—*Daily Express*, London, December 1, 1924.

so far as to appoint a woman as "substitute-delegate," or as a technical adviser. Therefore, maintains "Anonymous":

"It is not truly a League of Nations. It is not yet even a League of Men and Women. It is a League of men, served by women in subordinate offices."

Such is her logical and justifiable commentary. But "Anonymous," as her acutest critic has pointed out, is less equipped psychologically than logically. Mr. Buist Picken (*Light*, November 22, 1924) writes:

"What is termed 'sex-antagonism' is *essentially a clash of self against self*, not of sex against sex, although sex may be *incidentally* involved. . . . The dominant merit of the work is her insistent appeal for the feminine attributes of humanity for *positive* action in the great affairs of the world. She may not know that masculine and feminine epochs alternate in human history, nor that we have just entered a feminine one, in which it is *the feminine elements of the masculine mind and the masculine elements of the feminine mind that receive an evolutionary stimulation*—precisely contrary to what one would expect. But she feels intensely the latent high power of the feminine attributes of mind, and is gloriously right in proclaiming woman's power in the abolition of war.

"*Against brute force women must set, not passive nervelessness, but an active battle of the spirit.* . . . No war could be fought, it is doubtful if a war could be declared, in face of the proclaimed non-consent of women."

And all must echo most fervently Mr. Picken's desire that the woman-spirit alike in women and men should declare its divine mandate all over the world. Only then can the League of Nations receive the support necessary to achieve its world-wide beneficent destiny.

UNEMPLOYMENT: A SUGGESTED POLICY. By J. W. Scott. (*A. and C. Black*, Soho Square.) 1s. 1925.

A "Homecroft" might be described as the germ or nucleus of a "Garden City," where every manual worker would have the opportunity of growing at least some of his food for his own use, and not primarily for sale.

If it is true, as we are told, that all the necessities and even luxuries of life can be produced by the adult males of a country working even six hours a day, it is obvious what an enormous amount of labour would be available for growing food for the use of the growers in their spare time. But the "Homecroft" must be easily accessible from the factory, and here is one of the difficulties of carrying out Professor Scott's scheme. It would take more than a hundred garden cities like Letchworth to make any impression on the east and south of London; and how are such garden cities to be made easily accessible to the workers of London?

However this question may be answered—and no doubt an answer could be found—Professor Scott is evidently on the right tack, and his little essay is deserving of very careful study.

J. B. P.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA. By P. Padmanabha Pillai, Ph.D.

Pp. xviii + 330. (*Routledge.*) 1925. 12s. 6d.

We are glad to welcome this very useful contribution to the study of Indian economics. Dr. Pillai makes a general survey of the present industrial condition of India with a view to discovering the best means of promoting the economic welfare of the masses, and their social progress and happiness. The task is a difficult one, and Dr. Pillai has had many predecessors in its attempt. But no previous Indian writer has faced the problems involved so squarely, or has brought the same freedom from preconceived bias, calm judgment, and accuracy to bear upon the work.

Dr. Pillai begins by examining the effect on Indian life of the impact of the industrialism of the West communicated by steamships and the building of railways; he then shows the reaction of India to what was in many directions a paralyzing shock in the demand for native industries on lines similar to those prevailing in Britain. The following chapters treat of the present agricultural position and the prospects of agricultural progress, which Dr. Pillai rightly contends must proceed side by side with the development of manufactures and commerce. The only manufacturing industries dealt with separately are cotton and iron and steel; but the industrial labour problem, the financial problem, and the relations between industry and the State, have each chapters allotted to them, in which these subjects are discussed in relation to industry generally.

Other Indian students have been and are at work on investigations which will very usefully supplement this general survey, which may well serve as an appropriate introduction to such more specialized and detailed studies.

The volume is admirably printed. It has one serious defect—the lack of an index.

BOOKS RECEIVED

India: "Rambles in Vedanta," by B. M. Rajam Aiyar (Ganesan, Madras), Rs. 5; "Political History of Ancient India," by H. Raychauduri (Longmans), 7s. 6d. net.; "Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture," by S. K. Aiyangar (Longmans), 11s. net.; "The Dance of Siva," by Ananda Coomaraswamy (Simpkin), 10s. 6d. net.

Near East: "The Social Laws of the Qorân," by Robert Roberts (Williams and Norgate), 10s. 6d. net.; "The Mesopotamian Campaign," Vol. II. (H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway), 21s. net.; "Mille et Un Contés, Récits et Légendes Arabes," Vol. I., by René Basset (Maison-neuve, Paris).

Far East: "China and Europe," by A. Reichwein (Kegan Paul), 12s. 6d. net.; "A Thousand Years of the Tartars," by Professor E. H. Parker (Kegan Paul), 12s. 6d. net.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1925

SOME NOTES ON THE EXISTING TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA

BY THE HON. SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY, K.C.I.E.

I HAVE pleasure in accepting the invitation of the ASIATIC REVIEW to give my opinion on the present trade relations between England and India. Naturally I cannot, within the limited space at my disposal, deal with the question in all its aspects, but there are certain points which I feel call for special emphasis. With regard to the past an important date was 1874, for it was in that year that, at the instance of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the House of Commons decided, without a division, that the Indian Government should be asked to abolish all duties on British imports. After some time import duties were abolished, but these had to be reimposed in the early nineties owing to financial strain in India. Now what was the purpose of these duties? It was not to protect the Indian manufacturer: the aim was one of securing revenue. But times have changed since then, and the views of fifty years ago have long since been out of date. Moreover, the situation in this country has been entirely transformed owing to unemployment directly caused by the war. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that England is slowly but surely abandoning Free Trade and going in for Protection. It had crept in under the guise of the Safeguarding of Industries Act—but that was merely a label.

If, then, this is the policy adopted in England, it is only natural that India should follow suit. I am anxious not to be misunderstood on this all-important point.

England has, it is true, acted throughout in the past with a view to maintaining and protecting her own interests. But that does not mean that India should pursue a selfish policy, looking exclusively to her own advantage. India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Great Britain for what she has done in opening out the country, in organizing communications, bettering the agricultural system, and, what is most important for the purpose of this article, organizing the trade and commerce, particularly the jute, coal, and textile industry, to mention only three in a hundred—facts which India can never forget. The danger-point is only reached when the interests of England and India are directly opposed. And it is at that point that I feel India should also have a say.

It is no exaggeration to assert that in the matter of the excise duties the import scales have been graded in the past in such a way as directly to benefit the interests of Manchester. I am happy to add, however, that in the last three years there has come a change for the better, and that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has now adopted a reasonable attitude which is in consonance with India's just wishes. The fact has to be borne in mind that in spite of all difficulties that had to be contended with in the past the Indian cotton industry has come to stay. It is a mistake to think that it originated in direct opposition to Lancashire. In fact, the very opposite is the case. There is a great difference in the class of labour, in climatic conditions, and in working hours. India is not able to produce the fine cloth Lancashire supplies. How, then, can it be argued that the excise duty on Indian production helps the sale of the English cloth in the Indian market? But it seems that the legend that the abolition of the excise duties would strike a serious blow to the Lancashire trade dies hard. It is true there has been a falling off in some English imports, but that is in reality due to the increasing rivalry of the United States, and still more of Japan—a rivalry which was greatly assisted by war conditions.

The Japanese trade menace is a very serious factor. At present it is possible for the Japanese, who do not grow any cotton themselves, to import it from India, and, in fact, they buy about one-third of the crop, pay heavy freight duties and other charges on both voyages, and yet sell the finished article in India 20 per cent. cheaper than the Indian home manufactures. It seems to me that here is an opportunity for action on the part of the Government, in a policy which would benefit England and India alike. In other articles, again, it is the United States, which, thanks to their policy of mass production, are easily underselling English articles in India. The real fact is that England is gradually losing the world's trade without her Government taking effective measures to change the situation. If we take the cotton industry alone, the prices have gone up 100 per cent., and the wages have been raised to the same degree. Wherever one looks there is the same relation of cause and effect, the cause being high production costs and the effect loss of markets. Moreover, I feel that the Government policy in giving doles and old-age pensions, however necessary they may seem, are a clog on industrial enterprise. In a word, the obstacle to English trade in India are the high prices and wages. The cost of production will have to be lowered before we can expect a change for the better.

A short time ago much was being said about the effect of non-co-operation and the boycotting of English goods, but that policy has practically ceased, and cannot be cited as the reason for the stagnation of English trade.

There remains the question of Imperial Preference. It is a mistake to think that this has not found favour in India on account of any lack of sympathy with its ideals or the Empire as a whole. The fact is that India, on account of her fiscal relations, simply cannot adopt this policy. The question of Imperial Preference was fully and candidly discussed by the Fiscal Commission, and despite some variance of views on minor matters it was practically agreed

by the Commission that the one main impediment to the adoption of a policy of Imperial Preference to the Mother Country has been the denial of fiscal autonomy to India. In the shaping of the Indian financial policy Manchester interests always predominated, and our past experiences seem to justify a conclusion that the Secretary of State would not sanction the imposition by the Government of India of such duties as would ordinarily injure, or indeed would have the remotest suspicion, of injuring the Imperial interests of British trade and commerce.

If India had real fiscal freedom and a free hand in the imposition of import and export duties, and independence in the shaping of its taxation policy, matters would be entirely different, and the country at large would not grudge to the Mother Country a reasonable share of preference in some of her wider trade. It is not possible for India to extend the preference to the Dominions and Crown Colonies, as India's exports to the Dominions are considerably smaller in volume, and India would not in any way be financially or commercially benefited by reciprocity on the part of the Dominions, because of the paucity and small volume of the imports from the Dominions as a whole.

On the other hand, it may be said that at a not far distant date in the future India will have to accord some preference to British trade. In this India is quite ready to help, but on the understanding that there would be no unnecessary restrictions on her trade and a full measure of fiscal autonomy would be conceded to her. One proposal would be a general duty which is now at 11 per cent., raised to 20 or even 25 per cent. on the imported manufactures of all other nations, including the Dominions, whilst in the case of England there would be a similar import duty but reduced to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

What is all-important is to forget the quarrels of the last years, for India to forget the restrictions placed on Indian industries in the past, and for England to encourage in every possible way the economic development of India.

THE CHINESE CRISIS

BY COLONEL P. T. ETHERTON

(Late H.M. Consul-General in Chinese Turkistan)

[The writer of this article possesses special knowledge of Chinese conditions, having travelled extensively within the Chinese dominions.]

THE evolutionary stage through which China is now passing creates an international situation of the first magnitude. A state of turmoil and unrest has existed since the revolution of 1911, when the monarchy was overthrown and replaced by a republic. With those two events the Chinese political system underwent complete change. The revolution may be said to have originated with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, when her defeat brought China to the verge of disintegration, a fate the Emperor averted by instituting certain democratic reforms which were long overdue. With the appearance on the political stage of the Empress-Dowager a new régime was introduced, the edicts promulgated by the Emperor were abrogated, and further strife and dissension arose. Then came the Boxer rebellion, the international occupation of Peking, and the Russo-Japanese War, which was fought out on Chinese soil. These events following in such rapid succession gave birth to a new political spirit that centred on reform and the establishment of a constitutional form of government.

The revolution of 1911 is of paramount interest in that it produced one of the greatest leaders that Chinese history records. This was Yuan Shi Kai, a capable and sagacious statesman who bid fair to restore order out of chaos, and was the first President of the Republic. The parliament presided over by Yuan was one in name only; public opinion was non-existent, and the nation lacked the political training essential to the grafting of new ideas and the setting up of a constitution to which the Chinese were hitherto quite unaccustomed. Then, as history has so

often told us, ambition asserted itself, and Yuan developed aspirations towards the purple, the elections subsequently held throughout China materializing into a request to assume the rights and title of kingship. The southern part of China was antagonistic to this invitation, Yuan came to an untimely end, and with his death China lost a guiding hand of exceptional ability.

The Great War brought far-reaching changes, and the Chinese when they joined the Allies did so in a spirit of optimism, hoping that victory might enable them to recover what they had been compelled to concede to various Powers in the past ; but these hopes were dispelled by the Treaty of Versailles, under which the Japanese assumed all the rights, title, and interest in the province of Shantung hitherto held by Germany. This led to the Chinese refusal to sign the treaty in question and increased the antipathy towards Japan.

With the definite advent of the Bolsheviks the situation assumed yet another phase, and great efforts were made to inculcate the tenets of Bolshevism in China with, however, scanty success. The reason for this failure lies in the fact that the Chinese temperament is not amenable to Soviet teachings ; Bolshevik principles do not find favour with the Chinese, who, an eminently practical race, realize that such principles strike at private trade, a vital point with them, whilst they interfere with the liberty of the subject, a leading feature of Chinese social life. It might be supposed that despite these national prejudices Bolshevism would find some favour. On the contrary its progress has been negligible, whilst, on the other hand, there is a feeling in favour of a restoration of the monarchy. The essentials of republicanism are wanting, and until they arise there can be only one form of rule, and that an oligarchic one. In my dealings with the Chinese I have noted the consistent respect shown to the Emperor as the temporal and spiritual head of the nation, for under the monarchy the family was the unit of the nation, and the Emperor was the father of

all. With a republic there must necessarily be a change of leader, and this in itself invests the head of the nation with transitory power, and one without prestige, whilst it lacks the main feature of imperialism, as the term is understood in China, that of concentrating authority and focussing the loyalty of the people.

We now come to the origin of the present unrest and the anti-foreign attitude that has been adopted. It is quite evident that the crisis is not due to the conditions of labour in the mills and factories under foreign control, but to political intrigue and Soviet influence which have long aimed at bringing China into that world revolution so ardently desired by the Bolsheviks. There is, of course, room for improvement in the mills in question, but conditions there are far superior to anything obtaining in those under Chinese control. The outbreak at the Japanese mill was undoubtedly due to Bolshevik agitation, and the evidence that has accumulated proves the insidious propaganda at work, and that it emanates from Moscow.

In the crisis now confronting us there is an important point to bear in mind, and that is the question of extra-territoriality, under which our nationals are amenable to British law only and cannot be dealt with by a Chinese court. It formed part of the agenda at the Washington Conference in 1921, when an effort was made to secure the abolition of the rights we now enjoy. It will be remembered that under the agreement of 1902, concluded between Great Britain and China, it was stipulated that the latter country being desirous of reforming her judicial system and bringing it into line with that of Western countries, should be given jurisdiction over British subjects when the state of Chinese law and the reforms initiated warranted the step. Experience, however, has shown that the time has not arrived when we should relinquish our rights of extra-territoriality, for existing conditions do not justify such action despite the numbers of years the Chinese have had in which to remedy matters. Much of the prevalent corrup-

tion and the antagonism between provinces are traceable to the ineptitude and weakness of provincial governors, and insatiable greed among the official classes for money and power, who are more at liberty to indulge their desires in that direction than with the Imperial régime. The restrictions placed on the activities of foreigners are perhaps the corollary to the rights they enjoy from extra-territoriality.

These limitations are, of course, incompatible with the development of the country, but, generally speaking, the Chinese are hostile only to those schemes that appear to be prompted by ulterior motives ; anything in the nature of a sound business proposition receives approval. In this connection, and as we are concerned in the commercial aspect of the Chinese crisis, it should be noted that an exploratory syndicate would have to be controlled from the West, for Celestial business methods are in a class by themselves, and although admirable in their way and quite above reproach, are not easy of mastery by Europeans. For instance, industries in China are either on a basis of single proprietary rights or a system of partnership, and only in rare cases is there anything in the way of a joint stock company. This is due to the fact that China is in the initial stage of industrial life, the development of modern enterprises still lying before her. Further, the obstacle to mineral and economic development has been the disinclination to admit foreign capital and exploratory enterprise, arising from the conviction that this entails alien influence and domination with which most concessions have been accompanied in the past. Whilst admitting that the introduction of foreign capital is highly desirable, they anticipate that with it will arise diplomatic difficulties and dangers.

It is unlikely that development could materialize other than under European supervision and control, as investors would be lacking for a purely Chinese syndicate, despite the fact that under the agreement of 1902, already referred to, British nationals investing in, and a party to, Chinese

ventures shall be subject to the same obligations as Chinese participants, and entitled to the same privileges. There are, of course, large sums of British capital invested in sugar and rubber companies in the Straits Settlements and Malaya owned and controlled by Chinese, but conditions there are different from those now obtaining in China proper.

With regard to the situation and the question of foreign action in China, beyond the adequate protection of European interests in all the treaty ports and wherever they are in jeopardy, it is obviously inadvisable to interfere with the political development and evolution now going on. Whether China will ever assume a place as a dominant power is a moot point, for she fails in the great essential to strength and self-assertion. The ethics of Confucianism, on which the whole life and being of the Chinese have been based for centuries, are anti-militarist; the people are pacifist by training and instinct, they have no aspirations towards martial greatness, and in any dispute, irrespective of the issues at stake, mediation is at once the strong point with them.

In population and potential strength China is the first in the world, and her natural, industrial, and economic resources are such that she could be the richest country, and her national debt would be small when compared with the potential revenue. Quite apart from the strikes and attacks on foreigners which eventuate as the result of Red influence, the difficulty to contend with in the regeneration of China lies in breaking up the numerous military bodies, and to bring the provinces under one government, which must be a stable and progressive one, for stability is a vital factor in the evolutionary stage. Foreign aggression in the matter of land and spheres of influence must cease, the forces of obstruction must be removed, and industrial development can then proceed with a resultant increase in the purchasing power of the people. Education is a great point in China; it exercises remark-

able influence on public opinion, and will play no inconsiderable part in the reformation of a country where there has ever been respect for learning.

Determined efforts are being made to advance on sound and rational lines, and the recent visit to this country of a Chinese mission, composed of officials who have the interests of their country so much at heart, will enable the Chinese to gain further touch with European thought and sympathy.

There are many outstanding questions that can be mutually adjusted, such as the matter of taxation of foreign subjects and the levy of customs duties in the Western Provinces which have trade with India. Such levy should be placed under the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs which, organized by the late Sir Robert Hart, has exercised remarkable efficiency at the treaty ports, and has been extended to all ports open to foreign trade.

In conclusion, one can say that there is hope of redemption and the creation of a strong and united China, should those controlling her destinies possess the requisite power and personality to form a government commanding the respect of the people, for the Chinese, as a whole, are not partial to strikes and industrial disturbance and do not favour Soviet ideas and with the establishment of a sound constitutional rule they will take the road that leads to peace and prosperity.

China is one of the largest landholders in Asia: she has a vast population and natural resources that will render her self-contained and independent of the rest of the world. Her political, commercial, and economic possibilities must influence the balance of power in Asia, and are of special import not only to us but to Europe and the world in general.

AGRICULTURE AND MECHANICAL ENGINEERING IN INDIA

BY SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON, C.I.E.

SINCE the publication of the report of the Indian Industrial Commission in 1918, India has been the scene of the labours of many peripatetic commissions or committees making local enquiries into a great variety of economic problems. Much useful information has been collected, and, better still, widely disseminated through the country owing to the interest taken by the Press. An instructed public opinion on these somewhat abstruse and technical subjects is gradually coming into existence, and its growth is still further fostered by the publication of numerous papers and monographs by Indians who have made special studies in Indian economics. There is no difficulty in assigning a reason for this change in the attitude of Indians towards questions which affect their material prosperity and the status which their country enjoys in the eyes of the rest of the world. The grant of fiscal autonomy, and the right to adopt a policy of protection as a means of promoting internal industrial development, has removed such discussions from the academic atmosphere which formerly enveloped them and invested them with a practical importance not easily overestimated. Further, under these new conditions the task of finding 'suitable employment for the increasing stream flowing from the Universities has assumed a more hopeful aspect. It is therefore natural that India should now be looking for an industrial lead, and should expect that the more thoroughly conditions are investigated the more certainly will the data become available for framing a sound and permanent industrial policy. It is therefore likely that to satisfy this demand further enquiries will be made. The position at the present moment is perhaps best defined in a resolution of the Government of India published in January last, which runs as follows:

“The Government of India have had under consideration the best method of giving effect to the wishes of the Legislature in connection with the institution of a general economic enquiry in India. They have come to the conclusion that before any wider enquiry can usefully be inaugurated it is necessary to collate and examine the existing material, to ascertain how it can best be supplemented, and to determine what lines an economic enquiry into the resources of the country should take. They have accordingly decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to appoint immediately a small Committee for the purpose.” This Committee has held a number of public sittings lately, and has elicited from competent witnesses very definite expressions of opinion on important issues. These may be stated briefly as a unanimous recognition that the future material advancement of the country will rest almost entirely with the success of such measures as may be taken to improve the conditions under which agriculture is carried on. The average yield from the soil is poor, the methods of cultivation and the implements employed are primitive and inefficient, the land is burdened with an enormous number of inferior cattle, and much valuable manure is diverted from the land to supply fuel for domestic requirements. Opinions differ as to the measures which should be taken to effect improvements, and channels of communication between the Agricultural and Industrial Departments on the one side and the ryots on the other are almost completely lacking. Some valuable work has been done, and here and there may be discerned the rudiments of an organization which may ultimately develop into a suitable system for supplying the workers on the land with the results of scientific experiments conducted on the farms and in the laboratories of the Agricultural Departments. Yet there is still a lack of co-ordination between the Agricultural and the Industrial Departments, and no clear acceptance of a dividing line between their respective functions. The part which mechanical engineers must play in the progress of the future is not properly recognized, and in both

services they tend to occupy relatively subordinate positions. Comparatively feeble attempts have been made to bring to the Indian cultivator the assistance which the mechanical engineer can render, and the results justify a very much greater extension of work in this direction. They afford valuable arguments in the controversy as to what should be done, but they have so far been on too insignificant a scale to furnish illustrations of the prosperity which must inevitably follow the extensive employment of labour-saving machinery. We must turn to the United States of America to see in full measure the achievements of the mechanical engineer and the dominant position which he occupies in a community which from purely agricultural beginnings has risen to be the wealthiest and most self-contained and self-supporting nation on the earth.

Let it be clearly understood that the development of agriculture in India is likely to be of a very restricted character unless it connotes the application of the resources of the mechanical engineer to the tilling of the soil, the supply of irrigation water, the harvesting of the crops, the transport to factories, and the machinery for converting them into finished or at any rate easily marketable products. The scope for trained intelligence in these fields of enterprise is immense, and the greater the difficulties presented by the inertia of the existing static condition, the wider is the field for the energies of those who have been suitably trained to undertake such work. If the people of India are to achieve any marked degree of industrial success in the future they must cease to neglect mechanical engineering, and must realize that in its application to agriculture there lies a field open to immediate exploitation. The initiation of measures must, however, rest with Government, for reasons which are sufficiently obvious as to need no lengthy exposition. The Government is the principal landowner, the cultivators are numerous and poor, they have no natural leaders, and by temperament are conservative and suspicious. Pioneer work among them will certainly be unprofitable, and only through official agencies can they be

reached. Pecuniary assistance must be given, and the *taccavi* system of advances offers a simple method of granting it. The revenue system and the co-operative societies are additional channels of an official character, which can be readily used for the distribution of funds and the collection of dues. To achieve results commensurate with the interests involved standardization of plant is essential. There is no sense in encouraging a multiplication of patterns and types. One is probably better than any of the others. If they are all equally good, by selecting one the cost of competition is eliminated, whilst manufacturing and selling charges are reduced. What Henry Ford has shown to the world can be done with such a complex machine as a modern motor-car required for service under an almost infinite variety of conditions can surely be achieved in India with ploughs, motor-pumps, sugar-mills, threshing machinery, oil-presses, and a number of hand tools of almost universal utility. India pays dearly for the privilege of being able to select its machinery from many competitive types imported from abroad, and it would be in an immensely better position if, by restricting the selection, the plant could be made in the country. Notwithstanding the decentralization of the control of the Departments of Industries and Agriculture, the Government of India are still in a position to standardize the requirements of rural India, and there is but little doubt that the provinces would accept their recommendations, to which they could give practical effect by restricting *taccavi* advances to the purchase of standard articles. Take the case of ploughs. The area under cultivation in British India exclusive of fallows is of the order of 210 million acres, and to till this area probably more than 30 million ploughs are required. Practically all are of local manufacture and are made of wood. They serve the cultivator's purpose, but they are inefficient in action and costly in labour. If suitable iron ploughs could be substituted, nearly half the cattle could be dispensed with or the work of ploughing done in half the time. When

seasonable rain falls it is desirable to plough the land as quickly as possible, and inability to do so results in poor crops afterwards. Few ryots are able to get their ploughing done under the most favourable conditions, and in consequence sustain losses which in the aggregate are enormous. The universal use of iron ploughs would to a large extent avoid this waste. The mass production of suitable standard types would greatly reduce their cost, and through the agency of the *taccavi* system it should be possible for every ryot to obtain a suitable iron plough. Adequate arrangements could easily be made for the distribution of spare parts, thereby eliminating one of the difficulties which up to the present time has militated against the use of iron ploughs even by rich ryots. Five million ploughs a year could easily be absorbed in India, and the manufacture of this single article would give rise to a very considerable industry. Private enterprise would assuredly take the matter up if standardization were an accomplished fact and the provincial governments were alive to the advantages to be derived from it. In 1923-24 nearly three thousand oil engines, valued at Rs. 86 lakhs, were imported, for which the ultimate buyers probably paid more than a crore of rupees. Some were big engines, which could not be made in India; but the majority were of small power, and could be made here if the demand were concentrated on one or two sources of supply. If India were properly equipped with motors for agricultural purposes, it has been calculated that nearly half a million small motors would be required to lift water for irrigation, and at least 30,000 of somewhat greater size to crush the existing sugar-cane crop, whilst for miscellaneous purposes another 100,000 would not be an overestimate. With a potential market of such vast dimensions in its own territory, it is not difficult to understand those who hold the opinion that the future prosperity of the country is dependent upon the application of mechanical engineering to the advancement of the primary industry—viz., agriculture.

Twenty-five years ago competent authorities estimated the annual income of India at Rs. 30 per head of the population ; recent equally competent estimates have raised the figure to over Rs. 100 per head. Allowing for the depreciation in the value of the purchasing power of the rupee, it is practically certain that the output of India has doubled in the last quarter of a century, and it is reasonable to assume that the rate of progress will be accelerated in the future. The country, therefore, can well afford to pay for further economic investigations, and if necessary even for a Royal Commission to report on the economics of rural India. At the same time it must be emphasized that no really important factors are likely to be discovered, and that the problems have been already sufficiently studied to justify an intensive plan of campaign in furtherance of industrial progress, so that new fields of employment may be gradually opened out for the very large number of educated men who are now unable to utilize in any way the training they have received in the colleges of University rank. There is danger in delay. The Industrial Commission's recommendations regarding a central Direction with the Government of India went overboard when the Reform scheme was introduced, and it now behoves Provincial Governments to co-operate through some suitable machinery, such as a Federal Industrial Council, to secure the advantages which were then inevitably sacrificed. Uniformity of policy throughout India is necessary to secure a rapid advance, and there are many considerations which can only be satisfactorily dealt with by an all-India authority. The Provinces are only partially isolated from one another, and whilst they have many interests in common, they have others which may give rise to dissensions to the prejudice of the common welfare. At the outset it is certain that any kind of Federal Council should be merely an advisory body controlling only such executive organization as may be found necessary to carry on enquiries and experimental work.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF ISLAM

BY SIR PATRICK FAGAN, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

AFTER reading Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmed's interesting article in the January issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, its perusal has suggested certain reflections which I should like to develop as briefly as possible.

The Muslims of India number approximately 70 millions, thus exceeding one-fifth of its total population and forming somewhat more than one quarter of the entire community of the followers of Islam in the world. Muhammadanism in India originated not in Arab conquest, which was confined to a restricted area on the western seaboard in Sindh, but as a result of invasions, beginning about A.D. 1000, from Central Asia by Mongol hordes, who had been converted to Islam after the early impetus of Arab power and enthusiasm had begun to wane. Shortly after the year 1200, six centuries from the death of the Prophet, Muhammadan domination in Northern India, including Bihar and Bengal, was permanently established. After three centuries of repeated invasions and of dynastic revolutions, the first half of the sixteenth century saw the rise and consolidation of the Mogul Empire, which, passing its zenith in the seventeenth century, through stages of growing decadence prolonged a shadowy and purely titular existence well into the era of British ascendancy.

In India Islam has never permeated the whole life, political and social, of the country, as it has done in many other regions of the world to which it has spread. Its adherents have remained a community often dominating over, but always distinct from the numerically far larger masses of the followers of other religions by whom they were surrounded. Yet conversion to Islam has in the

course of centuries been effected on a very extensive scale, so that at the present time a far larger portion of Indian Muhammadans are descendants of converts native to India than of immigrant invaders who were Muslims at the time of their arrival. In the great majority of cases conversion has not entirely eradicated the innate Indian proclivity for caste distinctions, and in the regulation of such matters as inheritance, marriage restrictions, social and tribal usages, the converts have generally preferred observance of their immemorial indigenous customs to the prescriptions of the *sharā*, or strict canonical law of Islam ; while in their religion there remain embedded relics and reminiscences of their original Hindu and animistic cults. On the other hand, the comparatively precise definitions and limitations of the Muhammadan faith, based on a written revelation of known date and authorship, has prevented its absorption into the body of Hinduism.

The geographical distribution of Muhammadans over the area of India is irregular and uneven. They are in the main congregated in two regions, one comprising North-Western India and the other the eastern districts of Bengal. West of the Indus the population is practically confined to them, while in Sindh and in the west and south-west of the Punjab they predominate in rural tracts and are very numerous in the towns. Further east, as far as the limits of Bengal, the urban population is largely Muhammadan, while there is also a Muhammadan element in rural tracts. Bengal itself contains 25 millions, or more than one-third of the Muslims of India, as compared with a corresponding proportion of one-fifth in the north-western region ; and in both regions Muhammadans form more than one-half of their total populations. Over other portions of India the followers of Islam are dispersed more or less sporadically, being mainly confined to the towns. The two main regional groups distinguished above are widely separated, not only geographically, but also racially. The Muhammadans of the north-west include a fairly large originally foreign

element belonging to the stock known ethnologically as Turko-Iranian, while those of the east, Bengal and Assam, are generally purely indigenous Mongolo-Dravidians.

British supremacy in India has placed Indian Muhammadanism in closer and more effective contact with Western culture than has fallen to the lot of, perhaps, any other Islamic community. It was, however, only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that the Indian Muslim began to waver in his attitude of aloofness from, and of opposition to the influences of education and of intellectual and moral development emanating from Europe, and only gradually has it come about that such an attitude has been definitely and generally abandoned. Proud in their memories and traditions of past political domination, fully conscious of the religious and cultural gulf which lay between them and their non-Islamic neighbours, the upper strata of the Indian Muhammadan community sullenly acquiesced in an alien rule which had displaced them from positions of political and administrative authority and had given corresponding opportunities to the better educated, more industrious, and more adaptable Hindu. The era of comparative enlightenment began in 1866 with the work of Sir Saiyad Ahmed of Delhi. His efforts secured the establishment of a Muhammadan college at Aligarh, having for its object a combination of modern European education with Muslim religious teaching. Various educational and philanthropic institutions were established from time to time for the promotion of the interests of the Muhammadan community : but it was long before it took any definite and recognized part in political movements or in political agitation. Its attention was mainly confined to making good, under the ægis of the British Government, educational deficiency and its inevitable result, comparative economic depression.

It was not until 1906 that the Indian Muslim League was founded. Its special object was the promotion of the political interests of the Indian Muhammadan community. The immediate occasion was provided by proposed changes

in the constitution and functions of the Indian Legislatures, which had been set up by statute in 1892. The need for securing adequate Muhammadan representation was definitely perceived, and ultimately Muhammadan demands were largely met by the acceptance of the principle of communal representation. But once started, political aspirations expanded apace, and in 1913 the Muslim League added to its objects, though not with the unanimity of all its members, the attainment of Indian self-government under the British Crown and in co-operation with other Indian communities. During and after the war the League was progressively drawn towards the National Congress, an essentially Hindu organization, and so far it ceased to be an exponent of Muslim opinion. Since 1919, indeed, it has practically lost any distinct effective existence. For the more politically progressive members of the Muslim community the Khiláfat Committee took the place of the League. The Committee has adopted a very advanced attitude. Its main object has been the preservation of the Caliphate and of the integrity of the Ottoman dominions. With this have been combined support of the non-co-operation movement, the early attainment of independent Indian self-government in amity and unity with other elements of the Indian population, and the maintenance of cordial relations with Muslims of foreign countries.

Such is the programme which for several years past politicians have put forward as embodying the real aspirations of the Muslims of India. But what are the facts? The first item of the programme has been abrogated, permanently it would seem, by the action of the Nationalists of Angora, Muslims themselves, in their abolition of the Caliphate; and Muslim India in the mass, apart from the political agitator, has accepted the *fait accompli* with unruffled composure. Nor has it shown great anxiety for the speedy gathering of a Muslim world-congress to appoint a successor to the deposed Caliph. Such a result

seems on the whole to indicate that whatever may have been its religious and spiritual value in the past the Caliphate has recently lost whatever political significance it once possessed. That institution was, nevertheless, allowed to serve as a weapon in the hands of both Muhammadan and Hindu politicians for political agitation in India and for the embarrassment of both the British and Indian Governments until it was broken in pieces by the Turkish Nationalists of Angora. The curtailment of the Ottoman territories, again, is a concrete fact which, if not warmly endorsed by Indian Muslim opinion, at all events is not viewed with active disfavour, for the average educated Indian has a very shrewd idea of the general quality of Turkish rule and fully understands the distaste felt by the populations of Iraq, of Syria, and of Arabia for a return to its amenities. As for early Indian Home-rule (Swarāj), within or without the British Empire, various possibilities present themselves to the reflective Muslim. With relations, religious, social, political, and economic, such as subsist at present between his own and the Hindu community, and as they are likely to remain for a long time to come, he sees only two alternatives under a *régime* of complete Swarāj with British authority removed or reduced to a shadow ; on the one hand the submergence of his community in Hinduism, on the other Muslim political domination, at all events in certain regions of India ; and domination to be secured by a struggle which will probably not be confined to discussion and negotiation, but will involve the use of physical force, and in which assistance may or may not be received from sources situated beyond the North-Western frontier of India ; though in that direction he must, in view of past history, look with the utmost misgiving. Our Muslim, therefore, in spite of the utterances of political extremists, says to himself in regard to Swarāj, "At all events, not yet. The future will decide."

Islam, in short, has reached that inevitable stage of development in which religious and political loyalties stand

forth in mutual distinction, so that wherever the religious loyalty of the Indian Muslim may lie, his future political loyalty must be to India. But loyalty to India under a political organization of what kind? Herein lies the really crucial aspect of the entire problem: and it is an aspect which under the conditions existing at present, and likely to continue for a very long period, raises a dilemma of peculiar difficulty in view of the fact that ultimate democratic self-government in India has in recent years become the accepted and declared goal of British policy.

It is unnecessary in the present connection to examine all the implications of that policy, but on one point emphasis must be laid—namely, that it is impossible to see how democratic institutions can be practicable in India until there has been accomplished some effective synthesis between Hinduism and Islam. Whatever may happen in the distant future, at present such a process is not even conceivable to the adherents of either religion.

But without such a synthesis as has been suggested how can democracy even be possible in India? How can that fundamental essential of democracy, a sense of community and of communal life transcending the barriers of religion, ever be secured? The submergence of Hinduism in Islam is, it need hardly be said, utterly unthinkable, whatever lapse of time be considered. Unless, therefore, the Mussalman community in India is prepared ultimately to sink its individuality, democratic self-government must, it would appear, remain an unrealizable dream. But here again no one-sided process of absorption is conceivable as at any time possible. The loss of individuality, if an effective synthesis is ever to be accomplished, must be mutual along the path of fusion into some system of communal religion, morality, and culture intermediate between Hinduism and Islam.

Where and in what direction such a system is to be found, who shall dare to prognosticate with any semblance of confidence? The vision, which presents itself to some,

of India as a whole accepting from Western Christendom a dogmatic theology based on the pre-medieval philosophy and culture of Europe, seems scarcely likely to be realized. Christendom is only now, after nineteen centuries, beginning to appreciate something of the inner spiritual meaning and implications of its faith. It may be that in a very long future India is destined to help in that process, and in so doing to reach herself some, morally, socially, and politically fruitful and organized unification of that tangled complex of religious elements, at present so diverse and even mutually hostile, which is one of her most characteristic and most cherished possessions. But we may turn from such speculations to the more immediate future of the Indian Muslim.

For him the prudent course is fairly clear. Reasons have already been given for loyalty on his part to India to the exclusion of some indefinite extra-territorial loyalty based on an assumed continuity of Islamic unity. And loyalty to India necessarily involves support of and co-operation with the Power which, unless it should basely repudiate its moral obligations, must remain responsible for the continued well-being of India's millions. If in the near future the authority and the influence of that Power should be removed, Islam in India will be faced with the prospect of a life and death struggle for continued existence. In that struggle it may succeed; on the other hand it may not. In either case an indefinitely prolonged period of chaos will be assured. But on the saner and more reasonable course which has been suggested, a course of intelligent, discerning support of and co-operation with British authority and guidance, the Muslims of India can look forward to a richer and more expansive communal life, and to a leadership among Islamic peoples in social amelioration, in religious development, in political stability, in economic progress. Whether in the course of some such long-continued process of evolution the day will ever come for cordial political fusion with their Hindu compatriots in

some system of democratic self-government is a question which no man can honestly dare to answer with confidence. If it is to come, an indispensable preliminary will be a gradual and mutually transforming approximation, social as well as religious, between the two communities; a process doubtless of superlative difficulty under existing conditions, but essential if at some distant future date India is to be a self-governing political unity.

OBITUARY

THE MAHARAJAH SCINDIA OF GWALIOR: THE FAMILY OF SCINDIA

BY COLONEL M. J. MEADE, C.I.E.

THE unexpected death, in the flower of his age, of His Highness Sir Madhu Rao Scindia, the head of a family which has played so great a part in the modern history of India, has removed one of the most loyal and devoted subjects of His Majesty, and has deprived India of one of her noblest sons. The family, though long settled in Hindustan, came originally from the Deccan, and the first to attain prominence commenced life in a humble capacity in the service of one of the Peishwas, the Brahman rulers of the Mahratta State. Scindia was a slipper-bearer to the Peishwa, who was so struck by the way he looked after his master's property that he rapidly advanced him to power, and he became one of the great Captains who established Mahratta Principalities over India. "Fidelity" was the watchword of the founder of the family, and it has been the same ever since. A succession of able men guided the fortunes of the earlier Scindias, and it looked at one time as if they would establish a Hindu Empire in the place of the Moghuls. But the Mahrattas met with a crushing defeat from the Afghans at Panipat, and, later on, General Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, destroyed Scindia's army at Assaye. Once again the Scindias met the British in battle, and were again defeated in 1843 at Maharajpur. Maharajah Jiaji Rao, father of the late Maharajah, then a lad, was with his army in this campaign, after which he and his State lay at the mercy of the conquerors. That it was handed back to him untouched was never forgotten by the grateful chief, who handed on to his son a feeling of devoted loyalty to the power which had spared him and his State, and during the dark days of the Mutiny his loyalty to the British Raj, and friendship for individual Englishmen, enabled him to protect and

rescue many fugitives, and gave great assistance to hard-pressed British leaders at a critical time. The writer and his family owe their existence to the protection they received from Maharajah Jiaji Rao, and his able minister, Sir Dinkar Rao, in the crisis of June, 1857, when the British Raj seemed gone for ever. It is difficult, looking back, to understand how the Gwalior Durbar was able to stand firm to its engagements, and restrain its own troops from joining the mutineers, when the contingent revolted, and, after murdering its officers, their women and children, had gone off to join the Nana Sahib. It required great courage and constancy to resist the importunities of his own people at that time, and it seems only right to recall the high character and great services of the late Maharajah's father now, when we are all mourning the loss of his worthy son.

Maharajah Mahdu Rao was born on October 20, 1876, and was nearly ten years old when his father died. Eight years later he received full powers, and for thirty years ruled his State, which is about the size of Ireland, with great personal care and attention, and with great success. During his minority he was fortunate in being in the care of an able tutor, Mr. J. Johnstone, for whom he always retained a great affection, and he also relied much on the assistance of Colonel (afterwards General) A. Crofts, an Irishman, who imparted to the Maharajah his own great love of horses, dogs, and sports. The affection which the Maharajah felt for this officer was shown by his visiting him in his home in the South of Ireland, and by his erecting a memorial to his memory in the parish church of Timoleague. The Maharajah had also the personal friendship and help of a succession of able Residents—Colonel P. Bannerman, Sir David Barr, and Sir Donald Robertson. During the incumbency of the last named the young Maharajah was installed, and received full powers. The Indians have a saying that when a young chief is made independent he acts like a must (mad) elephant, who, when he is demented, tries at once to remove and kill his mahout. The late Kaiser of Germany acted on this principle, but Madhu Rao behaved very differently, and while he showed, in after life, that he was not wanting in views of his own, he felt that at first he must follow the advice of those who had so much more experience.

He often accompanied Sir Donald Robertson on his tours, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of his subjects. He had more than a smattering knowledge of civil administration, and was conversant with all the revenue questions brought before him. Constant bad seasons at first claimed his care, but, following the lines laid down for meeting famines by the Government of India, the Gwalior Durbar successfully conquered their difficulties, and of late years I believe the financial position has been satisfactory. The elder Scindia expressed his wish that his son should not be educated in England, but should live under the shadow of the great fortress which dominates the Lashkar (camp), where the palace stands. This is the city where the nobles and traders, as well as the general population, live, and there the late Maharajah lived during the greater part of his early life. He knew his fellow-countrymen right well, and they knew him; but, though he did not waste his time in costly travels to other lands, he possessed the faculty of acquiring know-

ledge, and no native of India knew England better, or loved her more. He was in every respect "a gentleman," true and loyal to his friends, and never vindictive or unforgiving to those who opposed him.

Like all his ancestors he was a born soldier, and was never so pleased as when he was among his troops, and still more when on actual service. Probably the happiest moment of his life was when he was appointed to serve on General Gaselee's Staff in China, and though he did not personally serve during the late war, being, I believe, prevented by reasons connected with his State from leaving India, he gave the Government most substantial assistance in many ways. His Highness was a Vice-President of the East Indian Association, where his loss will be much regretted and mourned, and he held many decorations and honours bestowed by His Majesty the King Emperor and by the great seats of learning, and the permanent salute to which a Maharajah of Gwalior is entitled has been raised to twenty-one guns. This honour carries great weight in India. I am writing this chiefly from memory, and am much indebted to an interesting notice of His Highness which appeared in *The Times* of June 6. To the writer of this my thanks are due. His Highness has left a son by his second marriage. On his birth the Maharajah cabled to His Majesty asking his permission to name the child George. The King gave his ready assent, and his reply is a fitting end to this memoir. He said: "I rejoice that a successor to your ever loyal line is thus secured, and I trust that the son will follow in the footsteps of his father."

This, I think, conveys the wish of all who knew the late Maharajah. May his son follow in his footsteps, be loyal and true in his public as well as in his private life, and when the time comes may he like his father strive to promote the happiness of those over whom he is called to rule. We feel sure that the British Government will do their utmost to ensure his being brought up, as his father was, in the best ideals, and we hope he has inherited from him his generous characteristics.

THE VICEROY'S LEPROSY APPEAL IN INDIA

BY FRANK OLDRIEVE

THE campaign to rid the British Empire of leprosy, conducted by the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, was formally launched at a meeting held at the Mansion House, London, under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, on January 31, 1924. This campaign has been launched under the patronage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who, when he was in India, took a personal interest in the efforts then being made for the lepers of that great country, and the writer had the honour of placing before him the facts of the whole situation.

His Excellency the Viceroy of India became a Vice-President of the Association, and after careful consideration decided to form an Indian Council, in order that a campaign might be undertaken in India itself. His Excellency invited the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Governors of all the Provinces, and several of the leading Native Princes to become Vice-Presidents, and a thoroughly representative General Committee was appointed, which included Members of Council, Secretaries to the Government of India, the chief Medical and Sanitary officials in all the Provinces, Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, and representative Indians, together with representatives of the Press and of the parent organization. Of this General Committee the Hon. Sir B. Narasimha was appointed Chairman. A small Executive Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the Hon. Sir Frederick Whyte, while the Hon. Major-General Sir Charles McWatt, I.M.S., was Chairman of the Medical Advisory Committee.

His Excellency decided to issue an all-India appeal, and the Indian Council was inaugurated at a meeting held in the Chamber of the Council of State, Delhi, on

January 27 last. The Patron of the Association, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, telegraphed a message to the Viceroy, which was read at this meeting, and speeches were delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir Narasimha Sarma, Sir Frederick Whyte, the Hon. Saiyid Raza Ali, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, and the writer.

Following this meeting His Excellency's appeal was made known throughout the whole of the country, every section of the Press—Indian and European—of all political parties doing their utmost to bring the appeal before all classes of the community. The appeal was worded as follows :

“I make an appeal to-day to India on behalf of the Leprosy Relief Association. I am confident that the object of my appeal cannot fail to commend itself to the sympathy both of the rich and the poor, and to all classes and creeds without distinction in India. None, I feel, can be insensible to the terrible sufferings of those afflicted by this disease, or blind to the danger of the spread of this dreadful malady already so widely diffused in India. I have convinced myself by personal observation that wonderful work is already being done in India on behalf of lepers, and for the prevention and cure of the disease. The new methods of treatment hold out great hope of alleviation and even of cure ; but the work is limited in scope because it is cramped for want of funds. Contributions are urgently needed for the extension and support of institutions for the treatment of lepers and for further research connected with the disease.

“I ask all classes to join me now in an earnest campaign to combat this dreadful disease. In the name of humanity I appeal to all thoughtful and sympathetic men and women in India to help this labour of mercy, and to contribute funds for the consummation of this noble purpose.”

In presenting the appeal to the public His Excellency stressed the need for more work being undertaken for

lepers, and pointed out the fact that the time was auspicious for an organized campaign to combat the terrible scourge of leprosy. It is well that this point is kept in mind, and there are four facts which may be emphasized. These are as follows :

1. Leprosy is contagious.
2. Leprosy is not hereditary.
3. There is now evidence that in a great many early cases the new methods of treatment lead to the disappearance of all visible symptoms of the disease, and apparently cure the patient. In almost every case they bring about a great amelioration and enable him to take his place again in the working world, although for a time it may be necessary for him to remain under observation.
4. The segregation of lepers is an effective measure which results in reducing the incidence of lepers.

If these facts are kept in mind it will be readily appreciated that it is quite reasonable to speak of ridding India of leprosy. Comparing the prevalence of leprosy with that of other diseases, one is thankful to note that the problem is a comparatively small one, as it is thought by those competent to express an opinion that the number of lepers in the Indian Empire is quite likely to be half a million, and indeed may be a good deal more than that, but it is a number that can be dealt with if each Province and Native State undertakes to provide for the lepers in its own area. The prevalence of leprosy in the different parts of India is seen from the following figures, giving the number of lepers per 100,000 of the population, according to the Census of 1921 :

PROVINCES

Burma, 74 ; Assam, 56 ; Central Provinces, 50 ; Madras, 37 ; Bombay, 36 ; Bengal, 33 ; Bihar and Orissa, 32 ; United Provinces, 27 ; Punjab and Delhi, 11 ; North West Frontier Province, 9.

NATIVE STATES

Travancore, 51; Cochin, 48; Kashmir, 46; Hyderabad, 34; Baroda, 26; Central India and Gwalior, 15; Mysore, 5; Rajputana and Ajmere, 4.

It should be noted that comparatively little is really being done for the lepers of India, and the figures given in the following table are instructive on that point :

NUMBER OF LEPEBS IN LEPER ASYLUMS IN INDIA.

India.	Number of Lepers, 1921 Census.	Total Number of Asylums.	Total Number of Lepers in Leper Asylums.	Percentage of Lepers in Leper Asylums.
India as a whole ...	102,513	94	9,226	8.90
<i>Provinces :</i>				
Punjab	2,737	6	470	17.2
Central Provinces	8,025	9	1,373	17.1
Bombay	9,707	14	1,091	11.2
Bihar and Orissa	12,269	9	1,322	10.7
United Provinces	12,647	14	802	6.3
Madras	15,753	11	979	6.2
Burma	9,765	4	556	5.8
Bengal	15,897	3	649	4.0
Assam	4,464	3	69	1.5
Totals ...	91,264	73	7,311	8.8
<i>Native States :</i>				
Travancore ...	2,058	3	245	11.9
Cochin	466	1	50	10.7
Kashmir	1,485	3	157	10.5
Baroda	552	1	51	9.2
Mysore	314	1	27	8.5
Hyderabad ...	4,214	1	253	6.0
Gwalior	418	1	10	2.3
Totals ...	9,507	11	793	8.4

It has been clearly stated that the work that lies immediately ahead of the Indian Council of the Leprosy Association consists in—

1. The promotion of further research into the causes and treatment of leprosy.

2. The devising of means whereby the results of this research may be effectively communicated to the medical profession throughout India.

3. The establishment of institutions, such as out-patient skin clinics and dispensaries for the treatment of patients by the new methods ; the extension of existing institutions, or the foundation of new ones wherein those very numerous cases of leprosy, which constitute a positive danger to the public, may be segregated.

4. The provision of assistance to those institutions founded with the humanitarian purpose of providing a home for lepers who have reached the more hopeless stage of deformity.

5. The consideration of means whereby the manufacture of the special drugs used in the modern treatment of this disease may be cheapened and extended.

6. The prosecution of an ardent campaign of enlightenment which will bring the elementary facts of this disease, as revealed by modern research, to the knowledge of the whole Indian community.

Strong committees have been formed in all parts of India to make known the work that is to be undertaken and to collect funds. Already more than Rs. 11 lakhs have been contributed, and it is hoped that a large sum will be given so that a commencement may be made immediately to carry out the whole programme that has been outlined.

It is now being realized that the new oil injection treatments for leprosy are so successful that there is really a hope of recovery for almost all early cases of leprosy. Even many advanced cases are recovering, while early cases, especially in the case of children and young people, are clearing up and losing all signs of the disease after six or nine months' treatment. If the latest treatments can be

made available at dispensaries and clinics, if the children of lepers can be specially cared for and prevented from contracting the disease, and if the most infectious cases can be segregated in leper homes and colonies, there is no reason at all why we should not hope to practically rid India of leprosy within thirty years.

Wonderful results from the latest treatments are being obtained in the Philippine Islands, the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, Korea and Siam, wherever, indeed, the treatment is properly administered. Already excellent results have been obtained in several centres in India, and there is every hope that the same results on a very wide circle will be obtained when the treatment is given in all parts of that great country.

The situation is full of hope, and now that public interest in India has been aroused and this splendid campaign has been inaugurated by His Excellency the Viceroy, we may well look forward to the time when India will have solved her leper problem and have become free of this terrible disease that has afflicted her people for so long. Lord Reading's term of office will long be gratefully remembered in India, and not least because he has launched this great appeal on behalf of the many thousands of sufferers from this terrible malady.

ASIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

BY G. E. DI PALMA CASTIGLIONE

(Chief of the Intelligence and Relations Division)

THE motto on the seal of THE ASIATIC REVIEW, "*Ex Oriente Lux—Ex Occidente Lex*," has an interesting application to the relations of the International Labour Organization to the countries of the East. That labour questions should enter into the field of international law is primarily a Western idea. Over one hundred years ago, Robert Owen, a British employer and social reformer, conceived the idea of the international regulation by legislation of labour conditions, and sought to secure the incorporation of provisions relating to international legislation on questions of labour and industry in the decisions of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Though his idea was not accepted at that time, the seed slowly germinated, and eventually the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919, after careful consideration, decided to incorporate in the Peace Treaty a part relating specially to labour. This is Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty which sets up the International Labour Organization. But though the idea of international labour legislation was a Western idea, in its formulation in the Peace Treaty contributions came from Asia. The Peace Conference was, indeed, not devoid of light from the East, inasmuch as representatives of Asiatic powers took part in its deliberations.

What, then, is the International Labour Organization established by Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty? It has two main functions. The first of these is the development of international labour legislation through an annual International Labour Conference. The second is the collection and distribution of information on all subjects

relating to conditions of industrial life and labour and to their international adjustment.

At the International Labour Conference, all States Members of the Organization have the right to be represented by four delegates, two representing the Government, one the workers, and one the employers. This Conference has been called an International Social Parliament, and though it cannot make laws, it can adopt two kinds of international decision. The first of these is a Draft Convention—an international agreement which must be submitted for approval to the national Parliaments with a view to subsequent embodiment in national legislation. The second is a Recommendation—a statement of general principles for the guidance of national Governments in drafting national legislation or in issuing administrative orders.

Six Conferences have so far been held—at Washington 1919, Genoa 1920, Geneva 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924.

When the decisions of the International Labour Conference are submitted for ratification to national Parliaments, they naturally bear within themselves the moral authority derived from the fact that they represent the solemn findings of the international assembly of an Organization of which fifty-seven States are members. The International Labour Conference, however, has no power to compel the States Members of the Organization to accept its decisions for embodiment in their national legislation. Each Parliament remains free to decide, in accordance with its own needs and desires, whether it will accept these decisions for itself or not. When the countries of Asia decide to ratify the Conventions of the International Labour Conference, they are not passively accepting legislation forced upon them from the West. They are freely accepting for application in their own countries legislation in accordance with international agreements reached after mature deliberation in which their own representatives have participated.

All the Asiatic powers, with the exception of Afghanistan,

are Members of the Organization and are entitled to send delegations on an equal footing with those of Great Britain, France, Germany, or any other country. As a further indication of the intimate participation in the work of the Organization of the countries of Asia, it may be mentioned that on the Governing Body which directs the work of the International Labour Office—the executive body of the Organization—two Asiatic powers, India and Japan, have Government representatives. Further, one of the six Conferences was presided over by the delegate of an Asiatic country, Dr. Adatci, Japanese Ambassador in Brussels.

In the application and carrying out of the decisions of the Conference, much encouragement has come from Asia. In this sense, it can be said with truth that light has come from the East. When the Peace Treaty was signed at Versailles, it was expected that it would be relatively easy to secure the standardization of labour conditions between the countries of Europe, but extremely difficult to obtain anything approaching uniformity in the countries of the East. Contrary to this expectation, progress has perhaps been greater in Asiatic countries than in Europe itself. The extent to which the countries of the East have applied the decisions of the Conference has been a great encouragement to the Organization as a whole. It can, indeed, point as an indication of its influence to the new system of labour legislation in India and in Japan and to the beginnings of a system of labour legislation in China.

When the Organization was established, it was, of course, not anticipated that conditions of labour in Asiatic countries could at a single leap be raised to the same level as those obtaining in European countries. The Peace Treaty explicitly laid down that in framing any Recommendation or Draft Convention "the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization, or other special circumstances, make the industrial conditions

substantially different." It would clearly be useless to wish to apply automatically to China or Siam agreements framed to fit the industrial conditions of France or Great Britain.

In drafting its Conventions and Recommendations, therefore, the Conference has adopted the plan of allowing for various modifications or exemptions in the case of countries in which the economic system differs from that of Europe. When, for example, the Washington Conference adopted a Convention providing for a forty-eight hour week, it was stipulated that in the case of India the immediate object of the Convention should be regarded as satisfied if the working week were fixed at sixty hours in that country.

Before entering into details with regard to the measures which have been taken by the countries of the East as a result of the decisions of the Conference, it may be of interest to give a general account of the most important questions in the field of labour and industry with which the Organization has dealt.

The work of the Organization has covered a variety of problems, the most important of which are hours of work, unemployment, emigration, industrial health, factory inspection, the protection of women, the protection of children, and special measures in favour of seamen and agricultural workers. As space does not permit an account to be given of what has been done in all these fields, mention will only be made of the general work of the Organization in connection with two special problems—hours of labour and the protection of women and children.

On the question of hours of work, the Washington Conference, as has been mentioned above, adopted a Draft Convention. This Convention provides that the working hours of persons employed in any public or private industrial undertaking shall not exceed eight in the day and forty-eight in the week. To this principle, however, certain general exceptions are made. It is stipulated that the provisions of the Convention do not apply to persons holding positions of supervision or of management. It is also

stipulated, in order to provide for the "English week-end," that where the hours of work on one or more days of the week are less than eight—as, for example, on Saturday—the limit of eight hours may be exceeded on the remaining days of the week provided that in no case is the daily limit of eight hours to be exceeded by more than one hour. In the case of continuous process industries where work must be carried on in shifts, working hours may be extended to a maximum of fifty-six in a week on an average.

So far, the Convention has been ratified by only seven States—Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, India, Italy, and Roumania.* In other countries, however, Bills for its ratification have been introduced and progress is being made. The international influence of the Washington Eight Hour Convention is not confined to the extent to which it has been formally ratified. The fact that the Convention exists, solemnly approved by the vote of the First International Labour Conference, has undoubtedly had a great influence in the last year or so in maintaining the existence of the eight-hour day. During the year 1923 the principle of the eight-hour day was strongly attacked in various countries in which it had been more or less accepted, either on grounds of the danger of foreign competition or because of the reduction in output which is supposed to be a result of the eight-hour day rule. At the beginning of 1924, however, and partly at least out of respect for the principles of the Eight Hour Convention, the movement contrary to the maintenance of the eight-hour day was defeated in Austria, Belgium, Poland, Switzerland, and other countries, and the present position is that there exists practically no country in which, since 1918, the eight-hour day has not been accepted as the common rule. Even where it has been criticized, even where anxiety has been manifested by employers or by the Government, even where special exceptions have appeared indispensable, the eight-

* In four cases the ratification is made conditionally or with delayed application.

hour day remains at the present time in force in most of the great industrial countries of the world.

At the Genoa Conference in 1920 an attempt was made to secure the adoption of a Convention dealing with hours of labour of seamen. The main issue in the end was whether the Conference should adopt the French system, which provides for a forty-eight hour week with unlimited overtime compensated by additional wages at sea, or off-time in port, or whether it should adopt the British Government's proposal of a fifty-six hour week at sea and a forty-eight hour week in port, with a strict limitation of overtime. The final vote was dramatic, forty-eight voting for and twenty-five against the Draft Convention embodying the French proposal. It failed of the necessary two-thirds majority by two-thirds of a vote. Recommendations were, however, adopted by the Conference, providing that legislation should be enacted with regard to the limitation of hours of work of workers employed in the fishing industry and in inland navigation.

The International Labour Organization has dealt not only with hours of labour, but with rest periods. In particular, on the question of the weekly rest in industrial and commercial undertakings, a Draft Convention and a Recommendation were adopted by the Third Session of the Conference, Geneva, 1921. The Draft Convention provides that in industrial undertakings the whole of the staff employed shall enjoy in every period of seven days a period of twenty-four consecutive hours' rest.

The Conference at its Sixth Session dealt with the question of the development of facilities for the utilization of spare time. This problem has become important as a consequence of the general adoption of the eight-hour day. The Recommendation adopted by the Conference lays down general principles and methods which seem best adapted to secure the best use of periods of spare time. In dealing with this problem, the Conference definitely indicated that it had no desire to suggest any sort of legislation covering

spare time. During spare time workers ought to be free to do as they please. It was considered, however, that it might be useful to draw attention to certain methods which had been adopted in various countries for facilitating the utilization of spare time, such as, for example, improvements in transport. The Recommendation also draws attention to the institutions existing in various countries for the utilization of spare time.

The protection of women and children was specially recommended to the Organization by the Peace Treaty, and some of the most important decisions of the Conference have been taken in this domain.

A Draft Convention provides that women shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed. The term "night" is taken to signify a period of at least eleven consecutive hours, including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning. The night work Convention has been ratified by thirteen different States.

A Recommendation of 1921 Conference urged States to regulate the employment of women in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to ensure to them a period of rest compatible with their physical necessities and consisting of not less than nine hours, if possible consecutive.

An important Draft Convention was that concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth. This Draft Convention provides that in any public or private industrial or commercial undertaking, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, a woman shall not be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement, and shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks.

The protection of children has also engaged the attention of the Organization since the start of its operations.

An important Convention adopted at Washington fixes the minimum age for the industrial employment of children at fourteen years. Two further Conventions adopted at the Second and Third Sessions respectively of the Conference extend this protection to employment at sea and agricultural employment respectively. In the case of employment at sea, provision is also made by a Convention adopted at the Third Conference that young persons should not be employed as trimmers and stokers below the age of eighteen, and another Convention provides for the compulsory preliminary medical examination of any child or young person under eighteen years of age entering upon service at sea.

Children are also protected against work at night by a Convention of the Washington Conference, which provides that young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any private or public industrial undertaking, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed. In certain specified continuous process industries, however, young persons over the age of sixteen may be employed during the night. The term "night" is taken to signify a period of at least eleven consecutive hours, including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning.

The principle of this protection is also extended by a Recommendation adopted at the Third Session of the Conference in 1921 to children employed in agriculture.

The International Labour Conference has adopted, in all, sixteen Draft Conventions and twenty-one Recommendations. In 143 cases ratification of these Conventions has been registered, and in a very large number of cases the provisions of the Recommendations have been brought into force in the national legislation of the States Members of the Organization.

To what extent have the decisions of the Conference on these questions actually been embodied in the legislation of the countries of Asia?

India has taken a prominent part in the ratification of the decisions of the Conference. Up to the end of 1924 India had ratified eight of the Draft Conventions and adopted the necessary legislative and other measures to give effect to them.

In the case of hours of labour, the Indian Government has reduced the hours of labour of adult factory workers from seventy-two hours per week to sixty hours per week. The application of the Indian Factories Act has been extended from factories using mechanical power and employing at least fifty persons to all factories using mechanical power and employing twenty persons or more, with authority to local Governments to extend its application still further to factories employing only ten persons and to those which do not use mechanical power. Hours of work in mines are limited to sixty hours a week for surface workers and fifty-four hours a week for underground workers.

Important reforms have also taken place in connection with the employment of women and children during the night. The new Factories Act prohibits the employment of women and of children in factories before half-past five in the morning and after seven o'clock in the evening. The minimum age for the employment of children has been raised from nine years to twelve years, and the number of hours during which children may be employed in a factory has been reduced from seven to six per day.

India has also prohibited the employment of young persons under eighteen years of age as trimmers or stokers on board ship, with the exception that young persons over sixteen, if medically certified fit, may be employed in these capacities in the coastal trade.

India has ratified the Unemployment Convention providing, *inter alia*, for the establishment of free public

employment exchanges and for reciprocity of treatment for immigrants under unemployment insurance systems.

India has adhered to the Berne Convention of 1906 prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

These provisions, together with others which have been adopted, are directly inspired by the Draft Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Conference and are in exact conformity with the terms of these decisions.

In the case of Japan, the steps taken in accordance with the decisions of the International Labour Conference are hardly less noteworthy.

Japan has prohibited the employment of children under the age of twelve. Children over the age of twelve may be admitted to employment if they have finished the course in the elementary school.

Japan has prohibited the employment of children under the age of fourteen years on board ship.

Japan has prohibited the employment of any child or young person under eighteen years of age on board ship unless he is provided with a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work.

Japan has given effect to the Unemployment Convention providing for the establishment of free public employment exchanges and for reciprocity of treatment for immigrants under employment insurance systems.

Japan has also applied the Convention providing for the abolition of private fee-charging agencies for finding employment for seamen and the substitution of public employment offices.

Japan has adhered to the Berne Convention of 1906 prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Japan has also passed legislation embodying general principles for the protection of women before and after childbirth.

Japan has adopted an Act providing that the night work of women and young persons should be absolutely prohibited three years from the date of the enforcement of the Act.

The various provisions enumerated above are for the most part included in the following Acts: Unemployment Exchange Act of 1921; Employment of Seamen Act, 1922; Prohibition of White Phosphorus Act, 1921; Factory Act Amendment Act, 1923; Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act, 1923; Minimum Age and Health Certificate of Seamen Act, 1923.

This mass of legislation, again inspired in all its details by the Draft Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Conference, amounts to the inauguration of a completely new system of labour legislation in Japan.

The position of China differs from that of India and Japan. It was recognized by the Washington Conference that owing to the industrially undeveloped nature of the country, it would be necessary to exempt it altogether from the scope of the Draft Convention on Hours of Labour. The Commission on Special Countries of the Conference attached great importance, however, to the acceptance by the Chinese Government of the principle of the protection of labour by factory legislation. In spite of the fact that China was faced with special difficulties, such as the vast extent of its territory, the existence of foreign settlements and leased territories, and lack of experience of labour legislation, it was decided to ask the Chinese Government to consider the possibility of adopting legislation conforming to the spirit which inspired the Washington Conference.

About two years ago, the Chinese Government took the first steps towards the State regulation of labour conditions. Provisional Factory Regulations were promulgated in March, 1923, the most important provisions of which are the limitation of working hours to ten per day, and the prohibition of the employment of boys under ten years of age and of girls under twelve. The Regulations also include a

number of other provisions which conform to the detailed recommendations of the Commission on Special Countries of the Washington Conference. Unfortunately, however, the Regulations include no provisions for enforcement. There are also difficulties, which will be known to all readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, in connection with the application of such Regulations in foreign concessions and extra-territorial areas.

A particularly interesting example of the improvement of labour conditions as the result of the work of the Organization is to be found in Persia. About two years ago, information reached the International Labour Office, based on the evidence of the British Consular authorities, that very young children were being employed for an excessive number of hours in workshops in the carpet-weaving industry in Kerman and the adjacent villages under sanitary conditions of the most appalling kind. As a result of the direct intervention of the International Labour Office, the Persian Government ordered the Kerman local authorities to enforce the following, among other, rules :

- (a) Eight-hour day.
- (b) Prohibition of employment of children under ten.
- (c) Permission to workers to leave factory at mid-day for rest.
- (d) Provision of healthy sites and pure air for factories.

These measures have since been confirmed, and in some respects extended, by a decree dated December 17, 1923, promulgated by the Governor of the Province of Kerman in accordance with the decision of the Persian Government.

The instances which have been given of the application in the East of the decisions of the International Labour Conference show that as a result of the intimate collaboration of the East and the West, light and law have united to secure a real improvement in the conditions of life and labour throughout the world. The historian of the future will probably consider that not the least of the successes of

the International Labour Organization is to have brought together the countries of the West and the East to work in harmony for the international realization of social justice. It is in the international agreement between nations and interests which the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization are trying to bring about that the real hope of the future must be found.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE OPIUM TRADE: A REPLY

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW

DEAR SIR,

It is unfortunate that so illuminating a survey of the opium situation in Persia as that presented by Sir Arnold T. Wilson in your April issue should have been marred by the introduction of an extraneous and obviously unsound thesis regarding the effects of Prohibition in the United States.

The author, in prefacing his remarks with the assertion that American Prohibition has led to an alarming increase in the number of drug addicts, and consequently had repercussive effects on international relations, has given voice to a contention which, since first brought forwarded by foes of Prohibition, has been thoroughly disproved. The increase in drug addiction long antedated Prohibition, and according to the latest Government report* reached its peak before 1900. The passage of Federal anti-narcotic legislation in 1914 and 1921 created the machinery for the arrest and conviction of the habitual users and peddlers of drugs, and the publicity attendant upon these arrests focussed attention on the narcotic question. Scientific studies conducted in hospitals where both narcotic and alcoholic cases are treated showed that an extremely small number of alcoholics changed to drugs. Medical opinion claims that these two vices appeal to entirely differing psychic types.

* "The Prevalence and Trend of Drug Addiction in the United States and Factors Influencing It," published in 1924 by the United States Public Health Service, Washington.

I bring this to your attention, not as a partisan in the Prohibition controversy, but as one interested solely in dispelling the popular misunderstanding. Such statements as those of the author when he says that "no European country appears to be seriously menaced by the drug habit, because none has 'gone dry,'" illustrate the extent to which this misconception has been circulated.

Drug addiction in this country is due to a number of contributory causes, not the least of which is over-production of opium and the resultant over-manufacture of derivatives. They are two points in a line of attack against a common enemy.* At one moment, when conditions seem propitious, we must all focus our attack on over-production in all the countries of origin. At another moment we must make an attack on over-manufacture in the countries of manufacture. But we must never let a mere difference in point of attack obscure the fundamental issue, which is the attack of the law-abiding part of the community in every country upon the organized international smuggler.

Therefore, it is much to be regretted that Sir Arnold Wilson's article, which gives information which is so sorely needed in regard to the Persian situation, should be marred by a certain spirit of antagonism to the idea of reduction of production. It is necessary, in order to make successful our move in regard to the producing countries, to know just such facts as his article brings out, and it is because his contribution is so valuable that I must ask him to realize that the interest in this subject in the United States is not because of "the existence of a few weak-minded drug addicts, belonging for the most part to the wealthier classes." In the mind of many Americans who have seriously studied this problem, the real menace of drug addiction in our

* But programmes which attack this evil from these different view points are not, as your author seems to infer, antagonistic, but are, when properly viewed in a large scheme, entirely and of necessity supplementary.

civilization is its spread among the criminal classes. We have an unfortunate record in the United States in regard to crimes of violence, and penalogists consider that the use of drugs not only increases the irresponsibility of the criminal, but brings into criminal ranks many who would otherwise not enter into this group.

Sincerely yours,

W. HOWELL MOORHEAD,

*Secretary, Committee on Traffic in Opium,
Foreign Policy Association, New York*

May 22.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIAN STUDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY F. H. BROWN, C.I.E.

FOR close on sixty years the East India Association has existed "for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion by all legitimate means of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." Yet on only one previous occasion has a meeting been called to consider exclusively the needs and interests of Indian students in this country. The Association had behind it forty-two years of activity when, in November, 1909, the late Honorary Secretary read a paper on "Indian Students in England." The conditions of this problem, as of others affecting the British and Indian connection, have changed greatly since pre-war years; yet, while approaching the question from the wider standpoint of to-day, we may well follow the broad and generous spirit of Dr. John Pollen's outlook on Indian advancement.

When the East India Association was established by Dadabai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, in 1866, the practice of Indians coming to this country for educational purposes, though begun in two or three instances some twenty years earlier, was still in its infancy. Its gradual establishment was due, firstly, to the opening of recruitment of Indian civil services in this country to all subjects of the Crown, without distinction of caste or creed, and, secondly, to the privileged position to be secured in the legal profession in India by a call to the English Bar. Sixty years ago a few Indians had entered by competitive examination the Indian Medical Service: an elder brother of Sir Rabin-dranath Tagore had been successful in the Civil Service

competition ; two or three Indians had qualified for the Bar, and a beginning had been made with admissions to Oxford and Cambridge.

The advance in the early years was very gradual, owing largely to caste and religious scruples against crossing the "black water" and sojourning in a Western land where it was difficult, if not impossible, to follow inherited social and religious customs. Early efforts to promote the movement by Government scholarships, initiated by Lord Lawrence when Viceroy, did not mature. In those days the few young Indians coming here for study received a very cordial welcome, and those of them who showed application, industry, and good-will had social opportunities of meeting people of position and intellect and enjoying their hospitality and friendship. The experiences of this kind recounted in the biographies of Romesh Chunder Dutt and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta show the friendly interest and effort of influential people in the days when the very presence of Indian students was some guarantee of the enlightenment of parents, or the grit and determination of the young men themselves.

Naturally the special attention paid to a few picked men could not be extended to their many successors, though growth was gradual in the earlier years. In 1887 an unofficial census of Indian students in this country yielded the total figure of 160. A second enumeration showed the number in 1890 to be 207, and a third in 1894 revealed an advance to 308. Thereafter numbers increased more rapidly. Notwithstanding curtailments arising from the War, and the difficulties in the way of securing admission owing to subsequent pressure on accommodation, the Lytton Committee in 1922 estimated the actual number of Indian students in this country at 1,450. For various reasons the stream has since widened. We may take it that there are sojourning in Great Britain to-day some 2,000 Indian students, probably nearly half of them in London.

To this total women contribute about five per cent.—

viz., 100—many of them studying medicine. An Indian lady was one of the first women to be called to the Bar when sex disqualification was removed. As is natural, parents are more careful about sending their girls here than their sons, but the practice is certain to develop. The inexperience of these young women often presents difficulties to those who are directly responsible for their welfare. Many of the girls belong to good families. They can usually find accommodation in the hostels provided by the medical and other institutions they enter. Nor is the problem of agreeable vacations in pleasant company formidable, for the ladies receive invitations to homes where there might be less readiness to entertain Indian men.

The importance of promoting in every possible way the welfare and interests of each generation of Indian students as it passes can scarcely be overstated. A large proportion of the men who have played a conspicuous part in the great Indian social, industrial, and political developments of the last half century received their later educational equipment in this country. Most of the conspicuous founders and earlier stalwarts of the Indian National Congress gained their aspirations toward Indian political advance when studying as young men in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and other Universities. Many of the Indians who have achieved special distinction in public life, and have been pioneers in various realms of achievement, such as Lord Sinha, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree (now and for many years past a leader in work for Indian students), Sir Jagadis Bose, and Dr. Paranjpye, laid the foundations of their success in student days in Great Britain. Nor is it to be forgotten that Mahatma Gandhi gained much of his moral and religious idealism when he was a student at the Inner Temple, observing with scrupulous care the oath he had given his mother to follow a life of plain living and high thinking. It is a fact of good augury to the settlement of outstanding issues in respect to the students that among

the Indians establishing records of scholarly achievement here is the distinguished public servant who has this year, as High Commissioner for India, become responsible for the Indian Students Department, and has already given close personal attention to the problem. Sir Atul Chatterjee was at King's College, Cambridge, some thirty years ago, and in 1896 was the first Indian brought up in his own country to head the I.C.S. competitive examination.

Before drawing the moral of such achievements, I must point out that the establishment of an official organization was necessitated by the rapid growth of the number of Indian students here in the first decade of the century. The National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society had long been in existence, and had devoted attention to the social and general welfare of Indian students; but they were not equipped to cope with the difficulties in the way of admission to our universities and institutions, or to check the tendency for many youths to come here inadequately equipped by previous study for admission to the institutions they sought to enter, or in other ways to make the best of their sojourn. In 1907 Lord Morley appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of the late Sir William Lee Warner, to investigate the possibilities of co-ordinated effort. It is a matter for regret that the report of the committee was not published at the time of its presentation. It was brought into the light of day only two and a half years ago as an appendix to the report of the Lytton Committee for the express purpose of disproving the widespread Indian belief (which the conditions of the time of its preparation seemed to encourage) that the real object of the organization it proposed was to exercise a supervision over the political ideas and activities of the young men. The belated publication proves conclusively that the sole design was to do all that was possible to facilitate the educational progress and general welfare of young Indians and to bring them under wholesome and helpful influences. On no conditions of

espionage would charge of the organization have been accepted by such men as Sir Thomas Arnold and Sir Charles Mallet.

The Lee Warner Committee rejected all ideas that the coming of suitably equipped young Indians to this country should be discouraged, put forward by persons deeply impressed by the danger of the temptations confronting such sojourners. The report pointed out that for many years to come the educated classes of India would find it necessary and beneficial to visit Europe or America, and that as long as this tendency existed, it was clearly best for the young men themselves that they should come to England, where, besides understanding the language, they would find a considerable number of persons predisposed to take a sympathetic interest in their welfare.

These arguments have gained rather than lost cogency in the years that have followed. Since 1907 two schemes of Indian constitutional reform have been brought into being, and the last of them is based expressly on the policy of advancing India stage by stage to the progressive realization of responsible government within the Empire. For good or ill it has been determined that a consistent effort should be made to provide a democratic constitution based on the ballot box. The path to this ideal is beset with enormous difficulties, but one of the surest means of overcoming them is for future leaders of Indian thought to know the institutions of the West, and more particularly of Great Britain, not merely by theory and at second hand, but by direct contact with them.

Nothing could be more futile than to lament, as some observers do, that our educational system in India has been cast into the Western mould, and that we have spread our theories of popular government among peoples held to be unsuited to their application. The goal has been set and has to be pursued. The way of attainment is for Indian leaders to understand the real meaning and spirit of democracy, rather than to follow some apparent substitute

which would give Hindustan a mere counterfeit, alien to the real spirit of government of the people by the people and for the people. As Mr. Philip Kerr pointed out in a remarkable address at the last anniversary of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel, the pace of progress must obviously depend mainly upon the leaders which India throws up. Among those leaders will be found some of the young men now sojourning here, who may well be inspired by the achievements of fellow-countrymen formerly studying in Great Britain, to which I have referred. As Mr. Kerr said to the students :

"You have great advantages. You have left your own land and mixed with other peoples and civilizations. You have therefore wider knowledge, and can see the problems of your own country in a better perspective. Moreover, if you take advantage of your opportunities, you ought to be able to learn the secret of Western success. . . . It is not to be found in mechanism alone ; the real, the ultimate secret of democracy is the leadership of moral virtue."

It is sometimes suggested that the stream of Indian students to this country will decline as the standards of education in India advance, and now that recruitment to superior branches of the public services is no longer confined to London, but is carried on largely in India. I cannot share this view. The rapid growth of the number of undergraduates in India in the last seventeen or eighteen years (and more particularly under reforms and developments which our Chairman to-day initiated during his Viceroyalty), so far from restricting the stream toward Great Britain, has increased it, partly by providing a wider range of material from which to draw.

I am in complete sympathy with those who hold that there should be no necessity for the ambitious young Indian to come to this country in order to fit himself for a career in his own land. It is all to the good, for instance, that, under the chairmanship of Sir Edward Chamier, investigation was made in the cold weather of 1923-24 into the

possibilities of the establishment of provincial Bars in India, and of abandonment of differentiations between the Indian trained in law in his own country and his contemporary called at the Inns of Court. I adhere to the view which I presented a dozen years ago in the *Edinburgh Review* that generally the standard of education in India should be raised so that an Indian lad may there find facilities capable of yielding opportunities not inferior, save perhaps in a few specialized directions, to those open to his contemporaries who study abroad. This standard was first laid down in the epoch-making Educational Resolution of Lord Hardinge's Government in 1913, the inspirer and chief author of which, His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, honours us by his presence to-day.

This ideal, however, can be attained only by degrees, and it will always be the case that students will desire to come here for various purposes, and notably for post-graduate work or for special study. The Indians recruited for the I.C.S. in their own country come to Oxford and Cambridge for probation; while others, contemplating non-official careers, seek in those ancient seats of learning the liberal culture for which they provide unrivalled opportunities. In the sphere of scientific and industrial training there is a wide field for preparation in this country, as has been increasingly recognized in recent years. So long as Indians wish to carry on their studies abroad, and have the necessary foundation of preliminary training, they should be encouraged to select the United Kingdom rather than a foreign country, so that they may have every opportunity to understand and appreciate the institutions and ideas we have introduced in India, and which have brought her a vision of nationhood.

The organization for the benefit of Indian students brought into being by Lord Morley some sixteen years ago has undergone many variations in detail, and, particularly in the early years, was subjected to criticism by many of the students, who regarded it, partly for reasons already

indicated, as an unnecessary interference with their liberty. Like our educational institutions generally, the department has had to face extraordinary difficulties in recent years. This was notably so after the Armistice, when the ordinary problems connected with the education and training of Indian students were aggravated by the abnormal rush of British students to our educational institutions.

Nor was this the only point of view from which 1921 was an unfortunate time to set up a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton to investigate the working of the system. Indian political feeling was then running very high in connection with the non-co-operation movement, and was reflected in much of the evidence given by the students. Even so, the most that could be said in a report made unanimous only by compromise between widely conflicting views was that the department, while innocent of the charge of exercising political supervision over the young men, and of hampering the admission to British educational institutions, had failed to secure the confidence of the bulk of the students, and to meet educationally the requirements of the Universities. Hence it was recommended that the department should be abolished, and that the work should be discharged mainly by a central agency in London maintained by the Indian Universities, and by an inquiry office under the High Commissioner.

Now, if confidence has to be measured in terms of success in obtaining facilities for every young Indian asking for them, no organization the wit of man can devise will secure it in more than limited measure. The fundamental reason is that a proportion at least of the Indian students who come to England are not fitted by prior qualification to secure or profit by the facilities for which they ask. It is a fact that some students who have no chance of passing successfully certain qualifying tests in their own country, such as those required for practice as advocates, come to England in the hope that the exaggerated value attached in many cases to the possession of English qualifications,

quite apart from their intrinsic merit, may help them to employment on their return.

After prolonged consideration, the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council have wisely decided that it is necessary to keep an adequate official organization in being, subject to such changes in nomenclature and arrangements as may be found desirable. The Lytton report did not face the question of providing for the efficient administration under the proposed composite arrangements of the large sums, amounting to at least £50,000 per annum, the department is called on to disburse in grants, and to Government scholars and young persons under various forms of guardianship. The objections to the department raised by students in evidence in 1921 (a very few months after its transfer from the India Office to the newly created office of the High Commissioner) represented in large measure a passing phase. I think all competent authorities are agreed that in no circumstances would it be possible to revert to the haphazard condition of things when no official provision existed for the benefit of the students. After all, the Indian students share with contemporaries from abroad, notably Japanese and Chinese, the existence of special organizations for their welfare promoted by the State; nor do they (with rare exceptions) refrain from making ample use of the facilities for information, advice, and help so provided.

A satisfactory feature of the situation is the assurance repeated again and again on the best authority that as a general rule race bias does not arise in the admission of, or attitude toward, the young Indian. This was the testimony a dozen years ago of the Morison Committee on facilities for technical training in this country, and was confirmed in the report of the Lytton Committee. Of course, the unfit man, irrespective of nationality, is unwelcome, and equally, of course, personality is the deciding factor in the attitude of undergraduates toward their fellows. But happily, as Mr. Sen and Dr. Quayle, the joint secretaries, point out in

their last annual report on the department, at almost every University and college throughout Great Britain there are to be found Indian students whose success and achievement are a credit alike to their earlier University training in India and to the institutions of which they are at present members. In this class are included Indian men and women who are either taking good degrees in medicine, law, science, engineering, etc., or are carrying on important research likely to result in a definite increase of knowledge, and in a distinct advantage to India. It can safely be said that not only are such students warmly welcomed, but by their success they help to pave the way for the ready admission of other Indians.

In London, where we have about a thousand Indian students, facilities for social contact between them have been much extended since the war by the establishment of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel, first accommodated in an army hut in Keppel Street, and now occupying good premises of its own in Gower Street, close to University College. Similar work, though on a smaller scale, has been carried on for fifteen years, as part of the scheme instituted by Lord Morley, at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, where Miss Beck conducts with such devotion the work of the National Indian Association, and where there is a sympathetic warden in the person of Mr. A. D. Bonnarjee. The Union and Hostel in Gower Street has attained a remarkable popularity, for since its institution rather more than five years ago, some 2,000 members have been on its roll, and the present number is between 500 and 600. Established under the auspices of the Indian National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, it represents a distinct Indian effort on behalf of young Indians. The executive officers are all Indians, most of whom have recently left college, and the Hostel is fortunate in the sustained enthusiasm of the warden, Mr. P. D. Runganadhan. The institution is free from all official control or patronage, and political discussion is not restricted in any way.

One object of the creation of the Hostel was to provide facilities for social intercourse between Indian students and English people, and it was intended from the first that a substantial part of the residential accommodation should be reserved for English contemporaries. But the plan has not matured, as it has not been found easy to induce young Englishmen to live at, or even frequently visit, the Hostel, and the average number of them in residence has been very small—far below what was purposed at the start. This is regrettable. Perhaps there is no place in the world, certainly none outside India, where there is a stronger spirit of informed and eager Indian nationalism than is to be found in this Gower Street club. To mention but one outstanding issue: the Hindu-Muslim dissensions which loom so large in the everyday life of India seem to be of little account in the ardent and buoyant atmosphere of this institution, where men from all parts of India and belonging to its varied creeds meet together on terms of equal comradeship.

It is well that there should exist such a centre of young Indian patriotism in the capital of the Empire. But the very popularity of the Hostel has its drawbacks. There is an obvious danger that the youths from Bengal, Madras, or the Punjab may devote all their leisure to the company of fellow-Indians and the enjoyment of the amenities of the Hostel. It is possible in this way for an Indian to spend three or four of his most formative years in London and yet never come to understand our life and institutions. The risk is increased when the student, for the sake of economy, lives in a poor class of lodging-house, and meets few other people, thus obtaining an inadequate conception of our standards of social contact. His surface impressions of London may take little or no account of the large amount of social service, of philanthropic effort, of civic patriotism, which is going on behind what seems like the hard materialism of the rushing crowd on the streets. Thus a biased view brought to this country may remain uncor-

rected; and our social amenities may be the subject of cynical, uninformed criticism.

It is satisfactory that the older Universities arrange as far as possible to distribute the Indians for whom accommodation is planned between the different colleges, rather than bringing them together in two or three colleges. But in any case, the danger to which I allude is much smaller at Oxford or Cambridge than in London, with its many scattered non-residential colleges and institutions. It must not be forgotten that the tendency for Indian students to form their own set and to fail to mix generally in our communal life is a quite natural propensity, and, indeed, has some analogy with the traditional social habits of Englishmen in India, who have their own clubs in the larger centres, and frequently devote almost all their leisure to fellow "exiles," giving little or no attention to the phases of Indian social life. But there should be counteractives to this tendency in both countries if we are to promote a real and cordial understanding between India and England. Moreover, unlike the Englishman in India, the young Indian comes here not to enter upon his career in life, but to learn all he can.

My sketch of the rise and main features of the Indian student problem is necessarily incomplete. Many interesting details must be omitted in what is designed to be a background for a few practical suggestions. It is obvious that the happiness and usefulness of the sojourn of young Indians in this country can best be promoted by co-operative effort, though normally the success or failure of the student is to be measured almost entirely by the standard of his own application, character, and outlook.

In the first instance, of course, responsibility attaches to the Indian parent who wishes to send his son to England. Each Indian province has had an advisory committee which has been kept supplied with all necessary data by the Students Department, thus providing the organization for a father to make adequate inquiries regarding his son's

courses of studies and prospects of admission to any given institution. The Lytton Committee's proposal, that the work of the provincial advisory committees should be taken over by the Universities, has already taken effect at Lahore and Dacca. This is satisfactory; but the main point is that some organization of the kind is essential. A simple standard of qualification may be mentioned. No Indian student, save in the most exceptional circumstances, should come here unless he has gained at least the intermediate certificate. Otherwise he should be aware that his lack of educational qualifications may mean money spent with a tutor, and so loss of time and more expense to his parents. The latter should take more interest in the places where their sons stay, and there should be fuller use of the register of holiday homes and lodgings kept in the office of the High Commissioner.

Nor can too much stress be laid on the importance of regular remittances, a matter in which Indian parents are too often unbusinesslike. There is on occasion a striking contrast between the happy position of Government Scholars who receive their allowances systematically through the High Commissioner, and young men whose parents in India fail to realize the very great inconvenience caused by irregularity in this respect. On occasion great distress is caused by the death of a parent without his having made due arrangements to ensure the return of his son to India in due course, or forthwith if necessity arises. It would be well if parents would deposit with some bank or institution, or with the High Commissioner, a sufficient sum for the return passage, and to be used for no other purpose. The Distressed Indian Students Aid Committee would have relatively little to do if this precaution were observed. I may mention, as an indication of the kindly feeling which exists in this country, that most of the subscriptions to the Committee come from English people.

It is, however, chiefly from the standpoint of the call to British hospitality and goodwill that we should consider the

problem this afternoon. Happily, we can note a variety of improvements in facilities and better understanding of Indian requirements in educational and technical institutions. There has also been a substantial development of youthful British and Indian camaraderie arising from co-operation in sport and athletics. This avenue provides a ready means of association with English contemporaries on terms of equal friendship. The Indian Gymkhana Club is doing good work in this connection, and it is a matter for regret that the appeals to wealthy Indians for donations to enable the club to develop its ground at Osterley Park have not had a wider response. Indeed, it owes the possession of the ground in the main to one princely benefactor, the Maharajah of Patiala.

In one important respect facilities for physical training of Indian students are lacking. Despite repeated representations from the India Office, the military authorities block the way to the eligibility of Indians for admission to Officers' Training Corps in the Universities where they are studying. A plausible case for this restriction could be made out when King's commissions in the Indian Army were not open to Indians, but it was outdated by removal of the embargo in Lord Chelmsford's time. By the creation of the Indian Territorial Force, Government have encouraged actively the strong aspirations of educated Indians towards the ideal of national defence, commended by Sir Armine Dew, from the standpoint of intimate knowledge of the Frontier, at the last meeting of the Association. Under the unanimous proposals of a committee presided over by General Sir John Shea, the Indian University Training Corps are to be allowed to expand up to their natural limits, and to be viewed as the foundation-stone of the national army of the future. Yet a member of one of these corps in Bombay or Calcutta or Lahore coming to this country for further study finds himself arbitrarily debarred from any share in this side of our University life.

It is understood that the War Office would open the

O.T.C. to Indians on condition of their forming separate platoons. The India Office is well advised to withhold assent to such a differentiation, and to claim equality of eligibility. It may be that the number of Indian applications for admission would not be large; but so long as the interdict exists, a sense of grievance will remain. It is high time to give effect to the Lytton Committee recommendation that the prohibitive regulation should be withdrawn, and that officers in charge of the various O.T.C. "should have the same discretion in regard to the enrolment of Indians as they have in regard to persons from any other part of the Empire."

Finally, we may consider how far those of us who have lived in India and are interested in her welfare can contribute by personal endeavour to the happiness and progress of her sons studying here. From time to time sympathetic English people are invited to meet young Indians at afternoon and evening parties, and all this is to the good. But a more fruitful form of interest and hospitality may be commended. I have suggested that the young Indian should come here prepared for and anxious to see our English life. He can do so to best advantage by being brought into contact with the intimacies of the English home. A difficulty in London at least is that the ordinary householder cannot know personally more than a small percentage of these young people. But, avoiding any spirit of patronage or condescension, he can seek opportunities to come into really friendly contact with, and exercise hospitality toward, at least one or two Indians. He may have his disappointments now and again; his kindly action may be misinterpreted, or his young friends on occasion may be unduly exacting; but, as a rule, he will find that such disinterested service yields rich reward in the good accomplished. I think that if every Indian sojourning here for study had access to at least one English home, and the certainty of obtaining wise and disinterested advice and assistance from the head of the household, there would be fewer cases of

men returning to India embittered, and the small percentage of Indian shipwrecks amid the temptations of London would be further reduced.

After years of experience and investigation the student problem in all its manifold bearings is well understood in the office of the High Commissioner and by advisers at the various Universities. Now that the department has survived the adverse judgment of the Lytton Committee, it can pursue its beneficent aims with greater efficiency under the general direction of the High Commissioner. Many difficulties which formerly existed have been removed or mitigated, and though others are inherent, we may reasonably expect that as time goes on the sojourn of Indians in this country will be increasingly beneficial to themselves and to their Motherland. Given the appropriate cordial and understanding treatment, young Indians of open mind may be expected to carry back to their country an unprejudiced estimate of our life and thought, and a recognition of the joint contribution they and we can make together for the good of India and the British Commonwealth.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, April 27, 1925, at which a paper was read by F. H. Brown, Esq., C.I.E., entitled "Indian Students in Great Britain." The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, K.C.I.E., and Lady Chatterjee, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick James Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., and Mrs. Ameer Ali, Sir Prabashankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E., Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Daniel Keymer, O.B.E., and Mr. Keymer, Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Sir Edward Chamier, K.C.I.E., Mr. G. A. Wathen, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., and Mrs. Sen, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Miss Beck, Mr. J. E. Ferard, C.B.E., Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.B.E., Mr. O. Lloyd Evans, Dr. Gilbert Slater, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Dr. S. Kapadia, Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Bonnarjee, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. C. A. Oldham, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mr. P. D. Ranganadhan, Professor A. Gopalji, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., and Mrs. Yusuf Ali, Mrs. and Miss Pennington, Mr. E. C. Emerson, Mr. A. V. Pai, Mr. A. B. Jayasuriya, Mr. Rustom Rustomjee, Mr. R. M. J. Knaster, Mr. F. E. Beale, Mr. G. D. Madgaonkar, Mr. A. K. A. Munshi, Mr. C. T. Fenton, I.S.O., Colonel Lowry, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. K. Singh, Mr. C. J. Smith, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Mr. V. I. Gaster, Mr. P. Hyman Colman, Mr. B. Ward Perkins, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mrs. J. C. Goodwin, Mr. and Mrs. B. G. Gilbert Cooper, Miss Partridge, Mr. M. Ismail, Mr. K. M. Gupta, Mr. D. C. Wahdwa, Mr. B. S. Rao, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. W. A. de Silva, Miss Dove, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. Kirtisinghi, Colonel Dantra, Mrs. Drury, Professor Mookerji, Mr. M. L. Chandra, Mr. S. V. Karandikar, Mr. C. V. Manikan, Mr. A. M. Shah, Mr. S. Raulingan, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. Ghulam Quadir Khan, Mr. C. Weylandt, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Armitt, Mr. A. S. Wali, Mr. Khalid Sheldrake, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I need hardly introduce to you the reader of the paper to-day, because we all know the very many years he has been connected with Indian affairs, and we all deeply appreciate the interest and sympathy which he has always shown in connection with Indian matters; but I think we do owe a deep debt of gratitude to him this afternoon in bringing up such a subject for his paper, a subject of such great importance and such great difficulty, and one which has always

exercised the minds and ingenuity of those high in authority. Only yesterday, as a matter of curiosity, I looked up my correspondence with Secretaries of State, and I find that from the very beginning of my tenure of office to the end I was in correspondence with them on this subject. What amazing results could be secured if all these hundreds of young men who come over here for their education went back to India inspired and fortified by that which they had learned in their universities and places of learning, and also if they went back with a happy memory of the pleasant days they had spent in this country ! If you will look at it from that point of view you will see the immense importance of this particular subject.

Now as regards the difficulty of it, I think Mr. Brown will make that quite clear this afternoon, and I am not going to dilate upon it further, but those of you who listen to Mr. Brown, I should advise also to read the very excellent report which was issued last year from the High Commissioner's office on this subject, because that shows you the great complexity and difficulty of the subject. The truth is that the difficulty of it is the atmosphere of suspicion with which it is surrounded, and I should like to say, as one who has had to deal with it, that nothing can be more unfounded than that suspicion ; and there has only been one object before those who had to deal with it, first of all to safeguard those young men coming over from India, who are unqualified to take advantage of what is offered to them over here, from those innumerable pitfalls and dangers which surround all young men in places of learning and education, but more especially those who come from so far away to carry on their education in this country. The only object that we put before ourselves is that these young men should get the greatest possible benefit from our universities, and that they should go back, not only having reaped advantage to themselves, but also take back with them an inspiration from this country, and an inspiration which would be of benefit to the country of their birth.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will not stand any longer between you and the reader of the paper, and I will ask Mr. Brown to proceed.

The paper was then read.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE said that he would like to express his gratitude to Mr. Brown for the kindly references he had made to him in the paper. The Lecturer had dealt with a subject in which he (the speaker) was at present personally interested, and it was difficult therefore for him to discuss questions which were pending at the moment in connection with Indian students. He expressed his obligations to Mr. Brown for the very appreciative manner in which he had commended the work of his colleagues in the Indian Students' Department. Through good report and bad they had done what he considered valuable work. Till recently he had mostly been watching their work from the outside. He had met many of those who were interested in Indian students, and although he had heard occasional criticism, on the whole the appreciation of their work had greatly outweighed the depreciation or the criticism he had heard. It was needless for him to refer to the observations made by the Lytton Committee

regarding the suspicions that used to attach to their department. Those who knew him well would realize that he would not have undertaken the work if there was the slightest suspicion of espionage attaching to the department.

With regard to the increasing number of Indian students coming to this country, he hoped the numbers who came for an ordinary education would gradually decrease, because he thought they ought to be able to give an ordinary education to Indians in India. (Hear, hear.) He was delighted to see His Excellency the Governor of Burma present; there was no man to whom Indians owed more in connection with providing training in industrial and commercial careers in India. For himself he had always endeavoured to secure the establishment in India of institutions for ordinary education and for industrial education, so as to equip Indians for the struggle in life. He thought there was a tendency for an increase in the number of students who came to this country for an advanced training in industrial and commercial careers; and although the proportion of Indians coming to this country to equip themselves for the Bar or medicine or the public services might decrease, he agreed with Mr. Brown that the total number of Indian students coming to this country would not decrease. As an Indian he considered that all to the good, because, as Mr. Brown had said, those who had the good fortune to spend their early years in this country had been imbued with a strong national feeling; they had also had the advantage of seeing how democratic institutions and public services were conducted in this country, which were of great advantage to them in India. He recalled his years at Cambridge with great affection, and when in this country he always made it a point to renew his acquaintance with people who were his contemporaries there, and it was a source of very great gratification to him to learn from the authorities that most of the Indian students there were acquitting themselves to the entire satisfaction of the authorities. Only that morning he had had a visit from a professor of the London School of Economics and he had heard with pleasure the excellent account of what the young Indian students were doing there. He thought there was no real reason to be concerned with regard to the standard of Indian students coming to this country, and he would like to take that opportunity of impressing on those present the great gratitude which most Indians who had been in this country bore to the people of this country for the kindness and facilities which had been afforded to them. It was sometimes thought that Indians did not appreciate their time here, but his impression was entirely to the contrary. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. H. SKRINE said that, having been in the position of guardian to several Indian students, he was in perfect agreement with Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee that any English man or woman who showed the slightest interest in those boys could rest assured of their gratitude. They had heard a good deal of the dangers to which they were exposed, and he had no doubt that Bolshevik agitators were active amongst them, to the ruin of many. He had sent a memorandum to Lord Lytton's Committee as

long ago as 1921, suggesting the publication in India of a frank statement warning parents against sending their lads to England without ample funds and a definite programme. He had also suggested the issue of a handbook giving advice on all contingencies which students might expect to meet ; the publication of a list of lodgings and a periodical inspection of such lodgings ; also a list of British families willing to extend hospitality to students, and one of employers willing to admit them to apprenticeship. There should also be provision for meeting Indian students arriving in this country. He had often been to Victoria Station and found boys arriving there with no one to receive them. There should also be some special banking facilities provided, and he had reason to believe that Messrs. Cox and Co. or Thomas Cook and Son would be willing to open a special Students' Branch.

In conclusion, he would like to express his entire sympathy with the remarks made by the Lecturer.

Sir THOMAS ARNOLD said the Association had been fortunate in persuading Mr. Brown to speak on so important a subject ; he did not think there was any man who knew so much of the history of the education of Indian students in this country as he did, for he had taken a sympathetic interest in them for many years, and had been associated with the organizers of every single movement which had been started for their welfare, and had enjoyed the confidence of most of them. But Mr. Brown was very discreet, and had told only a tithe of what he knew. He hoped that on some future occasion Mr. Brown would one day give to the world all he knew about this interesting chapter in the history of the relations between East and West ; for it formed part of a much larger movement, the full implications of which we did not yet know. Mr. Brown had been very optimistic, but there were certain melancholy aspects of the question, to which it would be foolish for them to shut their eyes ; there was a large body of opinion expressive of hostility between East and West, for a considerable section of the Indian intelligentsia at the present time cherished hostility towards Western civilization, and many of the most violent exponents of this intellectual attitude had been students in this country. The earlier generation of Indian students went back to India full of enthusiasm and gratitude for Western civilization. Then in the first years of the present century there came the great rush of students, for whom it was difficult to find accommodation, and he could not follow Mr. Brown in withdrawing blame from the universities of this country. They missed a great opportunity for inspiring in the newcomers the same enthusiasm as the earlier generation had felt. Instead of recognizing the fact that there was need of a new organization, they continued to make use of their old-fashioned machinery ; nor had they yet learned to co-operate with one another or with the Government, as they have since the war. One of the strangest examples of this failure of adjustment to new conditions was the attitude of a Scotch professor, who looked upon the benevolent intentions of Lord Morley as a subtle device for drawing away Indian students from Edinburgh to London ! The problem was purely an educational one, but

instead of being so regarded it became a playground for politicians, and got mixed up with a number of political considerations. That was part of the history which he hoped some day Mr. Brown would write. Fortunately it was a phase which had now passed; the Students' Department had now become firmly established and recognized, and he hoped the politicians would in future leave the Department alone (hear, hear), and that the experienced educationists in charge of it would be allowed to carry out unhindered their guidance of the careers of the young men who sought their help.

Before he concluded, he would like to associate himself with Mr. Brown in one conclusion he had arrived at—and he was delighted to see the High Commissioner gave it his approval—and that was that the solution of the problem lay in the provision in India itself of facilities for every possible kind of educational training. Of course, there might be certain facilities that India could not provide, but which England did; but every civilized country had now come to recognize that the proper period for training in a foreign country was after graduation in a home university. The story of misery and ruin one often heard was very largely connected with the fact that students came over here too young, without proper guidance, and too inexperienced to manage for themselves. Much unhappiness would be prevented if students came here only after graduation. Mr. Brown asked for the Intermediate Certificate, but he would prefer to suggest the B.A. as a better standard. In his paper Mr. Brown had referred to the larger amount of social service and philanthropic effort and civic patriotism which the Indian student might learn in this country. Boys, however, could not learn that, but graduates might, and the gain would be all for India. (Hear, hear.)

Sir HARCOURT BUTLER said that he had been so long away from England that he could not speak with much knowledge of the various activities which had been in operation in England, but he could say that out in India they deeply appreciated the work that had been done, often under conditions of great difficulty, by the Students' Department and by those interested in that important work through years of difficulty and trial. He earnestly hoped the movement would be successful after the many struggles it has gone through. He would like to assure them that in India, while they were trying to improve the educational facilities which they could offer to the youth of India and Burma, they were at the same time deeply grateful to those who in England took an interest in the work out there, and wished them all success in their efforts. He could not sit down without paying a tribute to the interest taken by their Chairman in that great movement, and to express the hope that the success which he anticipated would be realized in the future in a continuing degree. (Hear, hear.)

Professor AHLUWALIA GOPALJI said that he had some experience of students in India as a lecturer in Delhi University, and during the few months he had been in England he had studied the conditions just enough to be able to say something about the conditions which existed here. He

had a great admiration for the treatment they received in England, and they had a great many things to learn from the Englishman. He believed there was nothing to beat the Englishman as a business man, and he was certainly not lacking in courtesy and tact, whereas on the Continent people were a little too outspoken, and perhaps a little too frank, and sometimes brutally frank. The greatest thing they could learn in this country was patriotism and national feeling. It was very hard to say exactly how many Indians there were in London, but he was astonished to hear the other day there were about eighty Indian doctors practising in London. He considered that on the whole the Indians in England were very much detached and separated because of a lack of patriotism and organization. Indians ought to mix more freely not only in the social aspects of life, but also study the business attitude of the people here. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the wonderful admiration he possessed for the English character, there were some plain facts which he could hardly ignore. They had all heard of the wonderful achievements of a small number of Indians, but after all not more than about 5 per cent. could ever achieve greatness, and his concern was more for the remaining 95 per cent. ; and he did not think they ought to be led away too much by the achievements of the few, but at the same time they should all strive to make better use of their time in this country.

They had heard all about the temptations for the young and inexperienced student, and it was suggested that they should only come here after graduation. He thought they should come here in still larger numbers for purposes of a visit or for study and particularly research, but they should come better after marriage, and in that way, in his opinion, they would have better facilities for studying the features of English life. (Hear, hear.)

The Right Hon. AMEER ALI said that with the large influx of Indian students into this country in recent years the problem connected with their education had assumed considerable importance, and they were indebted to the Lecturer for having given in such a short compass the history of the movement up to the present day, and especially for his practical suggestions for the improvement of their position, and bringing them into better contact with English life. The part of the paper which interested him most was the one containing Mr. Brown's practical suggestions. There were two points in the history of the question which seemed to him to require special attention : (1) The age at which a student should come to England, and (2) the part their parents should take for making proper provision for them during their stay here. Then undoubtedly there ought to be some organization for the purpose of looking after Indian students. Conditions were different when he first came to this country, and the number of students coming had now considerably increased, and the educational standard was not so high. For that reason he thought Mr. Brown had laid particular stress on the question of such an organization, and they all owed him a debt of gratitude for concentrating his mind upon such a practical question. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I should just like to say one thing before the Lecturer replies. When I came back in 1921 I was up at Oxford a good deal, and had an opportunity of talking to some of the heads of the colleges about this very problem of the Indian student, and I remember being very much struck by the remarks of one head, because it tallied with my own recollection of the position when I was at the University some thirty years ago. He said: "Some thirty years ago, when you were up here, the number of Indian students in Oxford could be counted on a few hands; then they were absorbed in the social life of the college. To-day the problem is quite different; they are so numerous that they find sufficient social life amongst themselves, and in consequence they are not getting the benefit they used to get, because they are not learning of the English social life; they are all getting together and keeping in the old groove of their life in their motherland."

I remember when I was going up to Oxford I had not any particular view as to which college I should join, and my father strongly objected when I suggested I should go to New College. He said: "No, I do not want you to go to New College, for this reason. If you go there," he said, "you will remain in the old groove. Go to any other college and you will keep up your old Wykehamist friends and at the same time you will widen your sphere of acquaintance and get out of the groove you have been in." Therefore I would urge upon my Indian friends, when you come over here try to get into another groove; you need not drop your old Indian friends at the university, but you should try and mix up with English friends. I am confident that if you will only cultivate the social spirit, so far as your English contemporaries are concerned, there will be a ready response, but if, on the other hand, you keep amongst yourselves, naturally they will say: "They do not want anything to do with us, and therefore we will not have anything to do with them," and thus you will not get the full benefit of the life of the college or university.

The LECTURER, in reply, said that the discussion had not brought out a great deal of criticism to answer. The remarks of the Chairman, the High Commissioner, Sir Harcourt Butler, and Mr. Ameer Ali were for the most part confirmatory of the views he had expressed. He was grateful to them for what they had said in regard to his effort to present a picture of the conditions as they existed to-day. His chief critic was his old friend Sir Thomas Arnold, who saw in him an undue discretion, but he was comforted by the reflection that a few years back, when Sir Thomas was responsible for the work of the Department, he greatly valued such discretion in respect to their confidential talks on the Indian student problem. If he had been out to emphasize what Sir Thomas called the sombre side of the picture many things could have been said. He could dilate at length on the faults and failings of the young Indian, or on the faults and failings of our universities in dealing with the problem in the earlier years. His endeavour, however, had been to approach the subject in a spirit of sympathy—in a way calculated to promote good feeling as between the Indian sojourner and the English people. (Hear, hear.) During the

years it had been his privilege to be a publicist in London he had consistently sought to follow that principle, and he was confident that no one present was in greater sympathy with such an aim than Sir Thomas Arnold, so he took his criticism in the kindly spirit in which it was undoubtedly meant.

He noted that the one representative of present or very recent Indian student life was not in any sense bemused by the dazzling instances quoted of former Indian students here who had done great things. Evidently he intended to do as great things himself. At the same time, he (the Lecturer) would like to point out to him that it was good for youth not to be devoid of the spirit of hero worship. If he studied the careers of some of the gentlemen he had mentioned he would find great cause to admire those pioneers of Indian progress. He hoped that he and every other young Indian present would try to follow in their footsteps, and thus show that Indians were capable of still further achievements.

He wished to add that he was deeply indebted to the ex-Viceroy of India for his kindness in taking the chair. The fact had not been mentioned that, throughout a highly diversified and now considerable public career of great distinction, one of Lord Chelmsford's great interests had been the promotion of education. (Hear, hear.) Before Lord Chelmsford went out to India he had put in years of hard work in connection with both elementary and secondary education in the county of London. As they were all aware, he was now occupying the important position of Chairman of the Statutory Commission for the University of Oxford. He was also glad to see with them Sir Henry Sharp, who was Secretary of that Commission. He thought all young Indians present should feel gratified that distinguished men who were paying so much attention to educational matters in this country should be willing to attend and show an interest in their welfare. He hoped incidentally that the work of the Statutory Commission at Oxford would enure to the benefit of Indian students there. (Hear, hear.)

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGREE said he had to perform the pleasant duty of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to their Lecturer and to their noble Chairman. (Cheers.) Lord Chelmsford favoured them with his views, arrived at after a critical study of the problem of the Indian students in Great Britain, which were a valuable contribution to the masterly treatment of that problem by the Lecturer. It had been his privilege during a comparatively long experience of, and close acquaintance with, numbers of the students, to lend a hand in making their sojourn here both instructive and profitable, by responding to the calls often made on him by them or their parents for advice and assistance. (Hear, hear.) He could, therefore, well appreciate the able treatment which their Lecturer had imparted to the subject on which he had engaged their attention. In fact, it was a comprehensive narrative of the difficulties which, on the one hand, students from India were confronted with here, and, on the other, those who had to guide or take care of them had to grapple with. The address offered many points for reflection and also made valuable

suggestions to parents in India ; the two among them not of less importance than the rest being that a student should be properly provided with the necessary resources for his needs, and sent here only after he has proved his diligence for study in his earlier years in India. (Hear, hear.)

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

The following letter on the subject is reprinted from the *Morning Post*. Sir Charles Yate was unfortunately prevented from speaking at the meeting owing to the lateness of the hour :

SIR,—The notes on the problem of Indian students published by you on April 25 raise a question of particular importance at the present time. Mr. Rustom Rustomjee is therein reported to have stated that "Socialist agencies are actively at work, which makes the education of Indians a speciality." In a previous communication published in the Press on December 5 last, Mr. Rustom Rustomjee stated that when in India what grieved him most was the discovery that those who were most bitterly hostile to the British were mostly those who were educated in Great Britain, and that on his return to England he

"found out that this animosity to the British was the direct result of the poisonous influence exercised by the Socialists and Bolsheviks of Great Britain upon the ill-nurtured and immature minds of Indian youth in the United Kingdom."

He added that he had

"discovered that organized efforts are continuously being made to capture the young men and women who come to this country from India either for the purpose of study or business."

At a meeting of the East India Association on April 27 last a paper was read by Mr. F. H. Brown on "Indian Students in Great Britain" and in the subsequent discussion, as reported in the Press next day, Sir Thomas Arnold, than whom there could be no greater authority, stated that

"students who had received part of their education in England were among the most active section of the Indian intelligentsia which at present cherished hostility towards Western civilisation ;"

while Mr. F. H. Skrine stated that Bolshevik agents were actively at work perverting Indian students, and gave an instance from his own personal knowledge of a promising Indian lad who had been ruined by their propaganda. He also referred to proposals for improving the very lax supervision exercised over these young Indians. Now there can be no doubt that Indian parents, in sending their boys to England, do not do so with the wish or intention that the boys should be turned into either Socialists, Communists, or Anarchists, and it seems only right that the parents should have some guarantee that their sons, while over here, will be safeguarded against these influences. Mr. Brown, in his lecture, reminded his audience that

"Indian students share with other students from abroad, notably Japanese and Chinese, the existence of special organizations for their welfare promoted by the State."

The special organization promoted by the State for the welfare and interests of Indian students in Great Britain is known as the Indian Students' Department, under the special charge of the High Commissioner for India, and on that Department lies the responsibility for the welfare or otherwise of the students. I am in complete sympathy, as is Mr. Brown, with those who hold that

"there should be no necessity for the ambitious young Indian to come to this country in order to fit himself for a career in his own land."

But the standard of education at the various Indian Universities is so low that until measures are taken in India to raise the Indian standards to a level with English standards I see little chance of the present tendency for Indian youths to come to England "inadequately equipped by previous study for admission to the institutions they seek to enter" being checked unless special measures are taken to check them.

I can only trust that the High Commissioner for India will take the matter up in earnest and do his best, first of all, to put a stop to the sending of young, imperfectly educated boys to England, except to certain recognized schools and colleges, where they are under proper care and supervision and where there is someone to take charge of them *in loco parentis*; and, secondly, to safeguard those who come of maturer age from the effects of the mischievous influence of the so-called "friends of India" complained of by Mr. Rustomjee. At present these young students, of whom there are said to be something like 1,000 now loose in London, mostly congregate at the Indian hostel, which, according to Mr. Brown, is "free from all official control and patronage, and where political discussion is not restricted in any way."

This hostel was founded with the excellent intention of providing facilities for social intercourse between Indian students and English people, but has failed apparently entirely in this respect, and, though Sir Thomas Arnold expressed the hope that the politicians would leave the Indian students alone, nothing but the most drastic steps will put a stop to the mischief that is now being done. It rests, therefore, with the High Commissioner for India and his Indian Students' Department whether the Indian lads are to return to India benefited by their sojourn in England, or, on the contrary, imbued with hatred of everything British that will embitter the rest of their lives.

Yours, etc.,

CHARLES E. YATE.

Sir HENRY SHARP writes :

As regards the Department, my experience is that, despite the outcries occasionally raised against it, Indians who had had relations studying in England, and who knew something of the working of the Department, spoke about it to me in private in terms of high praise, though themselves quick enough to criticize Government in its works in other matters. For the rest, much misinformation was conveyed back to India about the Department and 21, Cromwell Road, and the difficulties of the Depart-

ment were not appreciated. The cessation of the annual reports was a misfortune ; their renewal by Mr. N. C. Sen and Dr. Qualye was a good thing, and is having a wholesome effect.

To my mind, the most troublesome question is that of accommodation. London is the difficulty. I am sure the hostel in Gower Street is doing excellent work, and, so far as one can see, that or something like it is the only practical solution. But it means that the Indian student in England is living largely in an Indian atmosphere, and is hence not reaping all the benefit he might from his sojourn abroad. Facts must be faced ; the numbers are now too large to be easily absorbed, as they could be absorbed when I was at Oxford.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL LIFE IN INDIA

BY PROFESSOR NAGENDRA N. GANGULEE

THE ever-increasing demand for rural reconstruction among the most industrially advanced countries signifies that the disparity of conditions between urban and rural life has begun to react on the life of the nations. Supported by mechanical inventions, the industrial revolution set in motion the most complex politico-economic forces which have shaped the character of modern civilization since the last half of the eighteenth century. The world market was discovered, cities grew, industries expanded by leaps and bounds, and state polity came to be dominated by urban interests. The new civilization passed the farmer by.

But this inevitable subordination of rural to urban interests resulted in raising a host of complicated social and economic problems, and the issues involved in them became so vitally important that they could not be relegated to the background any longer. Consequently, since the beginning of the twentieth century, among the advanced countries there has grown a distinct tendency towards what may be called "rural revival." In America, a country already equipped with the resources of scientific agriculture, President Roosevelt forced the problem of rural life to the front by appointing the Country Life Commission. The findings of the Commission brought home to the politicians of the country the urgency of protecting the fundamental interests of the peasantry, and thus a way was prepared for necessary legislative reforms designed for the welfare of the rural population.

One of the striking post-war developments in Great Britain is the anxiety of the Government to frame a stable agricultural policy in order to place British agriculture on a sound economic basis. In the last session of Parliament,

for instance, three measures (*e.g.*, the Agricultural Returns Bill, the Forestry Bill, and the Importation of Pedigree Animals Bill) directly concerned with the betterment of agriculture were brought forward. Various organized farming bodies are asking for such reforms as would enable them to bring the conditions of agricultural production and distribution in line with modern economic tendencies.

Broadly speaking, there are two aspects of the problem of agriculture—one being scientific and the other economic. In America and in many of the European countries agricultural research and education were instituted in the middle of the nineteenth century. The science of agriculture has made tremendous advances since then, but the application of the knowledge gained presents a new problem. With the rapid development of better and cheaper transportation there came into existence what the economists call the world market, and with its growth the transition of agriculture into the commercialized stage was effected at a pace far in advance of scientific agriculture. The situation calls for necessary readjustments in the whole economic basis of the farming industry, and in every corner of the civilized world this process of adjustment is in operation.

Drawn into the sphere of influence of the world's commerce, India found herself unprepared. Two decades ago Lord Curzon, with his characteristic ability, gave his attention to the question of agricultural research in India. A central research institute was established. Spasmodic and disconnected labours of individual officers were thus replaced by systematic investigations of the fundamental problems of Indian agriculture. Progress made in this direction indicated the possibilities of the farming industry in India, and the complacent belief that "there was little or nothing that could be improved" was discountenanced.

My apology for introducing the subject of agriculture as a preamble to the discussion of the problems of Indian rural life is that agriculture is the basis of a rural existence. No nation can hope to check the disintegration of rural

life without establishing the farming industry on a sound economic foundation.

Now the population of India is characteristically rural. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people, and will remain so for an immeasurable period of time. We are, therefore, justified in examining the problems of Indian rural life under three heads—namely, Farm Economics, Farm Production, and Farm Life.

1. FARM ECONOMICS.

That the economic situation may restrict agricultural progress may be adequately illustrated by the present position of British agriculture. With all the resources and strength of organization, if the British farmer finds himself drifting before the currents of the world's economic forces, consider the plight of the Indian peasantry.

As the basis of all successful agricultural efforts lies in efficient organizations, we proceed to examine briefly some of the conditions under which the Indian peasant works. It is necessary to regard the farming industry as "business," taking cognizance of the fact that the essential economic factors operate freely on urban as well as on rural pursuits.

Our first consideration in farm economics must of necessity be the land as an economic unit. It is well known that in India the disastrous processes of subdivision and fragmentation of holdings have been going on at such a rate that agriculture is on the verge of bankruptcy. Those who constantly fix their gaze on Whitehall and Delhi for constitutional advances would do well to glance at the following observations.

Dr. Mann, in his economic survey of a village in the Bombay Presidency, found that in 1771 the average size of the holding was 44 acres, and by 1915 it had been reduced to 7 acres. Of the total number of holdings in the village 81 per cent. are now under 10 acres in size and 60 per cent. under 5 acres. The extent of fragmentation

may be realized from the fact that these holdings are split up into 729 separate plots, of which 463 are less than 1 acre and 112 less than $\frac{1}{4}$ acre. In a village in the Madras Presidency Dr. Slater found that in 1882 there were 112 holdings paying Rs. 10 and less in *kist*, but in 1916 the number rose as high as 366. My own investigation in Bengal confirms the existence of this disruptive tendency which is rapidly reducing a large proportion of agricultural land into uneconomic holdings.

Mr. Thompson, in Bengal, finds the size of the agricultural holding to be about 2.215 acres per cultivator, and according to the census of 1921 the average comes to $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and it must be remembered that these acres are very often divided into many fragments. Day by day the most disastrous consequences of this state of affairs on rural economy are making themselves felt. Knowing that for his livelihood he could not depend on such a small holding, the owner puts in very little effort to "better farming," and even if he did, its production could not have maintained his family. Thus, in the absence of any organized rural industries, chronic unemployment has become one of the striking characteristics of Indian rural life. The Census Superintendent of Bengal says: "It is largely the land system of the country that is responsible for the present conditions. In other countries, where the holdings are comparatively large, and the farmer can only manage with his own hands a fraction of what work there is to be done, he employs hired labourers, and engages as many as are required to do the work, and no more. In Bengal the holdings have been so minutely subdivided that there is not enough work for the cultivators; but, on the other hand, there is no other work to which they can turn their hand." In the Punjab Mr. Calvert has recently shown that the work done by the average cultivator does not represent more than 150 days of full labour in twelve months. Space will not permit me to analyze the situation in any detail, but it is clear that the time has come for

decisive action. As the economic motive in Indian life is largely dominated by social customs and tradition, the representatives of the people brought into existence by the Indian reforms must realize that they cannot establish a twentieth-century form of government on fifth-century socio-economic organizations.

Turning to the second factor—that is, farm capital—we are confronted with the problem of the heavy indebtedness of the Indian peasantry. While the co-operative movement, instituted about fifteen years ago, has made considerable progress in this short time, the fact remains that the vast bulk of the agricultural population require to borrow even for the bare necessities of a primitive agricultural practice. From what I have seen in Bengal, I have an impression that the benefits of the co-operative movement do not reach the substratum of the peasantry. The fact that the necessary stimulus to the development of the movement has not come from those who love to designate themselves as “the natural leaders of the masses” appears to be significant. For that closely allied group known as the money-lending classes—consisting of zemindar, talukdar, lawyer, trader, village shopkeeper, priest, and numerous other associates—reap rich harvests of interest from the peasantry. By virtue of being in possession of liquid capital, and also by their place in the social organizations, they have a very strong grip on the rural masses. The commercialization of agriculture has made the position of the money-lending classes almost indispensable and hence more secure.

This brings us to the third factor in farm economics. The importance of better marketing facilities for agricultural products is such that any deficiency in the system is bound to retard agricultural progress. As the production is small and the means of transportation extremely inefficient, it is practically impossible for the grower to reach the market centres without the intervention of several middlemen. I may mention, in passing, that rural roads

in India are unsatisfactory, and that the progress in this direction has been extremely inadequate. The total mileage of metalled and unmetalled roads in the British territory is about 216,000.

In considering the problem of marketing, we must bear in mind that, generally speaking, the greater portion of the prospective harvest is held in mortgage to the village trader. Once drawn into the vicious circle which surrounds the Indian markets, the cultivator cannot hope to receive the full benefits of the current prices. As an illustration, I beg to draw your attention to the following data collected by me in a market near Calcutta:

Crop.	Price per 82 Lbs. on a Certain Date.			
	" Mortgaged " Crop.		" Free " Crop.	
	R.	a.	R.	a.
Jute	5	8 to 6	8	10 to 9
Linseed	1	8 to 1	2	8 to 2
Grain	4	8 to 5	6	12 to 7

The disparity between the profits made by brokers and dealers and the prices the grower receives is so enormous that in the marketing centres all over the country "money-lenders congregate as flies over jam," and they are soon able to entangle the growers of the neighbourhood into permanent indebtedness.

Let us visualize a peasant bringing his crop to an "organized" market, such as Lyallpur. Having accepted the price dictated by the *ahrti* (commission agent), the seller has to pay *paledar* for emptying and filling bag, *toledar* for weighing, *chanddar* for separating dust from the grain. He is also made to contribute a fixed charge for local charity and for the maintenance of *gansala* (cow hospital). This is not all. The *ahrti's* household must be satisfied; therefore he charges cash for his *langri* (cook) and *bhisti* (water-carrier), and the sweeper takes his share in kind out of the grain from the seller. Then, as regards

the accuracy of weights and measures employed by the *ahrti*, Heaven alone knows how variable they are!

The picture is not a bright one, and no industry can hold its own under such economic handicaps.

2. FARM PRODUCTION

Having briefly reviewed some of the economic circumstances which are obstructing the channels of many possible improvements in Indian agriculture, we set out to examine the question of crop production. Do we obtain from our agricultural land that amount of produce which, after meeting the needs of the people, must leave sufficient residue for maintaining the balance of trade? Or are we carrying on this national industry as a going concern? If it were possible to make out a "profit and loss account" for the average cultivator, we should then be able to find some explanation why the vast population of India lives on the edge of extreme poverty. A critical examination of the available agricultural statistics for British India from 1911 to 1919 shows that there has been on the average a yearly deficit of about 10·3 million tons of food-grains and pulses, and that it cannot be met even if the exports are strictly prohibited. One cannot challenge the conclusions of Professor Dayashankar Dubey that "64·6 per cent. of the population lives always on insufficient food, getting only about 73 per cent. of the minimum requirement for maintaining efficiency. In other words, it clearly shows that two-thirds of the population always get only three-quarters of the amount of food-grains they should have."

But this state of semi-starvation is chiefly the result of persistent soil-erosion and soil-exhaustion, which have brought the greater part of the cultivated land to its fertility level, and if this is allowed to continue, the day of reckoning is not far.

One word about soil-fertility. Agricultural science has taught us to treat the soil like a bank account. Continuous cropping without an adequate supply of the three

essential elements—nitrogen, phosphorus, and potash—cannot maintain the productiveness of the land. There has been no systematic soil-survey in India, and, consequently, I am not able to present before you any extensive data on soil-exhaustion. But a recent preliminary survey of the Delta tracts in Madras has thrown some light on the subject.

Delta.	Deficiency in Phosphate.	Deficiency in Nitrogen.
	Percentage of Sample.	Percentage of Sample.
Godavari	23	40
Krishna	33	55
Gunhir	33	81
Tanjore	80	87

The case of Madras is, to a great extent, the case of other provinces. Referring to four chief soils of the Central Provinces, Dr. Clouston remarked that in most districts they had reached a state of maximum impoverishment. Mr. Davis has drawn our attention to the phosphate depletion in Bihar soil. Thus the agricultural capital of the soil in India is also being rapidly depreciated. With these facts before us, is it impertinent to ask whether Indian agriculture of 1925 is based upon the rock or upon the sand? A comparison in wheat-yield with other countries may help us to realize where we stand.

AVERAGE YIELD OF WHEAT (1909-1913)

	Bushels per Acre.
Belgium	37
United Kingdom	32
Germany	32
Egypt	26
New Zealand	25
Austria	20
Japan	20
Roumania	19
Canada	19
Bulgaria	15
United States	14
INDIA	12

"At present," writes Dr. Norris, "there is a tendency to face the problem of low yield in another way, by the attempt to bring into cultivation large areas of more or less unprofitable land; but judged only from the point of view of production, this can have but little permanent value, and cannot be regarded as anything but a palliative of a temporary nature." The increased production of essential Indian crops can only be brought about by a comprehensive agricultural policy. There is no question that "better farming" is possible in India, and agricultural science has already given us the promise of such possibilities. But, I repeat, the value of the assistance that science may offer is greatly discounted by economic and social handicaps.

Therefore, the country must be awakened to the realities of the present situation. The insistent and increasing demand of the world for jute, cotton, wheat, and other commercial crops which India is able to produce has radically altered her economic relations with the world. The agricultural system and the socio-economic organizations which supported it might have been intrinsically sound under the conditions of the past; but they become uneconomic and, consequently, fatal to progress when a pressure of the world's market and also of internal requirements begins to assert itself.

3. FARM LIFE

There is one more item to consider. That is the human factor. In an economic analysis of rural problems the "man behind the plough" must of necessity engage our attention. The description of the Indian masses as "millions of squalid people, densely ignorant and unspeakably filthy," and desultory discussions about them are so common in the Press and on the platform, that I feel it is unnecessary to make an attempt to depict Indian peasant life before you. Sentimentalism has no place in economic science; but I do ask you to consider the conditions under

which the Indian peasant lives in relation to efficiency in producing the necessary raw materials for himself and for the Empire. Since Indian agriculture depends largely on manual labour, the chief asset must be the output of physical energy of which the worker is capable. As the physical fitness cannot be easily assessed, "the expectation of life" at any specified age may be taken as an indication of physical well-being.

In this connection a table based on the data computed by the famous statistician, Dr. Glover, from the official figures for each country is illuminating. "These life expectations mean that, on the average, individuals alive at a given age have the number of years to live stated in the column for that age."

EXPECTATION OF LIFE IN YEARS

(*Males above, Females below.*)

Countries.	Period.	Age 20.	Age 30.	Age 40.
1. Denmark	1906-10	46'30 48'10	38'00 40'10	29'70 32'00
2. England	1901-10	43'01 45'77	34'76 37'36	26'96 29'37
3. Italy	1901-10	43'27 43'69	35'94 36'58	28'23 29'18
4. Japan	1898-03	40'35 41'06	33'44 34'84	26'03 28'19
5. India	1901-10	27'46 27'96	22'44 22'99	18'02 18'49

The table covers the best working period of a peasant's life. In examining the table, the discrepancy between the Indian and the other people considered is only too apparent, and indicates a state of affairs inimical to the development of a vigorous peasantry.

If we consider, along with these figures, the period of illness during the lifetime of the average Indian peasant, we may then realize that he is not an efficient economic unit in the farming industry. While various factors—historical, social, and climatic—have combined to produce

the present state of rural sanitation and hygiene, it must be admitted that, with organized efforts, considerable progress may be made to improve the situation. Professor Rushbrook Williams has recently drawn our attention to the problem. He says: "In the matter of rural sanitation, which affects the lives of some 90 per cent. of India's millions, very little has been accomplished. The average Indian village is, as a rule, little better than a collection of insanitary dwellings situated on a dunghill."

One has to admit that the rural backwardness is in the rural mind. Therefore the fundamental requisite to necessary reforms, either in this matter of sanitary improvement or in relation to economic adjustments, is education. But that leaven is absent in the mass of the people. In India we have utterly ignored the problem of rural education, and Sir George Anderson is justified in saying "that the comparatively wealthy urban area has profited by the provision of facilities for advanced school education at the expense of poorer rural tracts."

Such are the main problems of Indian rural life. I do not for a moment suggest that the Government is oblivious to them; but I feel that the time has come for a comprehensive measure of rural reconstruction. Democracy in India cannot be successful unless the rural population is allowed to acquire strength to support that form of government. While the sober opinion in India is conscious of the need of progressive and expansive adaptation to the conditions brought about by her status in the British Empire, much now depends on the lead from the supreme Government. We have had enough of constitution making and constitution breaking. It is now necessary to get seriously to work at the problems on whose solution the salvation of the millions of India depend. For, in the words of a Chinese philosopher, "The well-being of a people is like a tree; agriculture is its root, manufacture and commerce are its branches and its life; if the root is injured and the leaves fall, the branches break away, and the tree dies."

This is my plea for a Royal Commission for an enquiry into the problems of Indian rural life.

While it is gratifying to note that there is a general agreement as to the need of such an enquiry, the proposal of a Royal Commission has evoked some criticism. It has been suggested that "Governments notoriously are addicted to shelving all such problems by the appointment of Royal Commissions." But, judging from the services rendered to India by various Commissions, I feel that we are not justified in accusing the Government of this expensive method of "shelving" the complex problems with which it is confronted. Take a few examples. The remarkable improvement in the health of British troops in India, whose death-rate fell from 20·37 in 1875-79 to 5·94 in 1915, is undoubtedly due to the direction given by the Army Commission. Again, the fact that India to-day has the largest area of irrigated land of any country in the world, and is now developing a scheme involving £12,000,000, which will turn an arid desert into 6 million acres of cultivated land, is the logical outcome of the irrigation policy formulated by the Irrigation Commission. As a result of the Famine Commission, we have a famine code which has proved itself invaluable in times of sudden stress. It was this Commission which first drew the attention of the Government and the public to the urgency of establishing the departments of agriculture in each province, and of making suitable arrangements for imparting agricultural education to the people. The Industrial Commission, appointed during the war period, has indeed placed before the country a storehouse of information which will be of great assistance to the Government in formulating an industrial policy. There is no evidence that the important question of the public services in India has been "shelved" by appointing two successive Royal Commissions. The British statesmen have repeatedly acknowledged that "the rural classes in India have the greatest stake in the country, because they contribute most to its revenues." Therefore,

I cannot persuade myself to believe that the findings of a Commission appointed to examine the foundations of Indian rural economics will remain "shelved" in the archives of Whitehall and Delhi.

I have been warned that, in view of the complexities involved in the problem, it would be impossible to draw up the terms of reference. Although the scope of such an enquiry must of necessity cover a wide range, it may be limited to the fundamental aspects of the problem. The chief concern of the Commission will be to discover what are the handicaps to the betterment of economic conditions in rural India, and the causes to which they are owing; whether those causes are of a permanent character, and to what extent they may be removed by the pursuit of a well-devised rural policy.

The difficulty arising out of the varied conditions in different parts of British India may be overcome by appointing a number of assistant commissioners. Each typical agricultural area may be assigned to them for collecting such facts as may be required by the Commission. Such was the method adopted by the Royal Commissions of 1879 and 1893 on agricultural depression in Great Britain and Ireland.

It should be obvious to every sane man that no Royal Commission is charged with the task of finding "some one panacea" for the maladjustments it seeks to analyze and diagnose. If the Commission succeeds in bringing to the surface the true nature of the circumstances which are inhibiting the revitalizing processes in rural India, and if it can create a public opinion of the country in favour of necessary social and legislative reforms, it will have fulfilled its mission.

But my Swarajist friends assure me that no good will come out of such a Royal Commission unless the heart of the Government is changed. My reply is, the appointment of such a Commission will clearly indicate that the Government is solicitous for the economic welfare of the

people, and is anxious to assist the Indian Ministers in their efforts to grasp the underlying realities of India's problems. The leaders of the Swarajist party are at present in a mood of reconciliation, and I feel confident that the auspicious time for co-operation and co-ordination with them has come. I do not hesitate to assert that the problem of reorganizing the socio-economic life of the Indian peasantry will furnish all concerned in the welfare of India with a *common* task.

It remains for me to make a brief reference to the criticism, in which I am reminded of the fact "that whatever can be done officially is being done to promote the prosperity of India's masses," and that, owing to the rapid increase in the population, nothing could be done to solve India's poverty problem. I am fully aware of the resources of agricultural science and organizations which are benefiting the Indian peasantry; but have we explored the agricultural possibilities of the country or adjusted our worn-out organizations to the needs of agricultural commerce? Any failure to make such adjustments constitutes a defect which may become a danger.

Population problems and their relation to the productivity of the land have been lately discussed by the Census Commissioner. In 1901 the total population was 294 millions; in 1911 it rose to 315 millions, and in 1921 slightly less than 319 millions—that is, the total gain between 1911 and 1921 was only 3,786,000 people, or 1·2 per cent. I agree with Professor East of the Harvard University in his conclusion "that India has reached a point where it is impossible for her to increase rapidly by an excess of births over deaths."

Be that what it may, if it is true that the declared mission of Britain in India is to uplift about one-fifth of humanity to that condition of existence in which life can find full play for development, if Indo-British relations are to be fruitful in the unity that comes from the growth of healthy life, then it is hoped that this plea for an enquiry into Indian rural life will not have been made in vain.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, May 18, 1925, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, at which a paper was read by Professor Nagendra Nath Gangulee, entitled "The Problem of Rural Life in India."

The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present :

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Montague Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John O. Miller, K.C.S.I., Sir Herbert and Lady Holmwood, Lady Elliott, Lady Hare, Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. O. Rothfield, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mrs. N. C. Sen, The Begum Fyzee-Rahamin, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Miss Hammick, Mr. F. W. Brownrigg, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mr. Arnold Lupton, Mr. B. C. Wadhwa, Mr. H. Sandon, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. Haigh, Colonel Warliker, Miss Partridge, Dr. S. S. Mohamedi, Mr. Ismail, Mrs. Charles, Mr. H. J. Sherborne, Mr. Greathead Harper, Mr. Mark B. F. Major, Mr. B. Burton, Miss Solomon, Mr. S. Segal, Mrs. Gray, Miss M. A. Neyer, Miss M. Gregory, Miss Nina Corner, Professor A. Gopalji, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—Even in this country one is always searching about, not always with success, and sometimes with a lack of continuity, for an agricultural policy. Unfortunately, we are always borne down by the great mass of opinion, not always highly instructed, of the townsman ; but they are very much more fortunate in India, because the great mass of the people there, as we all know, are engaged or connected with the science of agriculture. They have not got there this preponderating opinion, as we have in this country, of the townsman. Therefore in India they are more fortunately placed, and the question of a good policy in agriculture is even more important than it is in this country.

Now, Professor Gangulee, who is going to read to us a paper this afternoon, is singularly well equipped for the task, both from the practical and the theoretical side. He started by a course of three and a half years of study in the University of Illinois, where he obtained the B.Sc. Then he acquired practical experience in the management of a farm in Bengal, and his attention there was called very strongly to the necessity of scientific agriculture among the Indian people, and he wrote two books on the problem of Indian agriculture, one of them called "War and Agriculture." Between 1918 and 1920 he undertook a tour throughout India in order to obtain first-hand knowledge of the problems connected with agriculture in that country, and he attempted with success to set up and establish a band of workers in order to study the question of reconstruction in agriculture. At present he holds the Chair of Agriculture and Rural Economics at

Calcutta University. Then he was granted leave to enable him to study the problems connected with soil fertility at the famous Rothamsted experimental station, and there he acquired considerable knowledge connected with those difficult and intricate problems. He holds the view that political problems are occupying the political mind of India rather too much, and that they have not addressed themselves always to those underlying economic questions which have an influence far transcending in many directions the political questions themselves. He realizes that it is no use having a wide political advance in self-government unless it is accompanied by an intelligent application of science to agriculture. I think he is aware, too, that economic problems are now the dominant problems in government generally.

We have, then, a man singularly well equipped for discussing the problem of Indian agriculture. He does not look upon the problem from the somewhat narrow point of view of the agriculturist, but he is equipped from both sides, from the Government point of view and from the theoretic side, and also—which many of our advisers on agriculture are lacking—from the point of view of working experience. I invite you therefore with great satisfaction to listen to Professor Gangulee's lecture. (Hear, hear.)

I only hope the audience and Professor Gangulee will pardon me, but in the course of a few minutes I shall have to retire, because I have, unfortunately, another important appointment to attend to.

The Lecture was then read.

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington then took the chair.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said he would like to congratulate the Professor most heartily on his excellent lecture.

He quite agreed with what the Lecturer had said about the subdivision of holdings, which was going on most disastrously in India at the present time. The Lecturer had quoted various authorities to show how hopelessly the land in the various provinces was divided up, and that it was largely the land system of the country which was responsible for the present conditions. He had also pointed out that "the representatives of the people brought into existence by the Indian Reforms must realize that they cannot establish a twentieth-century form of government on fifth-century socio-economic organizations"—a wise saying, which it was hoped their President would convey to the present Secretary of State for India, as it certainly deserved serious consideration.

With reference to the heavy indebtedness of the Indian peasantry and the money-lending classes, who reap rich harvests of interest from the peasants, he could only hope that the co-operative movement would go on increasing, and eventually save the peasantry from the village money-lender. The Lecturer had rightly called attention to the fact that the necessary stimulus to the development of the movement had not come from those who love to designate themselves as "the natural leaders of the masses."

With regard to the Lecturer's remarks as to the description of the Indian masses as "millions of squalid people, densely ignorant, and unspeakably filthy," he entirely disagreed with that description; he re-

garded the Indian peasant as one of the cleanest peasants in the world, and he would like to contradict that statement.

Regarding the Lecturer's reference to the political aspect in India, he fully agreed in hoping that the members of the Legislative Assembly would in the future turn their attention to what were really the needs of the rural masses of the country; as the Lecturer had truly said, "we have had enough of constitution making and constitution breaking."

With regard to the Lecturer's suggestion for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the problems of Indian rural life, one had only to point to what was happening in this country, where it seemed impossible to get people to agree on how to benefit agriculture. India was not one country like England, but a continent of many countries, and the differences among the people of the various provinces were enormous. In his opinion it would be better for the Government to appoint a separate committee in each province to go into the question, and then for the chairman of each of those different committees to meet—say, at Delhi—and see if they could not bring out some useful report applicable to each of the various provinces. He did not think a Royal Commission for the whole of India would be advisable, but, of course, that was a matter of opinion.

The Lecturer had told them that his Swarajist friends assured him that no good could come out of a Royal Commission "unless the heart of the Government is changed." Now this expression about "change of heart" does not seem to be a monopoly of the Swarajists alone. In the papers there is a telegram from Calcutta of May 17 in which Sir Surendranath Banerjee is reported to have stated with reference to the Swarajists themselves that "our doors are open to them and the Liberal party will welcome them if there is a change of heart and a real guarantee." Evidently it is amongst the Indian politicians themselves that this "change of heart" is necessary. There is no change of heart required on the part of the Government. The Government is ready and anxious at all times to do its best to "assist the Indian Ministers to grasp the underlying realities of India's problems." The unfortunate part of it is that the Indian politicians have hitherto made no effort to do this, and if there was one thing more than another brought out by the Professor's lecture it was that it is hopeless and futile to expect that anything will be done under the present system of diarchy Government in India to "promote the prosperity of India's masses," so ardently asked for by the Lecturer.

Mr. O. ROTHFIELD said that he had been closely connected with the co-operative movement in India and questions of agriculture, and he hoped he might be allowed to sweep away some of the misconceptions about the movement. Sir Charles Yate was apparently under the impression that persons who called themselves the leaders of the people had taken no part in the movement. The facts were that the co-operative movement had been supported and led by Indians, and business men largely had taken a leading part in it. It had been said that under no circumstances could the benefit of the movement reach the poorer classes of the agriculturists. Of course they could not take men who were destitute and make them rich by making them members of a co-operative society, but what it did was to

take those who had the possibility of making a living out of their trade, and help them to do so with self-respect, and also helped them towards a better system of marketing, which was of the first necessity in India.

The main point the Lecturer had touched upon was the fact that India had been dragged into the world market. Twenty-five years ago the cultivator grew crops for his own subsistence, but to-day he grew crops to sell in the market. Then there was the fact of the enormous amount of cutting up of holdings which reduced some strips of land meant for cultivation to little more than the size of a table, and under such conditions profitable cultivation was impossible. In his opinion, until the Legislature passed a measure to facilitate re-stripping, there would be no improvement, and that was a question which should be pressed on the Provincial Governments concerned. He disagreed with the Lecturer's suggestion of relying on a supreme Government; until they had a much greater provincial autonomy they would not get the necessary improvement in any of the things which touched the daily lives of the people to the extent that agriculture did.

In conclusion, he wished to say how much he had enjoyed the paper, and he thought the effort which had been made to state the facts succinctly was really remarkable, and did great credit to the Professor. (Hear, hear.)

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON said he had great pleasure in joining with Sir Charles Yate in congratulating the Lecturer on the admirable way in which he had presented his case for the appointment of a Royal Commission, but he still doubted whether a Royal Commission was the best way of arriving at any improvement in the rural conditions of India. The question was one of great importance, when one remembered that there were about 220,000,000 acres under cultivation in British India, and that the gross value of the crops in a good year was well over a thousand crores of rupees, so that even a small percentage of improvement meant a large increase in the wealth of the country. His own experience as a member of the Indian Industrial Commission had not been altogether satisfactory; some of the points raised in the paper were dealt with in this report, amongst them being provision for a powerful central authority to deal with the various problems connected with agriculture, but unfortunately political considerations favoured the transfer of agriculture and industries to the Provincial Governments, and, contrary to the advice of the Commission, the whole of the proposed central organization was scrapped, with the result that much work which might have been started had proved to be beyond the resources of local administrations. A recent tour through to the North of India had given him the advantage of seeing how things were going on, and he had noticed how comparatively little was being done, and how indifferent each province was to the work going on in the other provinces. If a Royal Commission could remedy such matters, he was in favour of one, but it would be difficult to prevent politicians being appointed on the Commission—men who generally wanted to write a Minority Report. (Hear, hear.) Such being the case, he had come to the conclusion that it would be advisable to try to work on the co-operative principle. It seemed to him that a Federal Council composed of expert

members nominated by each Province could be established, independent of the Government of India altogether, and they might meet to discuss the problems before them and frame programmes of work. In that way it might be possible to evoke more active interest in the matter, and by co-ordinated effort solve some of the problems now under discussion. (Hear, hear.)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN said that, with 70 per cent. of the population of India dependent on the cultivation of the soil, and 90 per cent. of it living in rural localities, it was obvious that whatever political and industrial developments the future might have in store for India, rural and agricultural development, both on its economic and commercial, as well as on its technical and scientific, sides, must certainly occupy a position of pre-eminent importance, because it was the chief means towards the development of India's political and cultural capacity. It was one of the most regrettable features of the political turmoil which had characterized the recent past in India that it had tended to relegate to obscurity the more pressing material needs of the masses. And, amid such needs, all that bore on the subject of rural and agricultural development must occupy a foremost position. In saying this, he made no suggestion that the problem of political development was not worthy of the attention which had been devoted to it. He thought the Lecturer had not given quite sufficient consideration to what had been already done for promoting the rural prosperity of India. A very long step had, in recent years, been taken in dealing with agricultural indebtedness by the introduction of co-operative rural societies. In the Punjab, for instance, there were at least 8,000 of those societies, with a membership of 200,000 and a working capital of some two crores of rupees. They supplied a means whereby the peasant could secure on equitable and fairly easy terms capital for the prosecution of his industry. In this respect the position was very much better than it was when he went to India forty years ago. What had been done already was full of instruction and encouragement as to what might still be done in the very wide field which still remained. He was disposed to agree that something in the nature of a scientific enquiry was desirable, whether that took the rather cumbrous form of a Royal Commission, or some other shape likely to lead to more speedy practical results. But, in any case, an immense mass of material was available in India, though in an undigested and inco-ordinated form. A principal function of the enquiry suggested would be to digest the information which already existed in such vast volume about the condition of rural India.

Mr. ARNOLD LUPTON said he had listened with interest to six men of great experience ; they had not contradicted any of the statements made by the Lecturer as to the condition of the people. Professor Gangulee supports William Digby, who filled his book with reports from the highest English officials in India, the saddest book in the English language, called "Prosperous British India." It was true that 50,000,000 people in India, from January 1 to December 31, never had one full meal in the whole year. What was one to think of the Government ? The prevailing agitation for a change of Government was the one hopeful sign of the times.

The land over large areas had got to the very lowest point of production in India through the want of manure. This deplorable condition came about because no one insisted on the necessary manuring of the land by the tenants, as was done by the landowners in England.

The Indian Government statistics were first-class, and he found from them the total food production of India, and that there was just enough, equally divided, to provide for every human being—if there had been no animals to feed. The domestic animals of all sizes, not counting poultry, were equivalent to 170,000,000 oxen; in addition to grass, straw, and other green food, they required corn. There was no surplus corn production, so that what corn the animals had, in effect, came from the stomachs of the Indians. This could easily be remedied; he had described the means in his book, "Happy India." But it was necessary for the Government to take the matter in hand; if they did, at a trifling expense, in a few years, there might be general prosperity and abundant food for all. But the Viceroy and their courts took more interest in Tibet, the North-West Frontier, and Afghanistan than in the daily life of a submissive peasantry.

Professor AHLUWALIA GOPALJI said: In India people expect everything from a Government responsible to the British Government. They ought to work out practical problems, help themselves, and avoid much talk and unnecessary criticism. The three greatest problems of India in order of importance are: Swarāj (self-government), ganam-maryádā (birth-regulation), and khetibári (agriculture, including dairying and fruit-culture). A Royal Commission is, after all, a waste, but a first-rate waste, and should be appointed.

In his written reply, Professor GANGULEE said: It is gratifying to note that there is a general agreement as to the need for an enquiry into India's rural problems. The difference of opinion lies in regard to the method to be adopted in holding such an enquiry. In view of the prevailing temper of the country, the task cannot be successfully accomplished either by Provincial or Central Government. The enquiry must be directed by a Royal Commission, and must be free from the political bias of the Indian Nationalist as well as of the official bodies. Only such an impartial tribunal will be welcomed by the public opinion of the country. With regard to the difficulty arising out of varied conditions in different parts of India, it could be solved by appointing a number of regional commissioners for a given typical agricultural tract, whose function will be to collect such relevant information as would be required by the Commission.

Sir Alfred Chatterton made an admirable suggestion for the formation of a Federal Council, but the task of *diagnosis* of the sources of disabilities under which the majority of the people work cannot be discharged by such a Council. The appointment of a Rural Commission by Royal Warrant and the publicity which must of necessity attend its activities would help to draw the attention of responsible people to the vital need of overhauling the conditions of rural India. Thus the public opinion will be roused for necessary legislative or social reforms. Sir Alfred, I am sure, will agree with me that progress in such matters in every country is conditional on public opinion.

Some of the speakers have introduced the problem of the Indian Constitution. That is a ground on which I fear to tread. To my mind political prophecies are not in the least helpful in bringing about necessary changes in the Indian political outlook, nor are they relevant to the subject under discussion this afternoon. If, however, one likes to be critical, he might point out to Sir Charles that if a five-year-old representative system of Government was unable to give any evidence of solving the Indian rural problem, how was it that, in spite of generations of settled rule and undisturbed peace within her frontiers, the great majority of the Indian people are to-day unable to find a decent human standard of living? But let not these controversial matters be allowed to confuse the main issue.

I share Mr. Rothfield's hope in the attainment of provincial autonomy; but, situated as we are to-day, it is difficult for us not to rely on supreme Government. The fact remains that Parliament has supreme control of Indian affairs, and therefore the British Government cannot absolve itself from the responsibilities of helping India to make any adjustments that may be necessary to enable her to keep pace with the conditions of modern civilization.

Mr. Rothfield appears to be impressed by the support given to the co-operative movement by Indians. I am well aware of this fact, and prepared to give full credit to the services rendered to this movement by many men of high position. But do we actually find among them those who call themselves "natural leaders of the people"? And is it not a fact that some of the wealthy people who participate in the movement are at the same time actively engaged in the money-lending business?

I must thank you again most cordially for the interest you have taken in the subject. It was a great encouragement to feel that Lord Peel was able to express sympathy and interest by taking the chair at this lecture.

LORD LAMINGTON said he would like to associate himself with the chorus of approval given to the paper. With regard to the quotation which had been criticized, as to the squalor that existed in Indian houses, he considered it to be a gross inaccuracy; the *inside* of their houses was always the embodiment of cleanliness, though outside the house no attempt might be made to observe sanitary precautions.

Another criticism was where the Lecturer found fault with regard to the lack of macadamized roads; he had always understood there was nothing the Indian liked less than a macadamized road, and wherever one was made a soft roadway was always left at the side for the use of native carts, and he did not think the Indian ryot would find fault with regard to the lack of them until the time came when he adopted Western methods of locomotion.

With regard to the problems of rural life in India, whilst it was perhaps desirable to have an enquiry as to the conditions, he did not think it was desirable to have a Royal Commission. All the information already existed, although perhaps it needed to be formulated and condensed. Any enquiry ought to be confined to Provinces. A general enquiry would be no more practicable than one for all Europe.

AN ANCIENT PHILOSOPHER'S VIEW OF THE PERFECT LIFE

BY THE REV. EVAN MORGAN

No man can be a worthy citizen of any earthly State unless he be first a citizen of the heavenly.

ROBERT BRIDGES.

THE ancient philosopher is Huai-nan Tzŭ, the Prince of Huai-nan : the Perfect Life is that based on the nature of the things—the soul of the universe. The perfect man, therefore, is in harmony with the Tao within, and his actions conform with righteousness without. The movements of desire aroused by the impingement of the senses create no confusions of the law within his mind. He maintains the initial constant of the flux issuing from the Tao, and his energies are not lost and scattered. There is no diplomatic scheming nor mental cunning in his life. There can be no crooked actions. There is no striving after ostentatious effect. Personal aggrandizement finds no place in his scheme of life ; even organized plans are absent. The practices of horoscopy and divination are not required, since “ he embodies the principles of Heaven and Earth and envisages the spirit of Yin and Yang.” Being in accord with the spirit of the universe, under his rule there can be no outrageous manifestations of nature. The Phoenix and the Lin nestle in the land ; the divining grass and tortoise appear ; the fattening dew descend ; the bamboo flowers ripen and the yellow jade is found—omens, these, of a happy state. For the harmonious co-operation of Heaven and Earth and the due evolution of creation depend on the spirit of man. Since, if there is any estrangement between the rulers and the people, the very air of Heaven becomes noxious ; and when prince and minister disagree, the crops in the fields refuse to ripen.

Let us return to the Prince of Huai-nan. He lived in turbulent times. Political factions rent the country ; rulers animated by personal ambition strove for the mastery. Where could peace be found ? Certainly not in force of arms nor in league of Principalities, but rather in the return of the human mind to fundamental principles. The true secret of life is found within ; and the government of men and the ordering of the State must also be sought from within and not from without. It cannot be had from the militarist who relies on outward force, nor yet from the sage scholar who depends on the outward varnishes of ceremonies and the aid of artificial virtues. The secret is rather to be sought in the inexhaustible reservoirs within the self, as explained by Lao Tzŭ in the " Tao Tê Ching." The prince and his wife were diligent students of this incomparable manual. But the sententious sayings of the book were hard to be understood. So a company of scholars were called together, and the results of their discussions were embodied in twenty-one essays which posterity esteems as the works of the philosopher of Huai-nan. These essays treat the esoteric philosophy of Lao Tan and amplify the recondite sayings of the Tao Tê Ching. Concrete examples are given of abstruse ideas, and liberal historical examples are presented of the profound theories of life in action. Each essay deals with a particular theme, and there is a unity running through all. Some were evidently written to prevent misconceptions of others. For instance, one fundamental conception underlying the idea of the perfect life is stated to be INACTION. Lest this be misunderstood, an essay is devoted to the Strenuous Life. The man of inaction therefore is the man of the most strenuous life, only he works through the principles of inaction. Again, the essay on the Course of Civilization is inserted to show that in the life of the world education is useful, which statement should serve to correct a false idea that might be inferred from the statement that the man who works through the spirit has no need of such accretions as

the accumulation of knowledge. The theory is that these extraneous matters are not relied on as of the first importance since they easily lead men astray. The accumulation of learning and knowledge tends to increase cleverness and to encourage the competition of intellects. Life under such conditions would become a match of diplomats and a competition of wits. So in this artificial cleverness the constant law would be confused by the spirit of self-seeking, of ambition, and haughtiness. Reality would be lost in the vanity of an outward show—a show of honours and emoluments. The art of the perfect life, on the other hand, is diametrically opposed to this. It is majestic in its simplicity. Like the cerulean arch, it is great in its tranquillity. It shines, it acts without apparent effort, yet there is nothing not included in its scope, and everything is efficiently done under its guidance. And the secret lies here, that the possessor of the perfect life is in touch with the forces of the Great Unity. This is the Formless which lies at the back of all form. The name Ch'i has been given to it by some writers, but they are careful to say that it is far different in nature from the material ether of the heavens. No words can define it ; but as the mind must have some word to convey the idea, they have compromised and given it the name of the Tao. Thinkers looked round the Universe and saw the evidences of life everywhere—life informed by a spirit that was all-pervading and all-sustaining. In great diversity they felt the unity, so there was no break into separate parts. Yet it was not a purely pantheistic view of creation, since in their view the Tao maintained a supremacy and an independence which did not belong to phenomena or their activities.

Now, the merit of the perfect man is that he *sees* these things and enters into the secret of the Tao. He works in co-operation with it and wins all its powers. Others see only the form—the phenomena—and they act under the

emotion of the senses. Browning's lines aptly describe the difference :

" All earth's crammed with heaven
And every common bush afire with God,
But only he who sees takes off his shoes ;
The rest sit round and pluck blackberries."

The art of life lies in the ability to see the flame. Even the Confucian sage has missed the mark here. He has failed to see the bush afire, with the result that his scheme of things is all incomplete. There can be no room for his tinkering in the true art of life. The method of the sage may be compared to the action of Emma in " The Young Visitors," who explained to her companions that she rouged her face to give a touch of colour to her complexion, because the bad drains in the house had made her sallow and pale. The sage, likewise, to cure the ills of society applied an outward salve in the shape of ceremonies, enactments, benevolence, justice, education, and the restraints of punishments, as if these could heal the defects of life and produce the perfect state. The true tonic must come from within, and the outward colour of health can only flow from a stream of life in the spirit. Away, then, with the vanities of the sage, with his weights and measures, with his essays and standards of false culture. These are only so much rouge that clog the free circulation of life. In other words, these are similar to the adoption of barbarian music, or, shall we say, a preference of the jazz band for the classic harmonies.

In the art of the perfect life it is necessary to be clear on the meaning of one term which is of great importance, and underlies the whole conception of its fabric—it is the term *Wu Wei*. Literally, it means Inaction or Not-doing. However, it does not imply a mere negation of work. It carries a very positive content. In a negative form there is conveyed and implied a most comprehensive activity. The negation refers to the method of doing rather than to the doing itself. It is not *doing* according to the use of

knowledge, logic, intelligence, education, and reason. Rather it is the doing which comes naturally from inward illumination and the energies of the all-informing Tao. In the Quaker's theory of the Inward Light and the mystical religious enthusiasts we have a hint of the same thing. The Quietists hold that perfection on earth consists in a condition of uninterrupted contemplation. In this state of quiet the soul ceases to reason, its sole function being passively to receive the heavenly light. The most famous devotees were Molinos and Madame Guyon. The gentle and powerful influence of Madame Guyon greatly influenced French life. The ancient philosopher, too, claims that his devotee wields incomparable sway—sway which comes by way of Yieldingness, of Not-doing, and so on. It is explained in this way in one essay. Inaction implies that no personal will or selfish idea must enter the mind to interfere with the law of things. No human device or clever opportunities must wrench the course of nature. Such, then, is the meaning of Wu Wei.

The next term we must examine is the Tao. Many words have been given us in translating it. Law, Supreme Being, Nature, Reason have been tried and found wanting. No English equivalent can be entirely satisfactory, since the original is vague, and at best is only a compromise. Lao Tan was not satisfied that Tao expressed his idea of the all-pervading spirit, which was the cause of all things ; which was so great as to fill all space and so small that it was finer than the "autumn hair," and could enter the infinitesimally small. It was the macrocosmos and the microcosmos. And the best that could be done was to attempt a description of its state and operations. References are made in most of the essays to its all-comprehensiveness. In the first essay of the work an elaborate description is made in these words :

"The Tao enfolds Heaven and supports Earth. It stretched the four quarters of the Universe and generated

the eight points of the firmament. Its height is limitless and its depth unfathomable. It shaped Heaven and Earth. When they were as yet without form, the Tao endowed them. Its energies bubbled forth in the vast void and filled space. Through its continuous effervescence the slimy ooze of chaos became transparently clear. It filled Heaven and Earth, and stretched to the uttermost parts of the sea. It distributes itself without limit, never ceasing night nor day without undergoing any change of rise or decay. Expanding, it overspread every part of the firmament and the Earth ; rolled together, it is not a fistful. Compressed, it can expand ; abstruse, it can yet be clear ; most yielding yet most strong ; most soft and most firm. It is so from its nature. The Tao links together the Four Poles and comprehends the Yin and Yang of creation. It binds the Universe into a whole and hangs out the lights of the firmament. Having a great penetrative power it enters every pore ; it is exceedingly fine and delicate. It gives height to the mountain and depth to the abyss. It fashioned beasts to walk and birds to fly. Sun and Moon are luminous by its power, and the planets revolve in their orbits through its might. Moved by its energies the Ch'i-lin comes forth and the Phoenix wheels in the empyrean.

“It was through it that the Heavens first revolved and the Earth was made fast ; they are sure in their appointed courses. The waters eternally flow for the benefit of creation. The winds rise and the clouds steam ; there is nothing in a state of disorganization. The thunder sounds, the rains fall, and one thing answers to the other seasonably. Mysterious in its operations, nevertheless vestiges of its workings can be traced. In the universal flux organisms proceed to their perfection and revert again to their primitive elements. Without apparent doing the Tao brought everything into existence. Without sound or speech the successive evolutions proceed with energies permeating all. Placid and serene, without show of boasting, the Tao attains the perfect harmony of all. So the myriad varieties

are organized, each endowed with its own particular nature. The Tao imparts its energies to the minutest thing, and yet is so great as to compose the mighty universe. Its energies gave flexibility to nature and harmonized into unity the operations of the Yin and Yang. It divided the Four Seasons and co-ordinated the Five Elements. Its beneficent spirit breathed on all, fructifying creation and the world of life. It sent forth its 'fattening dews' on grass and tree and bathed metal and stone with lustre; it made bird and beast strong and gave sheen to scale and feather and strength to wing. It gave the horn to cattle. Through its powers the embryos of beasts do not miscarry nor the eggs of birds addle.

"Further, it is through the Tao that fathers have no mourning for sons, nor need brother weep in grief for a dying brother; nor are children orphans and women widows. The rainbow does not appear nor the comet career in the sky—unlucky omens. A state of comfort due to the benevolence of the Tao. Thus we see it is not simply a huge mechanical engine, but the Tao contains the elements of love and kindness to comfort the distressed and the bereaved."

But more of this later on. The description of the Tao continues :

"Whilst the supreme Tao animates everything, yet its presence is not noticed, reminding us of the Psalmist's words: 'Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself.' The Tao produces all phenomena, yet without giving the appearance of direct control. Whilst all creatures that walk and breathe, that fly to and fro, and every creeping thing depend on it, yet they are unconscious that they owe all to the Tao. Besides, they await the behests of the Tao for death, and bear no resentment at the change. The gift of life is taken for granted; the decay of death is looked upon as natural. Thus its accumulation of great reserve powers is not counted as wealth, nor is the infinite

distribution of its virtues over the vast field of creation looked upon as any impoverishment of its resources. Its fluxes are incomprehensible, its delicate operations are interminable. Add to it and no addition can be made to its powers. Draw upon its store and you rob it of none of its wealth. Multiply it and it is the same ; subtract from it and it is no smaller. Hack it and it is no thinner ; stab it and you will not destroy it. Dig into it and it seems without depth ; add to it and its depth will not be increased. Without definite form indeed ! It is impossible to give it a form or define it. The very fact that it is without form and undefinable shows it can never be exhausted. Again, how profound and mysterious are its operations in its influence on the spiritual vitality of mind and life. Creating, permeating all spirit and matter, none of its movements are without effect. It expands and contracts synchronously with the negative and positive movements of nature. Firm and pliant it ascends and descends with the polarity of creation."

Such, then, is the nature of the Tao. It is of the essence of the Taoist philosophy that the real devotee is allied with this supreme power and partakes of its nature. His genius and his character are derived from the flux of the Tao which endows him with supernatural powers, thus making his life so efficient. The art of the perfect life begins and ends in this identity and alliance. The many descriptions given of the activities of the Perfect man are mystical in their content. There is a touch of the Immortals about him. Now, whether the creation of the mystic Immortals arose from this conception of the devotee, gifted with the powers of the Tao, or whether the idea existed anterior to the Taoist theory of life, I am unable to say. Drs. Yetts and Giles may be able to throw some light on the matter. It only need be said here that the later developments of Taoism in magical tendencies must have received some

encouragement from the standards of the pure philosophy of Taoism itself.

Let us take an example of men who are endowed with the power of the Tao. The writer of the first essay found it in two men whose story was old and mythical in his day. They are Fêng I and Ta Ping, two renowned charioteers. Their powers are described in these words :

“ In olden times Fêng I and Ta Ping were experts in their art by reason of the Tao. They rode on the chariot of cloud, entering the rainbow and floating on the lambent air. They crossed the hoarfrost and snow without leaving any vestiges. No shadow fell when the sun shone on them. They mounted aloft in circling spirals like those of the ram's horn. They crossed mountains and rivers and vaulted the K'un Lun. They mounted aloft, opening and shutting the gate of Heaven, the abode of the deity. The finest chariot of these latter days, hitched to the fleetest horses, urged by the sharpest thongs, could not compete with them in the race. Thus we see that the great man endued with the Tao lives in peace, undisturbed with the motions of thought. His outlook is without anxiety because he feels that the Heaven is a cover, the Earth a chariot, the Four Seasons steeds, and Yin and Yang drivers. He rides on the pinnacle of the clouds through space, a compeer of the Creator. He gives rein to his will ; he opens out his mind to travel the great empyrean. He walks when he so desires, or rushes on when he so wills. He commands the Rain spirit to irrigate his ways, and employs the Wind spirit to sweep away the dust. The lightning he takes for whip, the revolving wind for his chariot wheels. Above he travels in the boundless waste of space ; below he comes forth by the gate of the great void.

“ Under the inspiration of the Tao they looked around in space and abroad on everything, yet all was kept under the central organ—the authority of their personality ; controlling the Four Quarters, yet everything was brought

within the range of the master spirit within. Thus under the canopying Heaven there was nothing without the pale of their influence ; with Earth as chariot there was nothing outside the range of action ; with the Four Seasons as steeds they had all things as ministers. Yin and Yang being their charioteers the processes of creation were completely within purview."

There are many such magniloquent descriptions of the Tao-inspired man in the essays of the ancient philosopher. And here it may be well asked whether the words are greatly rhetorical and only flights of fancy, or whether they imply a certain reality and contain a fact of human experience. To say that they mean no more than a statement conveying an account of the operations of the mind and transference of thought will not satisfy the case, since the Taoists claim a reality in these migrations of the spirit, which some have notably experienced in the state of trance. A full discussion of this subject is outside the range of this paper. But the opinion is advanced that in psychology a solution of the problem may be found. The writings of Dr. Hadfield are suggestive. The volume prepared by Canon Streeter on the Sadhu Sundar Singh is particularly valuable.

Now, men like these were such because they acted naturally in harmony with nature. They allowed the Tao to have free play in them. They reflected its merits and virtues. To make this idea clear examples are taken from water and a mirror. What these do is to receive the picture of the object and reflect it without change or accretions. There is a true reproduction of the lineaments of the object. The echo is true to the sound and the shadow is not different from the substance. There is perfect correspondence. There is thus a real responsiveness in Nature. There is a law operating without friction and quiescently. We have a hint here of Not-doing. It all comes from within, apparently without effort. It is the nature of this law to

act quiescently. If this is extended to human nature the same principle operates. On the other hand, when the mind responds to the outward influence of the senses confusion follows, and harm ensues to the constant law. The spirit responds to the impact of matter which comes in through the avenue of the senses, giving rise to perception and desire. So the impingement of outward things on the mind begets love and hate. When these have taken form perception is led to deviate from the right way by outward suggestion, and Nature is unable to find itself.

Here we find once more what has already been mentioned—the difference between the man who is possessed of the Tao and others. We may be allowed two well-known theological phrases to express the difference—but corresponding words are in the original—the spiritual man and the carnal man. It is unnecessary to say that they do not have the same content. At the same time the perfect man of Taoist philosophy is not governed by the sensual. He will not replace the faculty of the spirit by the carnal. Like other men, he too is subject to all impressions of the outer world, but he does not suffer these to disturb the inner mind. The impact of the world does not move desire; he remains dominated by the spiritual faculty. Just as in Nature the seasons run their courses and the ever-circling times circulate without confusing the basal unity, so he too responds to every call of duty and the demands of office without departing from the central pivot of his being. Creation in all its mighty leaps and constant movements proceeds without any dislocation; everything is in its own place. The small and great, the long and short, are each and severally in their appointed place. So he who moves under the impulse of the spirit, placed though he be in a position of authority, wins the regard of the people.

The art of the perfect life comes from co-operation with the law of things, and its energies are derived from an alliance with the universal spirit, which is the source of the

law of things. For this reason the person who follows it is supremely efficient, much more efficient than even the sage of Confucian philosophy and the worldly-wise who act according to their experience and sensual knowledge. The difference is illustrated by the following examples: A fishing-rod in the hands of an expert cannot compete with a net in the quantity of fish caught. An archer with the best bow, even though he applies the skill of I and Shêng Mêng Tzŭ, cannot be as successful as one with a net. The capacity of the instrument is unequal. Similarly the comparison between the exercise of a great principle and the application of policy and opportunism in the affairs of men. The latter is like setting a shrimp to catch a fish, or a frog to catch a flea. The opportunistic policy will never stem wickedness. It tends, on the contrary, to enhance wrongdoing.

An example of the application of the two methods may be found historically in the action of Emperor Kun of Hsia, who, to protect himself, acted on the worldly policy of building a huge tower. But this show of force alienated his adherents and caused the Lords to rebel against him; the distant peoples became suspicious and restless and so policy was met with policy and force with force. On the other hand, Yü, the wise king, seeing the opposition of the country, razed the tower, scattered the accumulated wealth, burnt the implements of war, and ordered his government on the principles of the law of things. The result was seen in the immediate adherence of those who had been estranged, and the offering of tribute from distant peoples. He made himself strong not by fortifications but by disarmament, and by acting according to the eternal law of the nature of things. Thus we conclude that the man of many schemes and diplomatic policies, who works after his own intelligence and not in accordance with spiritual principles that move and control men, never can offer an assured sincerity of purpose, nor can his spiritual energies be complete. In a word, that singleness of mind which

comes from action based on the law of things is wanting. The opportunist, ruled by a limited experience, and acting on the outlook of the senses as they inform his intelligence, necessarily has only a narrow vision, and inevitably fails in commanding the allegiance of men. Thus we see that militarism only tends to beget militarism, and the building of armaments will never ensure the interests of peace. If more examples be asked here they are. If boiling water be added to boiling water the whole becomes more violent. If Yin I and Tsao Fu, masters in the art of training animals, were to apply the whip to a vicious dog or a kicking horse, they would never succeed in correcting their bad habits. The work of reform must come from within. When the disposition has been quelled and trained the tail of the hungry tiger can be played with, and the dog and the horse may be made docile.

It may therefore be confidently asserted that he who is in sympathy with the Tao and works under its guidance will win his ends with ease and gain his object without apparent effort. The opportunist, on the other hand, fails of success, however hard he may labour. Thus mere human strength, however much, can never regulate a large domain. But the man who conforms to the art of Tao in accordance with the law of Heaven and Earth would find it easy to manage the whole world. Creation is mighty in its *Naturalness*. And so in the field of human affairs we shall find no room for the Sage with his proprieties and nostrums. Only the man who follows the Tao and rests in it can have the true art of life. They nourish their life on quietism and their spirit on unemotionalism. Such a disposition leads them to the gate of Heaven. By this is meant that they have purity, clarity, a pristine spirit grounded on reality. They are free of the mists that surround the individual who works after the suggestion of the senses—the carnal mind, which implies accidental accretions, sharpness of intellect leading to schemes and duplicity. The latter are the hucksters of the world who

traffic in the mere conventional. Clever and brilliant men must fail if the root of action is superficial. It is he alone who is identified with the spirit and who is in the stream of creation's flux that is capable of governing men.

In the simple affairs of life, too, in social duties, and communal affairs the same principles hold good. The man imbued with the Tao exercises a profound influence in the community. His example of unselfishness and yieldingness transforms the aggressive and rude actions of his fellows. Take Shun for instance. "He cultivated his land at Li Shan, and as a result of his courteous concessions to his neighbours every tiller of the soil struggled for the crooked and angular corners, each anxious to concede to his neighbour the fertile spot. It was the same when he fished on the river's bank for a whole year. Other fishermen, looking at him, strove together for the rapids and currents, each keen to give the deep pools and quiet waters to another. Shun at these times gave no lectures on morality and lessons in conduct, but maintaining the great way in his heart, his influence sped over all as though divine. Suppose now he were without this uprightness of character, do you suppose he would convert a single individual by preaching in public or by going from house to house to talk on socialism?" These men had none of the aggressive spirit. The characteristic methods of their action were yieldingness and complaisance, not those of arrogance, aggressiveness and force. Apparently feeble in their methods, nevertheless they were overwhelming in their results.

Thus we may observe that the silent Tao has a mighty sweep. It brings the aborigines under the sway of civilizing influences and the unclad nations to a glad obedience without even the issue of mandates. It can reform custom and change habits with no other instrument than that of the spirit. Hence the perfect man pays attention to inward culture of the spirit rather than the adornments of accidental means. In apparent tranquillity,

as though there was no exertion of authority, there remains nothing which is uncontrolled by the Tao. We may therefore conclude that he who will be firm must be so by yieldingness. He who would be strong shall ensure it by tenderness. Water supplies the example. It is the most yielding and pliant of all things, yet its greatness is immense. It floats in the clouds, it descends as rain. "It swells in seas and rivers, and as dew and moisture enables creation to spring into birth and fructify. Its operations are never ended. It is so fine that it is impossible to grasp a handful of it : strike it and it does not hurt : stab it and it is not wounded : sever it and it is not divided : burn it and it is not ignited. Lost in the slush, flowing into invisibility, disappearing in the earth, it is not scattered into nothingness. Its utility is that it will enter into every crevice : its strength that it reaches every shore, bearing ships for mankind. Moving full and free in ether, wheeling on high as clouds, it returns as rain, filling the rivers and valleys in swelling flood over the wide plains, and distributing its bounty to all creation. Its heaving movements are mighty, concurring with the activities of nature." Lao Tan was led to look upon it as the most yielding and at the same time as the most firm substance in the world. It transcends all other matter and forms the best example of the Tao. The Tao in the spiritual realm is the great unity : it is the absolute. It gives life to the myriad generations. Without beginning it is everlasting in its existence. It abides in perfection with undiminished power, ever giving forth its energies, but without exhaustion : always functioning, yet never wearying. Unseen, we behold it not : silent, we never can hear a sound of its operations.

"The unique Tao is broad and level. It is not far from men. They who seek it find it within themselves. The man who finds it treads on it in all his excursions, and acts upon it in all the multitudinous affairs that press upon him. In its strength he solves all the recondite problems that face him. And these various duties of life are done with

deliberation and serenity, each affair finding a fit solution, even as an echo answers to the sound. The Tao is never forgotten in the face of danger or in the path of peril. It is the unfailing companion and guide."

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

A TRILOGY OF INDIA

BY STANLEY RICE

1. INDIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. (Constable.) 18s. net.
2. LANDS OF THE THUNDERBOLT. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. (Constable.) 16s. net.
3. THE HEART OF ARYAVARTA. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. (Constable.) 14s. net.

THE variety of India is the boast of her sons. From the burning sands of her deserts to the Arctic snows of her high mountains, from the arid plains where only stunted trees will grow or none to the dense jungle which no civilized man can penetrate, from forbidding masses of rock to fairy glens of fern and flowers, from the lordly elephant to the tiny flycatcher—she exhibits Nature in her every mood as few countries on earth can do. Nor is she easily rivalled in her varieties of men, for she is the home alike of the most elastic and the most intolerant of creeds; she shelters the subtle intellect of the Brahman and the crude superstitions of the forest-dwellers, the gentle contemplation of Madras and Bengal, and the fierce activity of the North-West Frontier. Hence it is that, as has so often been said, she is not one but many, and rash is the man who would apply hasty generalizations to her.

It is given to few men to travel as Lord Ronaldshay has done from end to end of the country, thus getting a bird's-eye view of the whole kaleidoscope. Nor has he been content with excursions over the better known parts of India, but he has penetrated into the silences of the Himalayas and observed Buddhists in their native haunts in Bhutan, in Sikkim, and even in far Tibet. It is impossible to follow him throughout his wanderings, and if those points are dwelt upon in which, being controversial, two, three, or more opinions may be held, it is not from any desire to be captious, but simply because there is so much to which anyone who knows India would readily subscribe.

The "medley of races, civilizations and religions found within the confines of the Indian continent" have led many to repeat the now trite axiom that India is not and never can be a nation. But trite axioms have before this been proved to be not axioms at all, and many a cherished belief has withered under the blasting light of reason. Lord Ronaldshay very rightly says that "the difficulty so often paraded of the multiplicity of tongues in India is shown to be the product of superficial thinking." The idea that race and language are fundamental and necessary ingredients in nationality has long been given up. We may be wrong in speaking of the people of India, but that India has many points in favour of her ultimate nationality can hardly be denied. Indeed, one may boldly advance the proposition that if India could only compose those differences of creed which arise from the passionate devotion of each of the two great communities to its own, she might even now be regarded as a nation, federated after the fashion of Germany rather than united upon the model of France, and would remain so under her own native government, could it but be certain that the elements at present so discordant would be willing to unite in a common and loyal allegiance to it.

And out of these multitudinous forces there has emerged what Lord Ronaldshay calls a clash of ideals. It is a phrase capable of many interpretations, for the ideals of man and woman are not the same, the ideals of the book-maker and the bishop differ widely, and the ideals of the Brahman ascetic seeking to penetrate the mysteries of the Unknown and of the primitive aboriginal desiring only to propitiate the wrath of evil spirits, if so be he may thereby escape dire calamity, are as the poles asunder. Thus within the limits of one nation there may be many ideals, but we must suppose Lord Ronaldshay to be using the phrase in a much higher sense that is partly national and partly continental. It is the Asiatic ideal coloured and modified by the special Hindu (and perhaps Muhammadan) thought that is opposed to the European ideal coloured and modified by the thought that is peculiarly English. This is a wide subject which it would not be right or wise to treat in a short article; it raises many questions of the nature and scope of these several ideals and of the method by which they are to be attained. But there are two outstanding ideals among the Indians themselves which, without attributing any such intention to our author, we may fairly say are at the moment clashing in India. To many of her sons the ideal of Power is supreme. It is not merely

that they long for independence, for the right to manage their own affairs in their own way, for the dignified satisfaction of proudly standing forth as the equals in political status with the other free and independent peoples of the earth. That may satisfy the sense of outraged dignity, but it does not satisfy the lust of power, for in itself it only takes India out of the category of nations in tutelage and classes her with Afghanistan, with Denmark, with Bulgaria, with Venezuela. Wealth brings power, and it is to wealth, therefore, that India must look if she is to make up leeway in the race and if she is to use to the full the great gifts of intellect and of resources with which she is endowed. She looks to England, to America, to Germany, and she discerns that that which has made these countries great is the development of industry. She turns to the Far East, and she sees that what has been done in Europe can also be done in Asia. Consider the array of figures with which we are confronted in the chapter on "Wealth Actual and Potential," the tons of coal, the gallons of petroleum, the "immense deposits" of iron which are being slowly torn from the earth by industry and the enterprise of man. Consider the 35,000 miles of railway and the 5,000 factories employing mechanical power on a system that has barely begun to make itself felt. Consider the raw material which is annually produced from the wide fields of the plains and the gardens of the hills. Are not these things enough to fire the imagination of those who would see India not only rivalling but outstripping the best efforts of the West?

But on the other side is a school which is beginning to shrink from this desecration of the soil of India. To them the ideal of beauty is too sacred a thing to be bartered for the possession of wealth, even though wealth may bring power in its train. The wise old Greeks told no idle story when they declared that the goddess of beauty left the side of her ugly lame blacksmith for the glitter and fascination of the soldier. And if that tale be true of ancient Greeks, much more is it true of the modern world where mass production demands stacks of smoking chimneys and apparently the most unlovely slum habitations, dreary docks fed by grimy lighters, and drearier warehouses wherein the world's wealth lies stacked. The age of Victoria will go down to history as the era of the industrial revolution, and is even now the byword for tastelessness in art. Germany entered the race for power and threatened to capture the markets of the world, but since she has abandoned the special

sphere in which she was supreme, she has produced no master save one fit to sit on the footsteps of Wagner's throne. Is this to be the fate of Japan? Is she, too, going to leave the world of her special art for the glory of production for the market? Can the two exist side by side?

For if not, will India be willing to pay the price of her soul, to give up what has hitherto been so essentially Indian, for a new ideal that is imported from the modern West and leads to wealth and perhaps—only perhaps—to power? This is the import of the revolt from the West which is the main theme of Lord Ronaldshay's last work, "*The Heart of Aryavarta*"—the import, though not the whole content. It is a revulsion of feeling as of the startled horse which suddenly sees that he is running the way to destruction. It is not the whole content, because human nature is complex, and the passions that arise from a single intuition are often unreasoning and unreasonable. But lest it should be thought that this is pure fantasy spun from a doctrinaire brain, let us call to witness a son of India who sought his home after long sojourn in America—one who had conceived a great affection for the West, and arriving at the time when passion was at its hottest, had yet contrived to escape from the furnace. He goes to Benares, where he revels in a riot of colour and in what may well seem to a Hindu the beauty of holiness. And thence to Calcutta, the city of his birth, which, though "unendurable beyond description," is still his "own town" which he loves. But "business was the genesis of the town when it was built and fortified in the last lap of the eighteenth century; and it will be business that I hope will kill it some day." The dreary river front of jute mills, the bathing ghats where the steps are "cast-iron made in Sheffield," the steamboat landing stations as ugly as any the world over—these are all signs of Western industrialism, and they smite him with an unspeakable horror. He meets a lady in Darjeeling who did not see the sunrise because she had spent the night in dancing to a jazz band. And "the next day," he adds laconically, "I left Darjeeling."

Swaraj is the goal at which Moderates aim equally with avowed Nationalists. Lord Ronaldshay believes that the general movement against the West is the result of a reaction, following upon the over-adulation of all things Western. That is an opinion open to question. All the early revolt against the European was political, though it was given a religious colour by invocations to the gods, by application of the teaching of the Gita, and by attempts to

arouse popular alarm. Everyone, however, knew, and none better than the agitator, that the British Government was professedly, ostentatiously, and even nervously neutral in religious matters, and that their whole history gave the lie to any fear of injury to the people's beliefs. It would rather seem that the revolt against the West had its origin in political ideals. The Moderates believe it possible to establish Swaraj on the basis of "a rational synthesis between the learning," and one may say generally the civilization, "of East and West." The Swarajists apparently fear that to compromise with the West must lead to the shattering of national ideals, and rather than sacrifice those they would do without the West. This is the extreme view, yet the writer already quoted declares that there are "two powerful forces in India . . . modern industrialism and the spirituality of mediæval India," and if that be true we are led back to the proposition that the internal clash of ideals is a clash between the ideal of Beauty, in which the spirituality of India is expressed, and the ideal of Power, of which the outward sign is industrialism.

But the spirituality of India is necessarily bound up in her religion. Lord Ronaldshay is entirely orthodox in his view that "the inherent pessimism which darkens the outlook of the Indians upon life" is to be ascribed to the doctrine of Karma. Now apart from the teaching of Indians themselves it is quite possible that an Indian, looking only at certain aspects of the Christian religion, considered as a creed and not as what we may call the unsystematized teaching of the Founder, might be tempted to use much the same language. On Christmas Day and also on Easter Day, the two days of the Christian year marked out especially for the rejoicing of the Faithful, we are enjoined to repeat a declaration of faith attributed to one whom the Church has canonized and which lays down that men shall give account of their own works . . . "and they that have done evil" shall depart into "everlasting fire." Nor are we merely expected to subscribe to this dogma; we are expressly told that the holding of it as a part of Christian doctrine is necessary to salvation. We are thus reduced to a dilemma—either we believe what we are saying or we do not. If we do not, we reject the dogma of the Church and apparently are not Christians. But if we do, can there be anything more pessimistic than the doctrine of eternal punishment? For the evil which we do in the seventy or eighty years of life upon earth we are

condemned to eternal perdition. Nor would the Hindu be without justification for his view in the Bible itself, for it is well known that the eschatology of the early Christians looked for the speedy dissolution of the world, and Pauline teaching is full of the misery of this world and the longing to get out of it.

It may of course be objected that this longing is prompted by the hope of "bliss beyond compare" in the world to come, and hence that the watchword is really hope. But although Karma is undoubtedly one of the principal tenets of Hinduism, it is not, as the writings of some exponents would seem to suggest, the central idea. The Hindu ideal seems to be the attainment of Ananda, a word sometimes translated Bliss and sometimes Delight; it is the state of highest fruition where "the knower, the known, and the knowledge become one." Mr. Mackenzie, in his "Hindu Ethics," draws a distinction between a "true goal" and a "deliverance from the struggle"; a difference which might be illustrated by the feelings of victors and vanquished after the restoration of peace. And it is because he regards the attainment of Ananda as the negative result of deliverance that he insists, as Lord Ronaldshay does, on Indian pessimism. But surely both miss the objectivity of Hinduism, and both are too much obsessed by Christian individualism rightly to appreciate the Hindu attitude. The individual is entirely effaced, for when the whole contemplation is fixed upon God, whether that conception be impersonal as in the Upanishads, or theistic as in the more popular *bhakti-margam*, or way of devotion, the subjective self is lost and the aim is to get rid of all that compels subjectivity. The modified monistic teaching which is called *visishta advaita*, which as Lord Ronaldshay reminds us, retains individuality while postulating absorption, may well be illustrated by Dante's vision of the Trinity:

Three orbs of triple hue, clipt in one bound
And from another one reflected seemed
As rainbow is from rainbow and the third
Seemed fire breathed equally from both

* * * *

For I therein methought in its own hue
Beheld our image painted; steadfastly
I therefore pored upon the view. As one
Who versed in geometric lore would fain
Measure the circle, and though pondering long
And deeply, that beginning which he needs
Finds not; e'en such was I, intent to scan
The novel wonder and trace out the form
How in the circle fitted and therein
How placed.

But the whole problem was too hard for Dante, as it has been too hard for the acute thinkers of India.

This is not the place to examine philosophically all the aspects of the much abused and very complicated doctrine of Karma. The point which it is sought to make here is that it is not necessarily pessimistic, and is not so regarded by Hindus. It starts from the quite logical position that if the soul is immortal and eternal it is as much without a beginning as without an end. That is a position which is equally inherent in Christian belief, but is often ignored because stress is laid upon the eternal future rather than upon the eternal past. Is it preposterous to suggest that the Hindu conception of Ananda, which as Perfect Bliss may be compared to the Christian conception of heavenly existence, is of something too ineffable to be attained by the trial of a few short years, just as upon the same trial eternal damnation is too hard a sentence? The imagination does not stretch back into that beginning which is no beginning; reason sees that here there are both virtue and vice, both good and evil, relative though such terms may be, and often confounded with conformity to, or transgression from, purely human laws. Starting with a postulate of a long period of probation, the Hindus evolved the idea of *samsara* through a system of rewards and punishments. It is not unlike the conception of purgatory, but it admits backsliding as well as progress, and eliminates the idea of the hopelessly damned, consigned to a hell where in its lowest depths Satan sits, like a Promethean eagle, for ever gnawing the vitals of Brutus and Cassius.

Mr. Mackenzie thinks that "little room, if any, is left for freedom, and the soul is carried on from one birth to another without its being able effectively to determine the direction which it is to take. It is entangled in a round of existence by conditions . . . which are, strictly speaking, beyond its control." Mr. Mackenzie is, on the whole, a very fair-minded writer, but he differs widely here from a Hindu who is well qualified to speak. "There is no doctrine," says Professor Radhakrishnan, "so valuable in life and conduct as the Karma theory. Whatever happens to us in this life we have to submit in meek resignation, for it is the result of our past doings. Yet the future is in our power, and we can work with hope and confidence. Karma inspires hope for the future and resignation to the past. It makes men feel that the things of this world, its fortunes and failures, do not touch the dignity of the soul."

Confidence and hope are qualities very far removed from pessimism.

It is, in fact, very hard to believe that a people who find such childlike joy in a religious festival are weighed down at all by the pessimism of an abstract philosophy. Compared with the austerity of Muhammadan deism and iconoclasm, Hinduism seems to be a riotous orgy of joyous enthusiasm. There is, of course, more than one way to salvation, and the *bhakti-margam*, which reached its zenith in Chaitanya with his ecstatic trances and his processional *kirtanas*, has perhaps superseded in many parts the austere contemplation and the impersonal philosophy of the Upanishads. The law of Karma, the conception of *samsara*, the monistic theory of the Absolute—these may induce towards pessimism, and observers have a right to their own opinion. We can, after all, only judge by experience, and as so many have warned us, it is always dangerous to predicate about the whole of India what to us, at any rate, seems true of a part.

Lord Ronaldshay is on much firmer ground when he attributes to physical causes the pessimism which as it seems to him dogs the Indian peasant. To gird as some Indians are inclined to do at everything European as rank materialism is to ignore the facts of life. The right action of the Gita demands a healthy body for its perfect fulfilment. If Birmingham has ousted Benares, and Manchester cottons have superseded the muslins of Dacca; if third-rate imitations of Europe have taken the place of the marble dreams of Shah Jehan and the sylvan exuberance of Hindu ornament; if we have diverted art and ignored music, we can at least claim that by the discovery of the mosquito parasite, the rat-flea, and the hookworm parasite, we have given the people cause for hope and have made easier for them the path of spirituality. We cannot do more than alleviate the scourges of Nature, and we can do nothing to check the influence of a dreamy landscape, a treeless soil, or a saltstrewn plain. The traveller who leaves the flat and arid tracts of the Deccan, where the horizon is scarcely broken by here a stunted tree and there a barren mass of huddled rocks, leaves also men and women whose very apparel of coarse dirty white and sad robes of indigo blue suggest despair, and as he journeys eastward comes to a land of palms and plantains, of gardens and wells, where the sky seems to smile again, and the reds and pinks of the men's flowing garments and the greens and yellows of the women's robes seem to smile also. A Hindu,

it is said, does not know how to laugh; that, maybe, is temperamental. But he knows how to smile, and he smiles best when Nature smiles with him.

He who would begin discussing India will never have done. The two races have for long been trying to understand one another, and something has been accomplished though there still remains a long road to tread. Let us look forward in confidence to the future when the ideals no longer clash, but meet in perfect harmony; and in fullest co-operation working together, let us await the great time when the day shall break and the shadows flee away.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIAN PROBLEMS. By the Right Reverend Henry Whitehead, formerly Bishop of Madras. Pp. lx + 335. (London: *Constable and Co., Ltd.*) 1924. 12s. net.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

EVENTS move so quickly in India that no sooner does a book appear describing everyday conditions and offering solutions regarding the maze of Indian political conditions, than we find it to be already slightly out of date. Perhaps the author of the book under notice would be the first to acknowledge this. At the same time, there are certain underlying principles in the Bishop's book which do offer considerable help to students of India's present conditions, and the greatest is the statesmanship of the author, enabling him to treat the subjects of Religion, the position of the Christian Church, Education, and Politics, with the Christian charity one would associate with a man of his position. The Religions of India being familiar to our readers, we will pass on to notice what is said about Education and Politics. It may surprise English readers to learn that when the Government opened up the question of Education, and also when, in 1826, a grant of £500 was requested for the Madras Presidency, an educational system already existed in India. In Bengal and Behar there were 100,000 schools, one for every 400 persons; and even in 1882, in Madras, there were over 4,000 girl scholars scattered amongst the 12,498 schools. Besides these pupils, it is important to remember that a great deal of private tuition was going on the homes. Bengali gentlemen had their wives educated in order that they might be able to manage their husbands' property in the event of death. The Bishop emphasizes the important fact that the schools existing before 1885 had the hearty co-operation of the people, besides being popular and self-supporting. The educational policy of the British after that date was responsible for much of the trouble experienced in political matters in the succeeding years; and

worst of all was Macaulay's famous minute, with its "supreme contempt poured upon the whole literature of India and also contempt for the Indian vernaculars," added to the decision to use English as an educational medium. A whole essay might be written on these three points alone. The Conscience Clause regarding obligatory Christian instruction in the schools and colleges belonging to missionary societies is well treated from various view-points.

The chapters on Politics naturally follow the subject of education, and it is clearly explained how Western political ideas became added to the traditional modes of thought in India. It was the same mistake committed as regards politics as had been committed in education. The chapter tracing the course of the Ilbert Bill shows that the subject can be treated impassionately and with justice. The references in it to the late Lord Curzon are specially interesting; he apparently changed his opinion regarding self-government during the eleven years which elapsed between his resignation as Viceroy and the declaration made by the late Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons in August, 1917. The other chapters deal with Mr. Gandhi, Kenya, Non-co-operation, and Amritsar.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA. By J. N. Samaddar.
Published by the University of Calcutta. (London: *Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.*) 5s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by P. PADMANABHA PILLAI.)

This interesting brochure is the outcome of the lectures delivered by the author to the post-graduate students of the Calcutta University in 1921, and represents an attempt to reconstruct the economic life of Ancient India in the light of the references contained in Ancient Indian literature from the Vedic to the Jataka period. Unfortunately, however, for the economic historian, this earlier literature, while containing numerous allusions to economic conditions and practices, nowhere attempts to chronicle them in an ordered fashion; and even the internal evidence which they represent has to be approached with caution unless one is prepared to hold that, because the ancient poets refer to *Vimanas*, therefore aerial navigation was a familiar thing in those days. The imaginative Aryan mind had even then foreshadowed many of the developments of to-day, and given to these ideas a form and a name; but for historical purposes, their value is not much. When references are made to current economic practice, or to the everyday incidents of life, something more tangible than poetry can be built on that foundation. The main interest, therefore, of this volume lies in the quotations, carefully garnered from various sources; but it must be remembered that these, by themselves, do not form all "the evidence in the case."

ART SECTION.

THE INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART. (*The India Society*.) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by J. C. FRENCH.)

The India Society is to be congratulated on this excellent work. Indian art is still so novel an idea that each of these essays resembles the narrative of an explorer. About Indian art there still hovers a touch of the romance of the unknown, and for the venturesome student there is still something of the fascination of "sunrise in untrodden lands."

The essays open with Professor Strzygowski's "Perso-Indian Landscape in Northern Art." It is long since any more stimulating and arresting contribution has been made to the study of Oriental art, all the more stimulating and arresting because it bristles on all sides with points inviting controversy. The author commences by suggesting Central Asia as a source of Oriental art—"a germinal soil of art between Altai and Iran," to quote his own words. The idea is a fascinating one. The mysterious regions of Kubla Khan and "Silken Samarcand" should hold hidden treasure. Very likely they do, but up to date none has been produced. I mean that no work of art of the first rank has yet been found in these regions. The recent highly interesting discoveries have produced a vast mass of material of the utmost importance for the investigator in almost every subject except art. Most of the art is obviously the work of artisans and not of artists. The small residue, which cannot fairly be covered by such a sweeping condemnation, is of a distinctly second-rate quality. To quote the phrase of a Japanese critic, which the writer heard used in another connection, "Its chief merit is something which is not in it." In other words, the importance of this art lies in the fact that it recalls and reflects the mightier arts of which it is a rough and feeble copy. The towns of Central Asia are essentially frontier towns, where many races, and therefore civilizations and cultures, meet. But this cosmopolitan and international character is not necessarily an advantage. A town such as Khotan was a rough frontier town, where Persians, Greeks, Indians, and Chinese met, and an artist had the opportunity of working equally badly in any of the four styles.

Professor Strzygowski's theory of Mazdaism as a formative element in the Byzantine and mediæval art of Europe is a novel and startling one. Indeed he goes further and sees its influence even in the Far East. He refers to his book, "The Origin of Christian Church Art," for the details of the theory. The reader will eagerly turn to this work for the proofs of this strange and arresting proposition. He also states that further excavations in Persia are required to elucidate the complete story of Mazdaism in art. These will be eagerly awaited. The author mentions that Mazdaism entered Europe through Moorish Spain in the shape of Persian miniatures. Is there any proof of this? There is a theory that Persian miniatures owe something to mediæval European illumination, at any rate as regards the idea of illumination of books itself. Certainly the

resemblance is striking, and much older specimens of the latter are producible. It is true that the Chinese have illustrated books of a very early date, but these differ much from the Persian illuminations in style and treatment. The author is inclined to overemphasize such details as square masonry blocks in pictures. These undoubtedly occur in Ravenna, Ajanta, and the Persian miniatures, but they are also to be found in Cézanne and the modern Post-Impressionists. They are indeed the essence of the style known as Cubism. Even if Mazdaism be proved to have possessed a great art, decorative simplification would not be its monopoly. Similarity does not necessarily imply derivation.

The author talks of Northern and Southern Persian art. He is presumably aware that this is an hypothesis which still awaits proof.

Mr. Visser's article on Indian influence on the art of the Far East is equally arresting and stimulating. Mr. Visser commences by saying that the Indian influence on Far Eastern art is confined to Buddhist art. But surely this is erroneous. It was the influx of Buddhism that revived and re-inspired the exhausted art of ancient China, and produced the splendours of Tang and Sung. It must be remembered, however, as the author rightly points out, that the influence of India on China is only partial. The continuity of the immemorial art of China was not broken, but merely refreshed with draughts from the Indian spring of Buddhism. The earliest Buddhistic monuments in China are at Yun-Kang, and are attributed to the second half of the fifth century. In these the author finds certain elements which are not Chinese. Are these, as one would naturally expect, attributed to India? No. The author finds that they are attributable to the Central Asiatic art of Turkestan, Gandharan, Iranian, and, as a last resort, possibly Indian elements. How a people like the Chinese without an intensely critical æsthetic sense could allow themselves to be influenced by the second-rate stuff which we have hitherto discovered in Turkestan, much of which is a rough provincial school of China itself, remains to be explained. The inferior Gandharan style also must have had little attraction for the Chinese. As regards a possible Iranian element, the case is different. Persia certainly has a great art. But how did it enter China? By sea? Then India is much nearer, indeed a stage on the way. By land? It is, I think, the caravan route which is indicated. Now anyone who has had any experience of travel on the Roof of the World will appreciate the extraordinary difficulty for any but the lightest and handiest objects to be conveyed over these vast deserts and huge mountains. Further, for natives of Persia and China to visit each other's countries in caravans was extremely rare. They met at such markets as Kashgar and Khatan, thereby halving the journey, though even then it is long enough, in all conscience. The same applies to sailing-ships on the sea route, and the place of meeting here is India. Apart from the question of Buddhism, geographical position alone makes the probable share of India in any extraneous element in Chinese art vastly greater than any claim which can be advanced on behalf of Persia. The proximity of Southern China to Indo-China makes the denial of

Indian influence in this region almost impossible. It is to Northern China that this strange influence from Central Asia, the land of the unicorn, is ascribed. As regards means of physical communication, the balance of probability is overwhelmingly in favour of any foreign influence entering the art coming from South China. It is the contrast between the short and simple sea journey on the one side, and on the other of a land journey across mountains and deserts, the vastness of which if it be carefully examined staggers the imagination. These journeys across Central Asia took not weeks nor months, but years.

The author rightly follows the Japanese critic in rejecting Chavannes' division of Wei art into North and South, but when he comes to trace Khotanese influence in the Horiuji frescoes we must part company from him. The frescoes of both Ajanta and Horiuji are great works of art. So are not the frescoes of Khotan? Why should not Ajanta have influenced both Horiuji and Khotan, the artists of Horiuji and the artisans of Khotan? Mr. Visser advances the suggestion that the Indian influence in Buddhist art is not direct but through Khotan, and adds that, at present, pronouncement is premature. Further research in Central Asia will undoubtedly reveal much that is interesting in many directions, and prophecy is dangerous. But with all due deference to the Japanese critics whom Mr. Visser quotes, is not present evidence and general probability in favour of India?

Mr. Visser is unable to detect any connection between the Six Laws of Chinese Painting and the Six Laws of Indian Painting. It is true that these Laws differ as profoundly as do the national and æsthetic geniuses which they express. But does not the fact of the precise enumeration of the number of the laws point rather to an Indian origin of the idea of enunciating them in the first instance, an example of the analytical and definitive Indian spirit, as opposed to the more allusive and casual methods of Chinese æsthetic theory?

The author concludes as follows :

"The two magnificent poles of the art of Asia are India and China. Before there could have been any contact between Chinese and Indian art, each of these arts had produced works of extraordinary beauty and masterly style. If there is any question as to one land having inspired another, then that land is, of course, India.

"Some supreme Buddhist works created in Far Eastern countries seem to be the sublime result of a fusion of Indian and Far Eastern art."

With this all must agree. It illustrates a phrase common in the Far East, *San Goku*, the three countries, China, Japan, and India.

The foregoing remarks on the brilliant and suggestive essays of M. Strzygowski and Mr. Visser are not to be taken as written in a spirit of carping criticism. It is rather an attempt to obtain more information of the evidence on which these striking theories are based. We cannot be too grateful to critics who shake us out of our accustomed grooves and compel us to direct our attention to facts and theories which are novel and sometimes startling.

M. de Goloubeff in his essay on India and Indo-China rightly points out that the art of Cambodia and the rest of Indo-China has received a profound Indian influence, but still retains a national character.

M. Vogel shows the same as regards the art of Java. The national character is particularly apparent in the later mediæval sculpture of this country, though it is to be traced in the earlier sculpture also. Ceylon, on the other hand, according to M. Andreas Nell, is Indian in its greatest art.

M. Hackin's contribution on "Indian Art in Tibet and Central Asia" is a singularly brilliant ray of light thrown on this difficult and obscure subject. This distinguished critic traces the Ajanta line and Indian inspiration in the Tibetan banners. They also preserve the pictorial art of the Pal period in Bengal, the period when Tibet received a strong influx of Indian Buddhism. This explains the powerful Tantric element in Tibetan Buddhism at the present day.

M. Hackin notes that until the beginning of the eighteenth century paintings in Tibet preserved a semblance of Indian grace and elegance, while borrowing from the Far East a vast wealth of ornament and decoration.

I would venture to draw particular attention to the following judgment of this distinguished critic:

"In Tibet the Indian and Chinese influences are to be found working side by side far more than blending together. This remark applies also to Turkestan."

L'ART ISLAMIQUE EN ORIENT: VIELLES FAIENCES TURQUES EN ASIE MINEURE ET À CONSTANTINOPLE. Par Alexandre M. Raymond, Architect, Elève de l'Ecole des Beaux Arts Turque. Péra-Constantinople: *Librairie Raymond Editions d'Art et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Ce pieux livres dédié au Nom de Dieu Clement et Misericordieux. A son Excellence l'Honorable M. Charles R. Crane, Ancien Ministre, Ex-Ambassadeur, des Etats Unis d'Amérique en Chine. Que son nom soit beni par le Monde Islamique pour la protection Filliale et Pieuse qu'il a accordé aux Arts Decoratifs Turcs.

Mr. Alexander M. Raymond has sent us for review two splendid portfolios published at Constantinople, containing some one hundred excellent coloured illustrations. They give us an insight into ancient and modern Islamic decorative art and architecture such as we have never had before. Both portfolios are headed by an explanatory erudite text. The first volume treats chiefly on the refined ceramics and enamels which decorate the mosques of Broussa, Konia, Isnik, and Constantinople. They are brought before us in all their purity and their mystic colourings. It is the laudable aim of the author not only to show to the nations of the West to what excellency Islam art had reached in the time of her prosperity, but, above all, to encourage the Turkish artists of modern time to cultivate and develop their artistic talents, for he very rightly says: "L'art s'il veut vivre doit évoluer," for artists must not merely go on copying what has been created

before, but they must try to reflect in their work the tendency of their respective epoch. M. Raymond, who has been a student at the École des Beaux Arts Turques at Constantinople, endeavours to bring about this evolution in the art-circles in Turkey, trying to encourage the artists of to-day to pay more attention to correct design and drawing, so as to interpret their fauna and flora more truly to nature. He gives us numerous plates of the "Green Mosque" of Broussa, recognized as one of the most perfect edifices in Turkey, influenced still by Byzantine art. The writer has had the good fortune to admire herself this mosque, surrounded by cypress trees and built on a hillock commanding a beautiful view. Pierre Loti wrote the following lines referring to it: "Inside of this mosque there is the splendid 'Mirab' (which is, as everybody knows, the holy portico, erected in the direction of Mecca, towards which the faithful turn when praying), a *chef d'œuvre* of majestic old art, and entirely in enamel; its flowers and arabesques, its inscriptions in relief, are of infinite convolutions; its ogive, charged with stalactites, recalls the crystallizations in the vaults of caverns . . . the rose window over the portal is a splendid monolith of immense architectural value."

Among the other noteworthy mosques of Broussa, once the capital of Turkey, founded by Sultan Orkan, situated at the foot of the Mysian Olympos, we must still note the mosque of Mourad I., the famous Turbé of the Tchelebi Sultan Mehmed, and the mosque of Sultan Bazayid (1400), of which there are splendid coloured plates in M. Raymond's portfolios. Another interesting feature is the old Thermæ of Broussa, mentioned by Steven of Byzantium as the royal baths of Bithynia. They date from 1520-1560, and are now restored and again used as public baths.

One of the most important monuments in Constantinople besides the mosque of Rustem Pasha is the old Serail and its famous fountain. We find exquisite ceramics of the olden times, well illustrated in the plates of these portfolios. It is interesting to note that after the construction of this palace the Persian workmen were exiled from the capital to the island of Rhodes; their art was prohibited to them so that they should no longer execute analogous decorations as those they had worked for the imperial palace. Also, at Konia and Isnik the architecture of the mosques with their decorations in ceramics is, to judge from M. Raymond's plates, of a very high standard. M. Raymond is probably right in his supposition that the first pottery of the world was executed in Mesopotamia, believed to have been once the cradle of humanity. Subsequently the Persians, as is well known, brought this art to great perfection. It passed from there to China, India, Egypt, Italy, Spain, even Mexico, each country adding to it a cachet of its own artistic nature. It would lead us too far to describe at length all the brilliant plates enumerated in M. Alexander Raymond's elaborate portfolios, which are in themselves exquisite works of art. They will raise great interest among all those who know how to appreciate them at their full value. There is one thing, however, we have to deplore. Unfortunately, we can discern in most of the more modern plates that a decline has set in with regard to these ceramics and enamels,

for one no longer detects the brilliant blues and greens intermixed so artistically with the pinks and reds of delicate flowers, nor is there the same workmanship. Let us hope that M. Raymond, who is quite aware of this fact, as we have seen above, will eventually succeed to inspire Islamic art, of which he has proved himself so able an exponent, with new life and worthy of its great past.

L. M. R.

Under the title of "*Une Ville Célèbre Angora : l'Antique Ancyre*" (Librairie Raymond Éditions d'Art et d'Archéologie Orientale, Constantinople), M. Raymond gives us a short, but not less lucid, survey of a town noted in ancient history as owned first by the Galatians (to whom St. Paul wrote his epistle) and then by the Roman Gauls. Now, after many centuries and many vicissitudes, this old town is playing again an important rôle under Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the first President of the Turkish Republic.

Recalling the time of the Gallo-Romans, M. Raymond dwells at length on the remains of the so-called Augustaneum, the only vestige still existing of the ancient temples of yore. He considers it as having been one of the finest architectural buildings which has come down to us, "surpassing in its beauty even the temple of Jupiter at Olympia and that of Apollo at Delphi." Galatia was considered an important town of the Roman Empire, and this temple dedicated to Augustus was completed shortly before the death of this Emperor (A.D. 14). The special interest attached to it is the fact that, in its connection and by the Emperor's order, a copy of the celebrated covenant had been dedicated to posterity on two bronze tablets, and confided to the care of two Roman vestals, one example of this inscription being destined for old Ancyra. It was kept in the interior of the temple, the so-called "proanos," dedicated to the Emperor. Later on the inhabitants of old Ancyra adopted the Christian faith, with the result that the Augustaneum was converted into a church. Various coloured plates annexed to the book illustrate this fact. When subsequently the Caliphs conquered "Ancyra," which they named henceforth "Angora," they built a mosque near the church which protected it. In this connection M. Raymond refutes the assertion which some writers on Ancyra have spread, that the Muslims had apparently fabricated out of the marble blocks of ancient buildings *chalk*—of which they were in need. He says that if these writers had studied a little better the geology of Angora and its surroundings, they would have discovered enough limestone in the neighbourhood for the necessary supply of buildings. The same unfounded accusation has been made with regard to the mosques at Broussa and Constantinople, as having been erected with marbles from ancient buildings, which were, as alleged, destroyed for that purpose; whereas since centuries Turkey has been exploiting the rich quarries in the island of Marmara for her mosques. It is a well-known fact that white and pale rose marbles were extracted in ancient times at Panderna, near Broussa, for the Hayia Sophia at Constantinople.

A still existing column (reproduced on p. 100) has been erected in

honour of Jovien, who took the purple at Ancyra a year after the Emperor Julian the apostate had passed through the town, when marching against the Persians in A.D. 362. But Jovien only wore it for a year; he was found asphyxiated in his bed, caused by a coal fire.

From that time onwards Ancyra underwent great vicissitudes through the constant attacks of the Persians, who, under Chosroes, burned down the greater part of the city (610-671). It was under the domination of the Persians and the Arabs that most of her ancient monuments were demolished, at an epoch when the Byzantine Empire had already reached its decadence. In 1085 Ancyra was in the hands of the Crusaders, but the Latins, who had the Musalmans and also the Greeks for their enemies, only kept Ancyra for a few years. It was during that period that the castle was restored and that churches were built. Subsequently the ancient Ancyra found itself forgotten and abandoned until it passed to the dominions of the Turks, under whom it remained for well-nigh six centuries down to the present day.

In the second part of his interesting book, written throughout with great enthusiasm, M. Raymond dwells chiefly on the events which have brought to the fore Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the man who has succeeded in transforming Turkey into a republic, for at the present time there is no Sultan, no Caliph, at Constantinople. It would be beyond the limits of this review to give more than a rapid glance at the historical account M. Raymond gives us of the Turkish rulers from Erthrogroul, the founder of the dynasty in the thirteenth century, and the conqueror of Constantinople, Mohamed II., down to Abdul Hamid and the Turkish Republic. The author often brings before us interesting incidents, not generally known, and ends up with up-to-date events, such as the Treaty of Sèvres, always taking sides with the "gentleman Turk."

L. M. R.

RĀMA-LEGENDEN UND RĀMA-RELIEFS IN INDONESIEN. By William Stutterheim. Translated into German from the Dutch by Karl and Hedwig Döhring. (Munich: *Georg Müller*, 1925.)

(Reviewed by E. B. HAVELL.)

These two volumes are a continuation of the excellent work which the Archæological Service of Netherlands India have been doing for many years past. Twenty years ago the art of Java was very little known in Europe, and in 1907 I found the splendid set of photographs of the Borobudur reliefs, presented by the Netherlands Government, slumbering peacefully on the shelves of the Royal Asiatic Society, buried under a quarter of an inch of London soot. Since then Dutch archæologists have published a very fine series of volumes on Borobudur, which do justice to the splendid art of Buddhist Java, but until the appearance of the present work there was hardly any adequate description of the group of Siva temples at Prambanam and elsewhere in Central Java, except a set of photographs with descriptive texts in Dutch by Dr. J. Groneman, published in 1893, and Professor E. A. von Saher's work, "De Versierende

Kunsten in Nederlandsch Oost-Indie," published in 1900. It is significant that Mr. Stutterheim had his work translated into German rather than English. Undoubtedly in the present state of Oriental studies in English Universities he will find a larger public in Germany than in England.

The sculptures illustrating the Rāma legend, which are the subject of the present work, belong to two temples—one at Prambanam, known as Lara Djonggranga, and dating from about the ninth century, and another of four or five centuries later at Panataran. The earlier sculptures evidently have close affinities to those of Borobudur, though none of them are of quite the same quality as the best of the Buddhist sculptures, which is not surprising, seeing that at Borobudur itself only a few dozen panels reach the highest art, while there are miles of mediocre work by apprentice hands which only make good decoration. But it would be a critical error to judge the sculptures of these temples solely as *objets d'art* or museum pieces intended for æsthetic gratification. The sculptors themselves had no such intentions. Their first object was to give a faithful and vivid presentation of the story they had to tell to the crowds of pilgrims who circumambulated the temple, and incidentally to beautify the temple to which their lives as artists were dedicated. Mr. Stutterheim, unfortunately, has missed this point. His admirable photographs, taken in bright sunshine as they should be, are all cut up into small sections and groups of figures, like museum specimens, so that to get an impression of the sequence of the story and of the architectural effect of the sculptures the reader must refer back to Dr. Groneman's photographs. It is as if one would analyze a book by taking it page by page without explaining the subject-matter of the whole. Viewed in the proper light the Prambanam reliefs give a most vivid and artistic rendering of the romantic Rāma legend, and make admirable architectural decoration. Their very exuberance, sometimes extravagance, are quite in keeping with the spirit of the epic. These artists had a fine sense of dramatic effect.

The Panataran reliefs, both in conception and in technique, are a marked contrast to the Borobudur and Prambanam sculptures. They are much more primitive and uncultured in style, and though of a later date seem to represent the tradition of the aboriginal art of Java, before the island was colonized from India. The peculiar technique seems to suggest that the sculptors had the idea of using the walls of the temple as the screen of a shadow theatre, for the reliefs look exactly like reproductions in stone of the wooden plaques used in such theatrical displays. Since the Rāma legend was a favourite subject in the shadow theatre, it would seem obvious to sculptors with a very primitive plastic technique to tell the story in this way on the temple walls. Though on a lower artistic plane than the Indianized art of Java, the Panataran sculptures make very good decoration; they would have served admirably as stone grilles for window openings such as were often found in early Hindu temples in India, and afterwards in Muhammadan mosques and tombs.

Mr. Stutterheim thinks that the sudden appearance of these Hindu temples in the middle of Buddhist Java points to the successful invasion

of a foreign dynasty from Sumatra. This might be so, though in India there were frequently monarchs of the same dynasty who patronized impartially Buddhist, Jains, and Hindus. In art, at least, there was often only a very fine division between the Saira and Buddhist cults. It is more remarkable to find the Rāma legend the principal subject in a temple dedicated to Siva.

The author gives a complete study of the variations of the Rāma legend found in Java and Malaya, and altogether has produced a very interesting and scholarly work which is a valuable contribution to the subject.

NEAR EAST

TURKEY IN TRAVAIL: THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION. By Harold Armstrong. Pp. 280, with illustrations and maps. (*The Bodley Head.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by W. E. D. ALLEN.)

Major Armstrong spent seven years in Turkey, from 1916 to 1923. A prisoner of Kut, he was marched across the length of the Ottoman Empire, and was imprisoned in Constantinople, Kastamouni, and Afion-Kara-Hissar. After the Armistice he was attached to the Headquarter Staff of the Allied Army of Occupation, and later acted as Supervisor of Turkish Gendarmerie in the Ismidt area. He is, therefore, well qualified to write on those seven momentous years of Turkish history. He was a prisoner in the country in the days of the Pyrrhic successes in Mesopotamia and the Caucasus—the last flickerings of Osmanli imperialism, when, as in the days of Sulaiman the Magnificent, Turkish arms were, during a few months, carried triumphantly from the Carpathians to the Caspian and the reaches of the Persian Gulf. He saw, too, the swelling triumph of the Allies, when the ancient Empire of the Ottomans lay exhausted and lacerated at the mercy of an American schoolmaster, a Welsh lawyer, and a French journalist.

Major Armstrong's book is interesting as history, but it indicates what we want to know, rather than tells us what we ought to know. Not least interesting are his chapters on the development of contemporary politics in England, which help to explain, if they do not excuse, the gradual loss of all the results of victory in the Near and Middle East. Particularly interesting is his account of the half-hearted efforts to support the Government of Damad Ferid against Angora. He seems to regret that this policy was not more strongly pressed, but we venture to suggest that it would have proved at best no more effective than our active support of Denikin against the Bolsheviks. To patch up and reinforce with the concrete of foreign subsidies the wretched fabric of the Sultanate would have been as hopeless as the attempt made in South Russia to rush back the effete feudalism of Holy Russia behind a screen of British tanks and French seventy-fives. It is a truism that "an idea is stronger than armies." Not all the might of the Supreme Council could set back the clock of history, even in Anatolia, but it would have been at least possible for the Supreme

Council to have put the clock on themselves, and to have set it to their own time.

It is easy to criticize after the event, but it would seem now, in regarding the history of the post-war period from the vantage-point of to-day, that Mr. Lloyd George fell between the two stools of satisfying the shoddy and hypocritical idealism which the Americans applied to the solution of European troubles, and of accommodating the narrow, grasping, yet impotent jealousy which the French opposed to British policy in the Near and Middle East. In funding the American Debt, we surely bought our independence of American opinion in the East, the conquest of which, incidentally, had not cost the bones of a single American negro; and in allowing France the free hand in Europe, which was accorded by Mr. Lloyd George, we became entitled to a free hand in the East, where neither the French nor the Italians had any valid claim to consideration, nor genuine interest beyond that of obstructing the interests of Britain. Had we, from the Armistice, stipulated for the disinterestedness of France and Italy in the East, as against the controlling action which they virtually secured in Europe, we might have led, instead of antagonizing, the national movements in Turkey and Persia, and, incidentally, have prevented the restoration of Russian power in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Major Armstrong's account of the Chanak crisis is particularly valuable, though we would venture not to agree with all his conclusions. He seems to regret that a stronger line was not taken with the Turks, and almost (p. 250) that the Greeks were not allowed, after the Smyrna debacle, to occupy Constantinople. It would, doubtless, have effectively restored our prestige to have allowed the Turks to throw themselves into a defeat at Chanak, but, at the same time, it should be emphasized that the French and the Italians, who were primarily responsible for the disastrous situation, would have been the first to benefit from a British success. Circumstances being as they were, it seems best that the Capitulations and all foreign privileges in Turkey should have been definitely abolished, and that the Turks, in the restoration of Constantinople, should have again become amenable to British sea-power, instead of being reduced to a small Asiatic state, which must inevitably have fallen completely under the control of Russia. A strong policy in Egypt and India is a far surer way of restoring and reviving British prestige in the East than would have been a spectacular repulse of the Turks before Chanak.

In regard to Chanak, it is satisfactory to note that Major Armstrong gives due credit to Mr. Lloyd George for the one strong act which brought about his fall, and which, in fact, was the one redeeming incident in all his Turkish policy.

In conclusion, it should be remarked that it is not only as an historian that Major Armstrong should be read. Primarily he is a writer with a brilliant and vivid pen. His account of the siege of Kut and the march of the prisoners across Turkey has all the humanity, the squalor and the misery, without the morbidness and filth of the Sedan chapters of Zola's "Débâcle"; while the account of his subsequent adventures in Turkey, and

particularly the story of Tahir the Lazz, has the clear easy style, the observation of nature, and the knowledge of rough men, which we find, for instance, in Tolstoy's "Cossacks" and "A Prisoner of the Caucasus." It is to be hoped that this is only the first of Major Armstrong's books.

RÉCITS D'AFRIQUE. By Colonel Paul Azan. L'Emir Abd-El-Kader, 1808-1883. Du Fanatisme Musulman au Patriotisme Français. (*Librairie Hachette.*)

At the present time, when so much interest centres around Morocco, the ancient Barbary, this book on Abd-El-Kader will be most welcome even outside France. A halo of heroism surrounds this pious and ardent believer in Islam, who for over sixteen years fought with his numerous adherents for the independence of Algiers against the "infidels." He was the champion of the North-African natives, whom he collected under his banner by instigating a "holy war" against the French invading their country. Abd-El-Kader was a descendant of that celebrated Saint Sidi Abd-El-Kader. His father, Mali-Ed-Sin, when he discovered that his son already at an early age was imbued with that fiery eloquence which inspired multitudes of Muslims, utilized him to further his plans of fighting against the Christians. Abd-El-Kader was, moreover, a most methodic organizer and a shrewd diplomatist. His guide was the "Koran" and the "Hadiths" (the so-called words of the prophet Muhammad which have come down to the faithful by tradition). But with all that he was not devoid of great tolerance for other religions, recognizing Moses and Christ as prophets who had come for the benefit of humanity before Muhammad. In describing the career of Abd-El-Kader, the author shows him never discouraged in his reverses, and always hopeful for his cause. When after sundry defeats he achieved successes, and signed with Bugeaud, the French general, the Treaty of Tafna, he showed moderation and shrewdness; as also when again victorious at Sidi-Brahim, where, according to Cavaignac, he reaped great advantages. Indeed, he annihilated the column of Montagnac, where this brave but too daring general and many French officers found their death. It was then that he conceived the vast plan of provoking a general rising in Algiers. This dream, however, was shattered by the French, who, on seeing the danger of their being even perhaps driven into the sea by this daring Emir, sent out Bugeaud once more with a formidable army. This time he succeeded in frustrating the plans of Abd-El-Kader. The ensuing conflicts between the French and the numerous adherents of the Emir and his Algerian opponents, who perceived his approaching defeat, read like a romance. The Duc d'Aumale, who finally succeeded Bugeaud, gained his first laurels in this campaign. The description that the author gives of how Abd-El-Kader was encircled by General Moncière and at last surrendered is most impressive, not only on account of the bravery of Abd-El-Kader in his great vicissitudes and his faithful followers who refused to abandon him, but also for the generosity of the French, who through their magnanimity succeeded in turning one of their most embittered enemies

into a devoted friend. It is very touching how, in his subsequent captivity at Amboise, he again and again asked to be allowed to go with his family and entourage to a Mussulman country—Egypt or Asia Minor. It was granted to him, after the fall of Louis Philip, under Louis Napoleon, who befriended him. At last it was arranged that he should go to Broussa, in Asia Minor, the old capital of the Turkish Empire, with its numerous mosques. The father of the present writer, at the time American Consul, was one of those who, with the Pasha and other dignitaries, received him there, and held him in great esteem when subsequently he came to know him more intimately. When in 1855 an earthquake devastated Broussa, Abd-El-Kader, with French permission, left for Damascus. Being faithful to his word of honour, he no longer intervened in political affairs. In this he was a true Muhammadan of the old school, in whom the sense of gratitude is innate. And this he showed when a massacre threatened the Christians of Damascus soon after the Crimean War because they had been granted great privileges. Abd-El-Kader on this occasion extended his help and protection to the French community and the French Consul, and even to the Christians in general. He did so not without incurring danger to his own person. He harangued the threatening crowds which surrounded his house without fear, with the result that they dispersed. He thus saved, as was reported, more than 12,000 Christians. Towards the end of his life (his death was in 1883) he had become a philosopher, a saint, and a mystic. The author quotes the following passage from one of his letters to his friend, Charles Eynard: “Si peu de chose que ce soit, je possède un grand zèle et une tolerance portée à un très haut degré, ce qui fait que j’ai de la considération pour tous les hommes, de quelque croyance et de quelque religion qu’ils soient. Je vais même jusqu’à protéger les animaux, et je ne cherche à faire du mal à qui que ce soit, mais je désire au contraire leur faire du bien. Dieu a créé les hommes pour en faire des serviteurs à lui et non aux autres.” L. M. R.

THE WANDERING SCHOLAR. By D. G. Hogarth. (Oxford.) 8s. 6d.

(Reviewed by Stanley Rice.)

“The policeman’s life is not a happy one,” but it contains interesting experiences and possible thrills, and judging by appearances the policeman seems to like it. That, too, might be said of the life of the antiquarian. He has to put up with all that Nature can do to make life uncomfortable, and to endure in addition all, or almost all, that uncivilized man can do towards the same undesirable end. Drenching rain, biting cold, scorching heat, and dismal swamps are unrelieved when the only shelter to be had is a rude hut, probably out of repair, and certainly infested by fleas and mosquitoes, which often has to be shared with unwashed men and reeking animals. But it is all worth while. There is always the hope of a great find, and when a prize is really won, the traveller “remembereth no more the anguish” for pure joy at having secured it. Nor is life wanting in thrills of another sort. Take for the first kind the following passage: “Every time that I watched the clearance of a sealed tomb door . . . I

used to put all these ills, the disappointments of the work and life, to the account of things that matter not at all. I have dug for twenty years and set foot after the sexton's in very many ancient sepulchres; but I still feel, as at first, the flutter of poignant hope that the tomb may be virgin, and an indescribable thrill at the sight of grave furniture undisturbed since thousands of years." And again of the second: "Eight times I have crossed Euphrates in flood, and eight times failed to see earthly cause why the ferry boat should ever attain the farther shore." And all the while there is simple, almost primitive man to be studied, and many a day has brought new experiences of wild Kurds, smug Turkish officials, patient Egyptian fellahin or Cretans, half European, half Asiatic.

Dr. Hogarth has combined two earlier books and reissued them in a single volume. Though written so far apart as 1896 and 1910 there is no perceptible division between the two parts and the whole makes excellent, at times even fascinating, reading. A delightful style is somewhat marred by a certain consciousness of effort, as though the author were not content with the charm of simplicity but were for ever seeking for literary grace. There is no index, and that, perhaps, the reader can afford to do without, but a map is a more serious omission. Asia Minor and Egypt, with Crete thrown in, cover a large area. Travels that take one now across the Euphrates and now across the Taurus, voyages that land one at Crete or Cyrene, excursions in Lycia and round about the Nile, are difficult to follow, especially when the narrative is peppered with names of obscure towns and villages, for not knowing which even a scholar with more than the usual allowance of geography might well be pardoned.

ORIENTALIA

TALES FROM THE MAHABHARATA. By Stanley Rice. With illustrations. (London: *Selwyn and Blunt, Ltd.*, 21, York Buildings, Adelphi.) Pp. 125.

(Reviewed by J. N. C. GANGULY, M.A.)

Mr. Rice's neatly executed volume is a selection of eight stories from the Mahabharata, the great Sanskrit epic of cyclopedic dimensions, comprising the whole range of Hindu thought and knowledge of the time, as well as history and tradition, in superb poetic clothing. No other work in the ancient literature of India reflects the life and ideals of the people so vividly and graphically as this vast poem of "one hundred thousand verses." Any extract from it can make a complete story by itself, disclosing some form of social life, and thus naturally it supplied to the great masters of classical Sanskrit sources and plots for their masterpieces. Its importance may be easily understood from the popular saying about it, that "there is nothing in Bharat (India) which is not in the Mahabharat." Professor Oldenberg has pithily remarked about its character: "The Mahabharat is the strongest link between old and new India, the India of the Aryan and of the Hindu; . . . in it breathes the united soul of India and the individual souls of her people" (Introduction,

pp. 9-10). If the Vedas and the Upanishads are great in their own spheres, the Mahabharat is equally so—at least, in the domain of poetry of the highest quality.

The book under review has happily noticed these points of primary importance in picking out suitable and representative episodes for the purpose of portraying the life and manners of the age. As an illustration of the poetic merits of the epic itself it is an eminently successful production, even though all translation loses a good deal in its very process, while the ideals it tries to set forth are exactly those which have been cherished most dearly in the land of Bharata as classic instances of virtuous conduct and noble living. Thus we have the counterpart of Alcestis in Savitri and Damayanti (Nos. 6 and 3), close parallels to Ajax in Bhima, the embodiment of brute force and hardihood (No. 1), to Agamemnon in Yudhishtira, as the type of rather colourless leadership (No. 1), and to Achilles and Hector partly in Bhishma and partly in Arjuna, both warriors of matchless prowess and wisdom. The story of "The Descent into Hell" (No. 8) reminds one of the similar episode in the *Æneid*, and the legend of the Flood (No. 5) is the Indian version of the great Deluge.

The style and diction of the versification are worthy of the theme in every case, and recall the epic ring of the original. A few typical lines are quoted below. The idea of the following is like the influence of the Greek Fate or Destiny, and has almost a Miltonic touch in it :

". . . Deep and wise,
Although to mortal men inscrutable,
Are all the ways of Dharma ; though we see
Clear-sighted the affairs of men on earth,
Yet is our vision blinded by the light
Of his transcendent glory . . ." (P. 24.)

The Aryan woman's native reasoning, mixed up with the most scathing sarcasm, according to the demands of the occasion, cannot be better illustrated than in these brave words of Queen Draupadi, flung at the shameless Kuru Princes intoxicated with royal power :

". . . Shame, ye Kuru lords !
Where is the ancient Kshatriya chivalry ?
Where is the boast of Bharata, that thus
Ye silent sit and mock a hapless queen ?
Tell me, I pray you (for Yudhishtira
Hath staked my person, being himself a slave),
What power have slaves to do this thing, when all
Their goods are forfeit ? Tell me then, I pray you,
Whether I be your lawful prize or no." (P. 25.)

A mixture of the East and West—unavoidable as it is from the very nature of the case—is seen in the author's efforts at adaptation. He has brought together Sanskritic and English metaphors well blended in the description of the nymph-mother of Sakuntala. It brings to mind Taine's criticism that Milton's Eve was after all an English girl living in the Garden of Eden. The italics are ours in this extract :

"He spied a maiden, playing with her ball,
Of lovely countenance, and straight and tall.
So beautiful was she, there was *no moon*
As fair as she, nor any *rose in June*,
. . . while all her body fair
Was softly kissed by the enraptured air." (P. 34.)

In the soliloquy of Yudhishtira, showing the moral fibre of his constitution, a fine analysis of the strong mind is given to the readers when on the brink of Hell he refuses to part with his nearest and dearest relatives and enter heavenly bliss on his own merits. Such traits of character rightly entitled him to be called "the righteous":

" . . . What fickle Fate is this
That thus condemns the innocent to Hell
And thrones that other in prosperity?
. . . Do I dream,
Or am I mad? Then he burst out in rage:
'Where is your justice, ye immortal gods?
What are thy judgments, Dharma, which uphold
The wicked and condemn the innocent
To hideous pain?' And, turning to the guide,
'Return,' he said, 'without me; I remain
To share the sufferings of my brethren, since
My presence gives them comfort.'" (P. 123.)

The last words of Bhishma on his death-bed of arrows are indeed noble, and in keeping with his blameless character, gallant attitude, and incomparable bravery:

" . . . But ye, my friends,
Live on henceforth in peace and amity,
And let the blood of Bhishma be the seal
Of lasting friendship. . . .
. . . Then shall there come
The reign of peace and of prosperity,
Father embracing father, brother brother,
And all the world bound in the chains of love." (P. 91.)

Then comes the solemn warning, which is equally applicable to the modern conditions of the world after the last great war:

"But if I speak to still unheeding ears,
The thunder of the wrathful gods shall fall
Upon the stubborn and the land shall groan
With war, till at the last destruction come." (P. 91.)

It is to be noted that the names of Dhritarashtra and Yudhishtira have been misspelt (pp. xv Introduction and 115). This is most probably due to European pronunciation of Sanskrit words.

Of the four popular translations of the "Mahabharat," none aims at presenting before general readers typical selections illustrative in the shortest possible compass of the manners and ideals of the people figuring in the pages of the epic, and of the age specially designated by it. R. C. Dutt's versified translation is a running summary, and so is

Macfee's prose version. The translations by Roy and Dutt are huge productions for scholarly work. Mr. Rice's method is new as well as different. According to the publisher's note : " He has selected certain complete episodes from among the most beautiful and dramatic, without regard to continuity, and, while adhering faithfully to the original, has endeavoured to preserve its charm." This may be said with confidence—that the author has succeeded not only in making the characters live their real lives, but also in giving the epic flavour of the Sanskrit version to his own adaptations. His book thus affords pleasant reading, as well as an insight into the core of one of the greatest literary productions of the world.

THE OCEAN OF STORY. Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara. Edited by N. M. Penzer, with a Foreword by Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E. Vol. II., pp. xxii + 375. (Privately printed by *Charles J. Sawyer, Ltd.*, London.) 1924. Price £2 2s.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

IN the October number of this magazine there appeared a review of Mr. Penzer's first volume of "The Ocean of Story." Now the second volume has been published, and no less an Orientalist than Sir George A. Grierson has contributed a Foreword, which is a study in itself. In it he draws attention to Mr. Tawney's special knowledge of the legends of other countries, which qualify him to make interesting comparisons between them and the legends of India. Sir George alludes to the Appendices added by Mr. Penzer to this volume, which he considers are of absorbing interest, on account of the information they give on matters connected with folk-lore and anthropology. It is interesting to read that in folk-lore horses shared with elephants the power of serving their masters and of speaking to them in the human voice. Besides the Appendices there are elaborate notes on various subjects; the one on *Rahu* and Eclipses explains how eclipses originated, according to folk-lore, and how they affected the people in China and Assam and the Sencis of Eastern Peru. Hindus, even at the present time, consider eclipses as important, and their occurrence is the occasion of the observance of considerable ritual. Another interesting note contains a long quotation from Wilson's "Theatre of the Hindus," relating to Bhavabhuti's *Malati Madhava*, in which, in order to win Malati, the hero employs the same method as Faust did. The other notes refer to Nudity in Magic Ritual, sacred cows, etc.

Readers who may not be well-versed in the old Indian legends will be interested in the story of Urvashi and Puruvasus, considered as possibly the oldest love story in the world. Mr. Penzer also treats at length the history of the umbrella, an article in such constant use in these days that it is difficult to connect it with the usages of bygone times and also that it originated from Mesopotamia. Travellers in Burma are familiar with the *htu*, decorated with bells, which surmounts the pagodas; and the etiquette

connected with the umbrella survives to the present day. It was not seen in England before the seventeenth century and did not come into general use till about a hundred years afterwards, though the French had adopted it as early as 1752.

The last article is on the curious subject of the Poison-Damsel, with which is connected the practice of water-poisoning used both in modern and ancient times. Mr. Penzer quotes from p. 90 of the volume under review to show how Yogakarandaka "tainted, by means of poison and other deleterious substances, the trees, flowering creepers, water and grass all along the line of march. And he sent poison-damsels as dancing-girls among the enemy's host and he also dispatched nocturnal assassins into their midst." In view of discussions regarding the modern practice of using poison gas in warfare, it is interesting to note that ancient writers on military law considered that the use of such poison in warfare was "against all laws—human and divine."

The value of this volume is further enhanced by the very copious and detailed index of Sanskrit words and proper names. We trust that Mr. Penzer will be free to edit the forthcoming volumes with the zeal and care he has shown in the two volumes already published.

GENERAL

LANKA THE RESPLENDENT

CEYLON: ITS HISTORY, PEOPLE, COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES, AND RESOURCES. Compiled and published by Platé, Ltd., Colombo. Pp. 207 + 119 + 125. Rs. 5.

The attractions and delights of this "Island Paradise" are many and varied, and they have become of recent years better and better known outside the island; and the modern capital, Colombo, from its central situation on the Eastern world's marine highway, has long possessed something of a cosmopolitan character. In this new volume the authors aim to bring to the notice of a yet wider public advantages and interests which their island can offer to the traveller and the tourist, and, indeed, for permanent residence. It can be easily and comfortably reached, having splendid sea-communications. To this land, in extent about equal to Holland and Belgium together, nature has been most bountiful; the climate is mildly tropical, and variable the year round, with cool and invigorating hill stations and gardens; hardly a month passes without rain, so that everywhere is luxuriant vegetation; there is great variety of scenic charm—golden beaches, great rivers and lagoons, beautiful hills, and fertile plains. No one who has been there can ever forget Kandy, the old capital, set in its gardens round its lovely lake, and near it, within encircling rivers, Peradeniya, in whose scientific groves grows every green thing from the palm to the pine. In many places remains of ancient Buddhist architecture may be seen. The island is well equipped with

modern facilities—railways, roads, telegraphs, telephones, and travel by car is very easy. For the sociological observer, its history and literature have much of interest, from the old Indian period through the centuries down to the coast settlements by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and the Dutch in the seventeenth, followed by the British at the end of the eighteenth; in 1815 the whole island came under British rule. As a result of these mixed influences on the population, who number 4,500,000, one meets very agreeable and cultivated people. The main religion is that of the Buddha, introduced from India before the Christian era; of late years there has been a Buddhist renaissance.

The volume is handsome and well produced, and eminently readable: each of the many chapters has been written by a well-known authority on the special subject, and there have been added about a hundred fine illustrations, including four very pretty country and sea scenes in colour. The first section gives useful information of every sort about the island, the second deals with its valuable and important industries—tea, rubber, coconut, plumbago, gems, timbers, trade, agriculture, fisheries; the third, which struck us as very well done, forms a succinct "Who's Who" of Ceylon personages, with many small portraits.

W. F. W.

ARCHÆOLOGY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS.

Vol. 1: Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting; First Century Wall-Paintings from the Fortress of Dura on the Middle Euphrates.

By James Henry Breasted. (Chicago, Illinois: *The University of Chicago Press*.) Pp. 105 and twenty-three plates.

The heading of this in many respects attractive publication seems to suggest that its chief interest is a subject that should appeal to students of the history of ancient painting by revealing a discovery which upsets prevailing tenets. Professor J. H. Breasted, the Egyptologist of the University of Chicago, certainly furnishes us with a delightful description of his expedition along the middle course of the Euphrates of 1920. The text is interspersed with fifty-eight reproductions of photographs of scenery. The object of his expedition had been "a preliminary inspection of the accessible regions of the Near East, for the collection of original monuments and documents, and the study of the monuments *in situ*" (due in the main to the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jun.). When visiting Baghdad Mr. Breasted heard of "the discovery of some ancient wall-paintings in a wonderful state of preservation" at Salihyah by Captain M. C. Murphy. There was also a note from Lieut.-Colonel Leachman to the Civil Commissioner, Colonel A. T. (now Sir Arnold) Wilson, saying: "The paintings . . . are most interesting, and should, I think, be seen by an expert. If your American archæologist is still about, it would repay him to come and see this." And Professor Breasted seized the

opportunity with the greatest pleasure. Unfortunately, the place where the fresco paintings had been discovered were "very much of a war area." They had come to light accidentally by the digging of trenches inside a ruined ancient fortress. Indian troops were stationed there, but they had to be withdrawn immediately. So the American savant hurried up to the spot and had the benefit of being protected; a splendid opportunity, but, unfortunately, for one day's duration only. Hurried notes were made, photographs were taken, and all the materials collected to be worked out subsequently. It is gratifying to be told that not less than thirty photographs could be taken on that occasion. They have been reproduced on an enlarged scale in the present volume. Among them there are several in colour, reproducing the principal wall-painting. It has been noted that in this case the colours have been laid on, after he had left the place, from the notes made at the time. The fresco paintings form the subject of a lengthy learned discussion as to their merits. They represent sacrificial scenes, and seem to date from the first and from the third centuries of our era. The inscriptions accompanying them are in Greek, not unnaturally, and we are asked to believe that the same may be said of the style of painting. In proof of this hypothesis we are invited to compare them with well-known mosaics of the sixth century in a church of Ravenna, of which an unsatisfactory small reproduction is given in the book. In an unbiassed student the confrontation may elicit a doubt whether it does not rather disprove Mr. Breasted's ingenious contention than prove it, especially if such a student happens to be well acquainted with Byzantine art in general, and with the mosaics of Ravenna in particular. To such a one a close study of the wall-paintings on the Euphrates as here represented might show that not only the costume of the figures depicted, their type, and their carriage, and so also the ritual they are performing, are thoroughly Oriental, but also that they exhibit a somewhat close affinity with other ancient Oriental art untouched by the influence of Greece and Rome.

M. F. Aumont, the recognized authority on questions of Eastern culture of the early centuries of our era, has contributed an introduction to Mr. Breasted's accounts of the discoveries published by him. He seems to us to be less positive in his assertions about that problem in art history. He does not go beyond saying that the discovery "throws a vivid light upon numerous questions of which science still awaits the solution. It raises also new and perplexing questions, and it may be predicted that it will provoke abundant commentary." The Belgian savant's reserve may be connected with his knowledge of the place, which he had also visited, but at a later date, on a scientific mission. To him Mr. Breasted has dedicated his book.

J. P. R.

ORIENTAL STORIES.

(Reviewed by F. R. SCATCHERD.)

MILLE ET UN CONTES, RECITS ET LEGENDES ARABES. Tome I. By René Basset. (*Maisonneuve*, 3, Rue de Sabot, Paris.) 55 francs.

L'HISTOIRE ROMANESQUE D'UDAYANA. Roi de Vatsa. (*Editions Bossard*, 43, Rue Madame, Paris.) 21 francs.

BUDDHIST STORIES. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. (*Theosophical Publishing House*, Adyar, Madras, India.) 1s. 3d.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF INDIAN TALES. By C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O. (*Humphrey Milford*, London, Oxford University Press, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras.) 1s. 3d. net.

M. René Basset's monumental work should prove a veritable gold-mine to the folklorist in particular, and the student of Arabic literature in general, on account of its valuable notes and its carefully compiled bibliography of the sources from which the tales, etc., are taken. This first volume consists of *Contes Merveilleux—Contes Plaisants*, and is to be followed and completed by a second, *Contes d'Animaux*. As M. Basset points out in his preface, comparative folklore as a science dates only from the nineteenth century, so that earlier collections are lacking in those comparisons and examples drawn from kindred literatures which render M. Basset's work indispensable alike to the collector and the scholar.

"L'Histoire Romanesque d'Udayana," by Somadeva, is translated for the first time from the Sanskrit into French, with introduction and notes by Felix Lacôte, Professor of Literature at the University of Lyons, and is appropriately illustrated by Jean Buhot, who has caught the spirit of this old Indian tale and illustrated it in a manner consonant with the best traditions of Indian art, sacred and profane. The present edition is limited to 1,500 copies, each numbered. There is also an *édition de luxe* of 150 numbered copies at 60 francs a copy.

Mr. F. L. Woodward's "Buddhist Stories," translated from the Pāli, contain most of the best *short* stories in Buddhist literature. Illustrative of Buddhist ethics as held by devotees of two thousand years ago (no story being later than the date assigned to Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla—that is, about A.D. 500), they form for the beginner the best possible introduction to the moral teachings and atmosphere of the period they cover.

"An Anthology of Indian Tales" is "designed to give in compact form the most popular of the stories" selected from "Indian Heroes" and other collections of Indian tales. First published in 1922, it has been republished by request, and the good type and happy illustrations will render it attractive to the school boys and girls for whom it is intended.

Like Mr. Woodward, Mr. Kincaid has the rare gift of the story-teller, so that these two little volumes will appeal to youthful readers of all ages. What effect these tales will produce on the minds of the young is open to question. Take, for example, the tales of Kabir.

"The saint Kabir was the incarnation of the rishi Shuk. He was not born of woman, but came into the world in this manner: One day at Manikanika ghat a certain Mussulman weaver, Tamalmomin by name, was washing some bundles of thread in the sacred stream. As he washed them he heard the cry of 'Ram, Ram,' and, looking down, saw a shell floating by. He picked it out, and, opening it, saw inside a beautiful little baby boy. When his wife saw the little boy, she was so pleased that, although not a mother, she was able to nurse it. She and her husband gave the little boy the name of Kabir. . . . Although brought up a Mussulman, he never ceased to repeat the name 'Ram.' Often through thinking too deeply of the divine Ramchandra, he would swoon and lie unconscious by his loom. Then the Lord Krishna, fearing that Kabir's mother would beat him, would come and himself work the loom while the child lay unconscious. One day Kabir came to himself while the Lord Krishna was still working at a gold-embroidered shawl. The god did not vanish, but remained working at the loom with Kabir. So god and saint combined their labour, just as the waters of the Saraswati mingle inseparably with those of the Ganges."

The story of the gold-embroidered shawl is too long to quote.

"When Kabir grew to manhood, his wife bore him a son named Kamal. One evening a band of pilgrims came to Kabir's house. Both he and his wife . . . rejoiced to see saintly men, even as the parched soil rejoices when it sees a storm of rain."

There was no food to prepare a meal; he had no money, his neighbours would lend him nothing. Kabir turned to his son and said:

"'We cannot send the pilgrims away empty. Let us go and steal some food for them.' . . . At midnight, when all were asleep, they went to a wealthy grocer's shop. They made a hole in the wall, and the son crawled through it. He did not touch the rich clothes and jewels, but passed to his father through the hole grain and rice, ghee and molasses, pulse and vegetables. When Kabir had got enough for the saints' dinner, he bade his son come out. But Kamal did not wish to go without telling the grocer what he had done. . . . 'Wake up, sir merchant. I am one of two thieves who have just broken into your house, but I could not go without telling you. The grocer sat up in bed, and Kamal ran away. As he strove to get through the hole by which he had come . . . Kamal said to his father: 'My father, the grocer has caught me by the legs, and is dragging me back through the wall. If he sees my face, he will raise the whole town against us. The saints will not eat stolen food. They will flee from your house, just as a learned man does when a Mang enters his dwelling. Cut off my head, so that the grocer may not know who I am.' Kabir's heart sank within him when he heard his son's words. But he drew his sword and cut off Kamal's head. Then, taking it and the sack of

stolen food, Kabir returned to his home. There he told his wife everything and showed her their son's head."

How Lord Krishna came to the rescue, and how Kabir's fame for saintliness, since he had sacrificed his son, spread all through Benares, and thus roused enemies against him, "as the owl reviles the sun when it rises, or as thieves abuse the moon when it shows itself above the horizon," is one of the most fascinating and perplexing of these tales of myth and marvel.

NESTORIAN GEOGRAPHY AND SIMILAR PROBLEMS

BY B. E. SMYTHE, F.R.G.S.

HIRTH, in his "China and the Roman Orient," written in 1885, showed that the geographical description of Ta-ch'in carved on the Nestorian monument at Si-ngan-fu was but one of several Chinese records, some earlier, some of subsequent date, but all dealing with the physical outline of the Western world.

With sound instinct he assumed that a solid basis of fact underlaid the legendary character of the State annals, and by a masterly "matter-of-fact" interpretation identified the "Flying Bridge" with Zeugma, where Seleucus joined cities on either bank. At an earlier date the Euphrates, at some point, had been crossed by Alexander the Great with a structure of the suspension type.¹

Bretschneider, quoted by Hirth, elucidated the even more mythical "water-sheep-plant," by suggesting the delicate fabric woven from the marine byssos,² a word which has disappeared from English encyclopædias, though an excellent description can be found in Dictionnaire Larousse.

English translations of the Nestorian inscription given by Legge and Moule have long been unobtainable, and the small pamphlet by Wylie difficult to procure, so Professor Saeki by his volume, written in English and published by the S.P.C.K.³ in 1913, conferred a real benefit on that portion of the reading public which has no access to reference libraries.

It is generally accepted that Li-kan is the earliest name by which the Roman Provincia Oriens was known to the Chinese, an alternative name being Hai-hsi-kuo, Country of the Western Sea.

Most members of the French school assume that Li-kan is the phonetic equivalent of Alexandria⁴ in Egypt, but Hirth makes a strong case for identifying Alexandria with "the royal city of Chih-san."⁵

An-tu, Antioch on the Orontes, is clearly described in many accounts as the capital city of Li-kan, and in so far as Li-kan implies a large district rather than one city, it would apply to Syria as conquered by Alexander the Great and inherited by the Seleucidæ.

About the end of the first century of our era the name Li-kan was replaced by Ta-chin (Ta-ts'in),⁶ so called, according to the Hou-han-shu, because the inhabitants were tall and fair, resembling the Chinese, a description which has been considered fantastic, but the Wai-kuo-t'u

¹ Plin., v. 24 (21), 86.

² *Pinna squamosa*, the Xenfi of the demotic papyrus (*Révue Égyptologique*, tome i., p. 159, première série). The priests of Amon-Ra farmed out the making of the byssos fabric. (See article on "Les Régimes Matrimoniaux," in same volume, p. 113.)

³ Under the auspices of the Cecil family.

⁴ "T'oung Pao," 1915, 690-691; also *Journal Asiatique*, Janv.-Mars, 1921, p. 140.

⁵ Hirth, "China and the Roman Orient," p. 181.

⁶ Pelliot, "T'oung Pao," II., xvi.

(map of foreign countries) mentions the height of the people as being 6 to 7 feet, and also notes their red and white faces.

It is probable that the pre-Canaanitic Samaritan population had somewhat Mongoloid¹ features, for Ezekiel (xvi. 3, 45) records that the father of Jerusalem was an Amorite² and its mother a Hittite. The Amorites were tall and ruddy. The Hittites were probably descended from Tartars of Bactria, the racial type preserved by the modern Kalmucks. At the time of the Israelitish conquest Jerusalem³ was in the hands of the Jebusites, a mixed tribe partly Amorite and partly Hittite in descent. There were Hittites in the extreme south near Hebron, and they had a stronghold at Kadesh on the Orontes.

Ta-ch'in is definitely localized as including Judæa by the words of the inscription: "A Virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Ta-ch'in," but the name coincided in a wider sense with Syria, always a loose geographical term, for, to quote Professor Mahaffy:⁴ "The very name Syria⁵ is a sort of absurdity, seeing that the empire founded by Seleucus had Babylon for its natural centre, and included the Upper Provinces—Parthia, Bactria, Ariana."

To the people of Palestine it signified the vast tract over which the Aramæan⁶ tribes had roamed. "An Aramæan wanderer was my father" (Deut. xxvi. 5, R.V. marginal reading).

About the year 550 A.D. the name Ta-ch'in is, to some extent, replaced by Fu-lin, which after long controversy can be most satisfactorily accepted as Rōm⁷ (Byzantium) through the Armenian Hrom or Horum (Pehlevi Hrōm).

Hui-ch'ao, in his "Visit to the Five Indies," give an itinerary which runs:

"From Takharestan going westward for one month we arrived at Persia.⁸ This kingdom of Persia formerly ruled over Tadjik. The Tadjik used to be a pastoral people under the Persian King, but afterwards they rebelled against the King, and not only gained their independence, but finally power to rule over Persia. Tadjik trade in the Western Sea, and their ships sailing southward reached the island of Ceylon. . . .⁹ Again, going from Persia northward for ten days across the mountains we reach Tadjik, and beyond it there is Little Fu-lin. They worship God, but do not know Buddhism. In their law they do not practise kneeling down. Again, Greater Fu-lin lies to the north-west of the sea which bounds Little Fu-lin. The King of Greater Fu-lin has a strong army, and is not subject to any other country. The Tadjik¹⁰ invaded it without success. The land is wide enough and full of precious things—mules, donkeys, sheep, and

¹ Conder, "The Hittites and their Language," pp. 96, 106.

² For the wide area occupied by the Amorites see the map in "Ancient Egypt" (ed. by Sir W. Flinders Petrie), March, 1924.

³ Sayce, "Higher Criticism of the Monuments," p. 138.

⁴ "Spread of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire," p. 94.

⁵ Strabo, xvi., ch. i., 1.

⁶ Sayce, *op cit.*, 194.

⁷ *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, Mars-Avril, pp. 498-500.

⁸ Professor Saeki, "The Nestorian Monument in China," p. 80.

⁹ Note that here Hui-ch'ao speaks from hearsay only. He did not travel further west than the modern Afghanistan.

¹⁰ H. Cordier in Yule, "Cathay and the Way Thither," p. 88.

horses and mats. Their dress resembles that of Persia and Tadjik, but their language is not the same."

Hui-ch'ao returned to China in 727 A.D.,¹ and his account here given describes Anatolia, the Tadjik being the conquering Moslem Arabs, who, as stated, never really established themselves in that country and failed in their attempt on Byzantium, evidently Greater Fu-lin, whose King was independent and possessed a large army.

The Western Sea in which the Tadjik traded is not the Mediterranean, but the Persian Gulf.

Professor F. Brown,² in conjunction with the late Professor Cheyne, considered that "ships of Tarshish" (Ezek. xxvii. 25) could also be translated "tribes of Asshur," this Asshur being, not the famous district of Babylonia, but a north-eastern Arabian district of somewhat uncertain extent, also known as Geshur.³

The overland portion of the trade was held by the Nabathæans.

Hsuan-tsang, who wrote the "Buddhist Records of the Western World," records (also on hearsay evidence):

"To the north-west this country of Persia borders on the kingdom of Fu-lin, which resembles the kingdom of Persia in point of soil, manners, and customs, but they differ in point of language and appearance of the inhabitants. These also possess a good quantity of gems and are very rich.

"To the south-west of Fu-lin, in an island of the sea, is the Kingdom of the Western Women. Here there are women only with no men; they possess a large quantity of gems and precious stones which they exchange in Fu-lin. Therefore the King of Fu-lin sends certain men to live with them for a time. If they should have male children they are not allowed to bring them up."⁴

Here the description given points to Anatolia and Asia Minor, of which Ephesus⁵ was the commercial capital. Hence the mention of Samos at its south-west extremity, though the Chinese chronicler may have had in mind that island to the south-west of Arabia, of which similar tales were told.⁶ The anachronistic account of the Amazons,⁷ armed priestesses who guarded the temple treasures, is characteristic of Chinese records, but Hsuan-tsang, who, after thirteen years of travel, returned to China in 645 A.D., naturally knows nothing of the conquering Moslems.

The Chinese first came into contact with the outside world in 2697 B.C., when Hwang-ti reigned as Emperor, for an embassy from the Chaldæans⁸ (known as Yue-shang-shi) travelled across the Kwen-lun mountains, bring-

¹ This date is given in a letter of Professor Paul Pelliot to the writer, who is also greatly indebted to him for various Chinese references in the French archæological journals quoted in this article. (See further, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, vii., pp. 511-512.)

² *Encyc. Bib.*, p. 4901.

³ Strabo, 765. Arrian ("Anab. Alex." vii. 7) states that the ships of the Gerrhæans (from the Arabian coast of Bahrein) sailed up the Tigris as far as Opis. See article "Trade and Commerce," by G. A. Smith, in *Encyc. Bib.*

⁴ Saeki, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁵ Strabo, 663, bk. xiv., ch. ii., 29.

⁶ "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," translated by Schoff, p. 144. Philadelphia, 1912.

⁷ *Encyc. Bib.*, Ephesus, 1302.

⁸ Yule, "Cathay and the Way Thither," p. 7.

ing with them a divine tortoise 1,000 years old, having on its back inscriptions in strange characters resembling tadpoles, in which was related the history of the world from the beginning.

Yao, who lived in 2356 B.C., caused them to be translated, and they were known thereafter as "The Annals of the Tortoise."

Yue-shang-shi signifies "a people with long trailing robes," and tadpoles, though not so scientific as wedges, are no less descriptive of cuneiform characters. Chang Ch'ien was the first Chinaman to explore Western countries. His journey took place about 120 B.C., and notices¹ have survived of various embassies from Li-kan, including that of the traders who professed to be authorized by Marcus Aurelius.

There is on record the journey of the Chinese General, Pan Ch'ao, who was received with honour at the Syrian frontier, and conducted by relays of post-horses to the capital, returning to his own country in 102 A.D.; and Florus mentions ambassadors who came to the throne of Augustus from Parthia and the Seres.

The account of this early intercourse can also be found in Hirth's classic,² but it is probable that in China unofficial information was ignored in the Imperial archives, and at least one late Hellenic narrative assumes more open diplomatic intercourse, for Heliodorus,³ who is supposed to have written towards the end of the fourth century A.D., in giving a description of the wedding festivities at the Court of Ethiopia, relates: "After him came the ambassadors of the Seres and brought to him (Theagenes) two garments, one purple and the other white, the yarn whereof was spun by the spiders that breed in their country."

Seres⁴ was the usual name for North China when approached by the overland route, as distinct from Sin, the terminus of the southern sea-route, and, the Gymnosophists having been previously mentioned, there can here be no confusion with Indo-China.

The romance of Theagenes and Chariclea was in the nature of an historical novel, for the glory had long since departed from Meroe,⁵ which as early as 67 A.D. was represented only by a few wretched huts.

Apart from anachronisms in fourth-century literature, the Chinese traders in Bactria may have come across the Barcan exiles,⁶ who in 510 B.C. survived transportation on a scale which makes Siberia negligible. W. H. Schoff records that regular caravan travel is said to have begun in 188 B.C.

Moreover, as Yule⁷ points out, Chinese refugees of royal birth, having failed to find safety in Persia in 240 A.D., retired somewhat later into Armenia, where they were received by the King Tiridates, who eventually bestowed the province of Doron upon the prince Mamkon and his Chinese followers.

From this Mamkon came the family of Mamigonians, whose Chinese descent is spoken of by all the Armenian historians.

About the same time the Emperor of China offered to mediate between

¹ "Variétés Sinologiques," 23-24, p. 47.

² "China and the Roman Orient."

³ "Æthiopica," Wright's revision of Underdowne's translation. G. Routledge and Sons.

⁴ Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁵ "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," p. 59.

⁶ Herodotus, "Melpomene," 204.

⁷ Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Cf. "Variétés Sinologiques," 2B, 24, p. 67.

Ardeshir, King of Persia, and Khosroes I., King of Armenia. The authority quoted is Zenob,¹ a Syrian, who wrote in Armenian in the beginning of the fourth century, who says his authority was derived from a history of China written in Greek by one Parta, or Barta, of Edessa.

Moses of Chorene² states that in the reign of Tigranes VI. (142-178 A.D.) several bodies of foreign settlers, and amongst others Chinese, were placed in Gordyene or Kurdish Armenia for the defence of the country.

The adherents of Nestorius were strongly established in Kurdistan, and it seems probable that the Nestorian monks who set forth for China in the earlier half of the seventh century were not venturing altogether into the unknown.

Allowing for the time required for such a journey, they appear to have reached their destination as if by calculation rather than accident, and to have shown a fair knowledge of Chinese courtly etiquette on arrival. Nor were they long in acquiring a markedly difficult language, though it is evident that King-tsing Adam's Sanskrit was elementary.³

Those specimens of Chinese porcelain, which Layard⁴ found encrusted with the dust of ages and suspended from the roof of an ancient church in the Valley of Jelu, may indeed have been ex-votos brought back by the surviving monks at the close of their heroic venture.

The geographical description graven on the Nestorian monument, erected in 781 A.D., reads:

"According to the descriptive records of the Western Lands and the historical works of the Han and Wei dynasties, the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in is bounded on the South by the Coral Sea and reaches on the North to the Mount of all Precious Things; on the West it looks towards the garden of the Immortals and the Flowery Forests. On the East it lies open to the Long Winds and the Weak Waters. The country produces asbestos cloth, the soul-restoring incense, the bright-moon pearls and night-shining gems.

"Robberies and thefts are unknown among the common people, whilst everyone enjoys happiness and peace. None but the luminous teachings prevail, none but virtuous rulers are raised to the sovereign power.

"The territory is of vast extent, and its refined laws and institutions, as well as accomplished manners and customs, are gloriously brilliant."⁵

It is evident that this account of a Golden Age when the Pax Romana spread a civilizing atmosphere throughout Western Asia was not a contemporary version of the state of affairs in 781 A.D., and, in fact, the annals of the Han and Wei dynasties quoted cover the period 206 B.C. to 265 A.D.

The map given here is from Schrader's Atlas, and shows the Diocesis Orientis, including Egypt at the time (395 A.D.) of the division of the Eastern and Western Empires. The dashed extension shown of the region north of the Kurdish mountains is taken from Smith and Grove's Atlas, the date mentioned for this being the latter part of the year 300 A.D.

This covers the fourth century, when the "luminous" religion was well established.

A difficulty arises as to whether Egypt should be included, much as if Scotland were not invariably assumed to be part of Great Britain; but island geography is simple compared to a province which covered large

¹ "St. Martin," 29.

² *Ibid.*, 47.

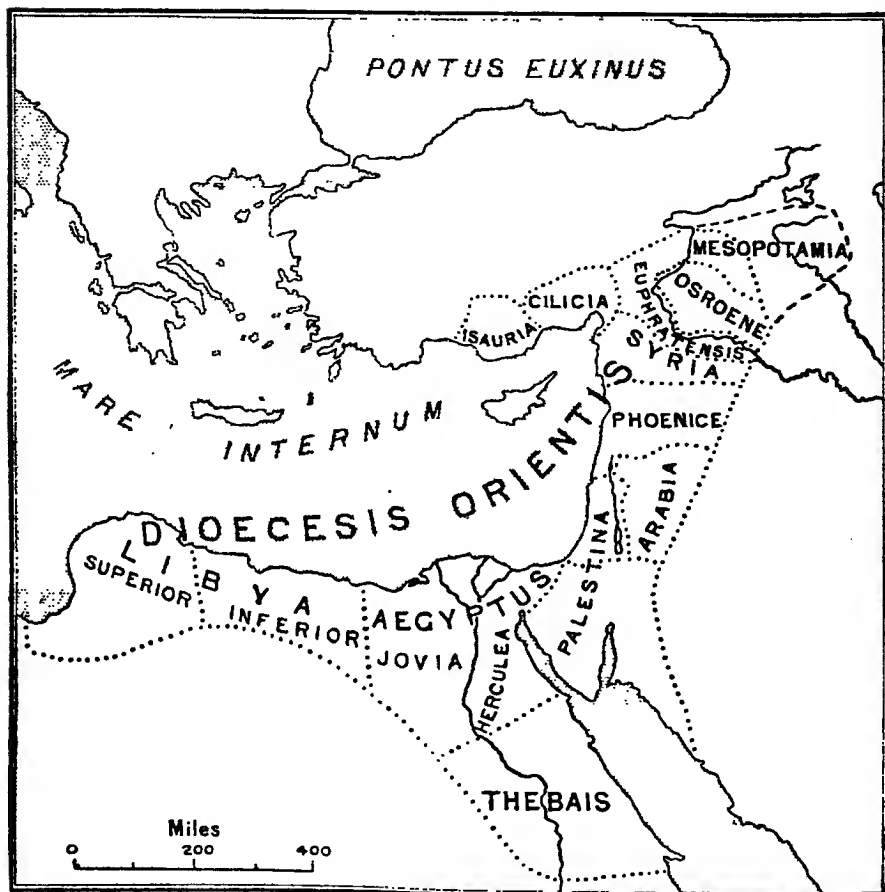
³ Saeki, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴ "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 433.

⁵ Saeki, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

tracts of two continents, though Egypt was for long accounted part of Asia.

Of the southern boundary there can be but little doubt, substituting for "Coral," "Erythræan" Sea, which included both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The frankincense of Southern Arabia and the pearls of Bahrein,¹ though obtained beyond the limits of the Empire, only reached the Chinese from Syrian traders in Parthia.



Asbestos is not to-day associated with Western Asia, but the Egyptians used the finer amianthine² variety for shrouds, so may have had some source of supply now lost to sight, possibly in the land of Midian. Egypt has both rock crystal and smaragdus. Wiederman³ suggests that the pillars in the temple at Tyre seen by Herodotus⁴ shining by night may have been covered by luminous paint.

The "Mount of all Precious Things," following the northern boundary of "Oriens," should be found in Kûrdistan,⁵ where lies Mount Nizir, which Professor Sayce calls the sacred mountain of the Turanians, and it

¹ Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

² *Encyc. Brit.*, vi., 567, 6 (ninth edition).

³ Quoted in *Encyc. Bib.*, p. 4804, footnote.

⁴ Herodotus, "Euterpe," 44.

⁵ See the interesting articles by Mr. Driver in *J.R.A.S.*, 1921 and 1923.

seems natural that the Chinese should preserve the Turanian tradition if only by implication. This mountain,¹ the southern outpost of E. Khar-sag-Kurkura² (the Mountain of the World), probably represents the sacred mountain, a representation of which formed part of the temple architecture in Chaldæa.³

It figures largely in the Babylonian deluge narrative, where it is expressly stated that "the Mountain Nizir stopped the ship," and that it was accounted sacred in prediluvian times is suggested by the author of the Gnostic work, "Pistis Sophia,"⁴ who says that the "Books of Jeu" were deposited in the Rock of Ararat⁵ and miraculously preserved there by a "Ruler" superior to fate.

Hippolytus,⁶ or the author of a fragment attributed to him, speaks also of the cave of "deposits" (*Cavernam thesaurorum*), where were found the bodies of the prediluvian patriarchs, from whence the body of Adam was, with much ceremony, transferred to the Holy Mount.

Professor S. Langdon, discussing the city Darahuja, says: "This oracular spot in the mountains is not mentioned elsewhere, hut the suggestion forces itself upon us that here, as at Arbela, there may have been a mysterious cavern famed in legend as the abode of a python."⁷ The termination of the name Darah(uja) suggests Aja, a female impersonation of the Morning Star, worshipped in the guise of a serpent.

Apocalyptic literature contains many references to this Paradise, which continued to be occupied by the "Watchers" until the Flood, and subsequently formed the habitat of translated heroes.⁸

The Book of Adam and Eve has: "Jared continued to teach the children eighty years, but after that they began to go down from the Holy Mountain, and to mix with the children of Cain."⁹

It is true that the whole *mise-en-scène* was later transferred, by the Persians to Mount Elhurz, and by the Hebrews to Mount Senir (Hermon),

¹ The modern Rowandiz. Sayce, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 156. For a description of the scenery see the late Sir Mark Sykes' "The Caliphs' Last Heritage," p. 345.

² Maspéro, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 543, footnote. Cf. Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³ Ragozin, Chaldæa, p. 277.

⁴ Quoted by Professor Burkitt in "Jewish and Christian Apocalypses," p. 18, footnote.

⁵ Pseudo-Hippolytus has: "As to Mount Kardu, it is in the east, in the land of the sons of Raban, and the Orientals call it Mount Godash (Gordyæum); the Arabians and Persians call it Ararat" (Anti-Nicene Library, vol. vi., p. 495).

⁶ He wrote in the early decades of the third century. It is in dispute whether he were Bishop of Portus (Ostia), the harbour of Rome, or of Portus Romanorum (Aden). In either case he would be in constant touch with seafaring men.

⁷ "Tammuz and Ishtar," p. 129.

⁸ Anti-Nicene Library, vol. vi., pp. 491-495.

⁹ Ragozin, *op. cit.* (p. 140 ff), refers to the theory that the children of Cain, "the oldest of men," are the Turanians, with whom the "Watchers" sinned by intermarriage. The second fragment of Julius Africanus (in Georgius Syncellus, "Chron.," p. 19, ed. Paris, 14 Venet) calls the descendants of Cain "a mixed people" who stirred the indignation of God, though the translator (in Anti-Nicene Library, vol. ii., p. 172) states that the text here is corrupt.

but the seer in Enoch expressly states¹ that he went a long way and passed over the Erythraean Sea before he came to the "garden of righteousness," where the aged Adam and Eve still survived, though here there seems to be the confusion with an island of the Persian Gulf which is noted by Professor S. Langdon.²

It seems possible that the Milky Way personified the gleaming tree on the Serpent Mount from whence descended the water of life. Thus in spring Tammuz was visualized in the north issuing as the Tigris³ (the legendary Id-su-ba) which passed through glittering stones, and in autumn his worship centred at Eridu in the extreme south, where, after submersion in the Persian Gulf, he would again vanish into the Milky Way, here regarded as a dark pine-tree.

The astrologers identified the Tigris with the Eastern Fish or Anunit, and in astrology the constellation of Anunit influences the Tigris and the land Akkad as well as the sea-coast land.⁴

The "Book of Enoch" (a Palestinian work of the first century B.C.) has repeated descriptions of the seven mountains of magnificent stones, whereof "the middle one reached to heaven, like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was a sapphire." Around them lay a flaming fire.⁵

A more interesting account of the "mount of all precious things" is preserved by Ezekiel, for the prophet links up with the Phœnician tradition.⁶ That acute biblical critic Origen⁷ remarks that however it may be with the twenty-seventh chapter, the twenty-eighth was delivered, not to an earthly prince, but (in his opinion) to "a certain angel⁸ who had received the office of governing the nation of the Tyrians, and to whom also their souls had been intrusted to be taken care of."⁹

This Prince of Tyre must be one of the "Watchers,"¹⁰ the sons of Elohim who walked among the stones of fire on the ancestral Holy Mount, and he probably represented Demarūs, the otherwise unknown father of Melkart.¹¹

¹ "Book of Enoch," xiii. 7, edited by Archdeacon Charles.

² Professor S. Langdon, "Le poème Sumérien," pp. 15, 214. For the Dilmun-Socotra theory, see Periplus (Schoff, under "Dioscerida").

³ Langdon, "Tammuz and Ishtar," p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵ The frequent references to the burning rampart suggest that the northern settlers must have brought some tradition of Aurora Borealis from their aboriginal arctic home. That it was a living concept in the Augustan age can be guessed by "flammanitia moenia mundi." In the Slavonic "Enoch" (a later work) the arctic regions and the aurora are placed in the third heavens, the "Watchers" themselves being in the fifth.

⁶ Legge, "Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity," p. 157, states that the Orphics took over the entire Phœnician cosmogony.

⁷ "De Principiis," bk. i., chap. v.

⁸ The word "prince" came to have the meaning of guardian angel (*Encyc. Bib.* 3848; cf. Justin Martyr's comment on Isa. xxx. 1, 5, Anti-Nicene Library, vol. ii., p. 198).

⁹ It is regrettable that Origen considered it beyond his competence to investigate whether the city in question were Tyre of the Phœnicians or a spiritual prototype. He is content with a warning to future inquirers.

¹⁰ Also called Protoplasts, Archons, and Titans.

¹¹ Son, according to Philo (2. 22), of Heaven and Earth, but Eudoxas (*apud* Athen., 9, 392) makes him born of Asteria (Astarte) and Zeus. The

The prophet (Ezek. xxvii. 3) says, "Thou wert more wise than Enoch,"¹ but the Sethian Enos² seems indicated as being associated with the idea of desecration, and it would appear that the Tyrian Archon, like Lucifer, fell, not through lust of the flesh, but from pride of intellect.³

With the exception of Arrian,⁴ classical authors give no hint as to why Tyre, an island trading city, should have been "polluted" by commerce, but an earlier clue lies in a short sentence among the fragments of

not far distant city of Tarsus had a similar Eponym, and the article on the Cadmeian alphabet in *J.R.A.S.*, 1923, by R. Eisler, opens up further possibilities of investigation. For Demarūs consult Pauly, *Real Encyc. Philo Byblus*, "Sanchuniathon," Fig. 2, 16, FHG. III., 567 f. Also paragraph 22 (a.o. 567b). Cheyne identified the eponym of Usu = Paeletyrus as Usoos, named by Philo as the brother of Samemrumos (Heaven-High) = Hysournaos of Tyre, who settled upon the mainland opposite and became the first seafarer. The brothers are described as rivals.

In some aspects the "Watcher" who personifies the Morning Star is plural and seems to represent different aspects of the same deity (Job xxxviii. 4), like the seven principal names of En-lil (See Clay, "Empire of the Amorites," p. 176), but behind the idea of a fallen star lies the tragic story of Adonis (Tammuz), who as Abu is the shepherd who herds the clouds, later identified with vegetation, as Nimrod or Esau is a hunter, who appears also as a fisherman from his connection with the abyss. He emerges more or less historically as Daus or Daonus (Davonus) in the list of prediluvian kings given by Berosus (see Clay, p. 78), and in this form, with his symbol the peacock, is probably the "Shining Angel" of the Yezidis. In the list of the kingdom of Kish he may be connected with Etana, and emerges more clearly in the Erech list as Dumu-Zi, the hunter from HA-A (written also A-HA, see Clay, p. 83, F-N), an unidentified place which, however, suggests Hawwa, the snake-goddess worshipped on Mount Ararat. If the Semitic name Nizir, hitherto tentatively translated as Deliverance or Salvation, were the prototype of the Hebrew Nezer "Consecration" it would be a further link with the holy island of Tyre.

The progeny of Elohim and Edem given by Justinus (in Hippolytus, "Refutation," Anti-Nicene Library, vol. vi., p. 186) corresponds fairly closely to the offspring of Uranus and Ge as recorded by Sanchuniathon, and Justinus himself declared that it was identical with the classical tradition. Bishop Hippolytus, naturally shocked by this early attempt at comparative theology, accuses the Heresiarch of plagiarism, though Justinus and Herodotus may well have shared a common Semitic source.

In the Phœnician list the eldest son is El, the second Baitulos, who in the form of a meteoric stone was worshipped as a fallen star, and considered to share the wisdom of the earliest creation. In the Christian Apocalypse (to which the early Church, better acquainted with the sources, never gave unanimous approval), several sons of Elchim as given by Justinus are mentioned, including the first, Micha (el) and the second, Amen.

¹ Reading Enoch for Daniel (*Encyc. Bib.*, 1295).

² *Encyc. Bib.*, 1297. Al-Bazawi says that Idris was of the posterity of Shis (Seth) and a forefather of Noah, and his name was Uhnukh = consecrated (Hughes, "Dictionary of Islam," p. 192).

³ Or Samjaza, to whom no evil was disputed. Charles, "Enoch," p. 187.

⁴ See comment in Cory's "Ancient Fragments" (1876), third edition (p. 16) and description of coin inscribed "Of Tyre, a holy city and asylum" (p. 27).

Sanchuniathon: "Ishtar put a bull upon her head in sign of sovereignty and, having found a fallen star, she consecrated it as the holy island of Tyre."¹

It has been suggested that the Tyrian temple contained a facsimile of the Holy Mount wrought in precious stones, but the whole problem of the Mountain of all Precious Things² is well summed up by the late Professor Moulton, who wrote: "It is a curious coincidence that just as Homer idealized Olympus until commentators dispute whether his 'seat of the gods' is on earth at all, even so the Persian Holy Mountain, Hara Barazaiti or Alburz, is ambiguously the dominating feature of an earthly landscape or a mythic peak wholly appropriated to the divine."³

More practical is the indication in the Wai-kuo-t'u (Map of Foreign Countries): "The Fu-lin country is to the west of Cham (old sound, Sham) separated by hills several thousands li. . . . On the north it connects with the Ko'-sa Tu-ch'üeh." And another Chinese record dating from the eleventh century has: "Fu-lin lies in the west of Chan (-Shem): north you go straight to the Ko-sa tribe of the Tu-ch'üeh," which is equivalent to saying: "The northern boundary of Fu-lin adjoins Armenia," for the Khazar Turks issuing from the neighbourhood of the Black Sea overran and settled in that country about 198 A.D.

The western boundary given in the inscription on the monument raises the question of whether Egypt should or should not be included, but this country seems implied by the expression "looks towards," for the shifting sand-waste of the Libyan border certainly faced towards the Hesperides, located on the terraces of Berenice, the modern Benghazi, and the Flowery Forests suggest the Lotophagi beyond.⁴ Apart from this fanciful description, it is self-evident that Ta-chin was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean, but if the Nestorian geographer indicated a double boundary the claims of Joppa should be considered, for it had an ancient reputation for blossom and other amenities. Even that inveterate "grouser," the Mohar, writes for once enthusiastically: "Thou comest into Joppa. Thou findest the date palm in full bloom at its time. Thou openest wide the hole of thy mouth in order to eat. Thou findest that the maid who keeps the garden is fair. She does whatsoever thou wantest of her."⁵

The Eastern boundary of the inscription is remarkable in that the Weak Waters and the Long Wind appear in most other Chinese records as western boundaries and, in the Wei-liao, Imperial annalists have commented on the discrepancy, probably due to confusion with the Dead Sea. Weak Waters should be interpreted not as lacking in buoyancy, but

¹ Hastings, ERE, xi., 174.

² The classical writers give little or no help, but the "Hereford Mappa Mundi" (twelfth century) has preserved the ecclesiastical tradition. It shows the Garden of Eden suspended at the highest point. Immediately below, Adam and Eve, who are being expelled, have the giants on their right (one resembles the jackal god, Anubis), and on their left are the Montes Aurei, guarded by dragons.

³ In "Early Religious Poetry of Persia," p. 139.

⁴ For a description of the lotus-tree in North Africa see J. I. S. Whitaker, "Motya," p. 29, footnote. It is the *Zizyphus jujuba*, and the name can be traced back through Arabic *Zizūf*, Latin *Zizyphus*, Greek *Ziziphon* to the *Nūbkū* of the Egyptian lists.

⁵ In Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

as water unable to find an outlet to the open sea, overcome by land and absorbed.

Following the eastern outline of the Diocesis Orientis (see map), it would be natural to assume that the Weak Waters were those waters flowing down the eastward slopes of the highlands beyond the Jordan and streams such as Abana and Parphar, which lose themselves in the sand, whilst the Long Wind is a natural feature of the open desert.

Nevertheless it is probable that the expression "lies open to" is the real key, for the eastern boundary of Egypt with Syria does lie open to the isthmus of Suez, the place above all others where the waters of the neighbouring oceans were too weak to coalesce, though a tradition of their original unity survived and the actual land-barrier was but small two thousand years ago.¹

The Long Winds would equally well apply to the Etesian, with its perennial flow or to the violence of the fifty days' "Khamsin."

So far the Nestorian inscription, but in many other records the Weak Waters are associated with the Liu-sha (flying sands) and other features which are generally described as old Chinese legends. Kingsmill, quoted by Hirth,² remarks that they were first heard of in the west of China, and had a tendency to move further westward, and Mayers states that these legends were derived from outside the Chinese Empire, but not from Chaldaea or Syria.

It was in the west of China (in Bactria) that a colony³ existed to whom the geography of North Africa was that of their fatherland, and if the historical narrative in Herodotus⁴ be collated with the semi-mythical Chinese records, other similarities besides the constant westward trend emerge.

The following, the largest extant record, is taken from the Wei-liao,⁵ written before 429 A.D., and covering the period 220-264 A.D.:

"In the west of Ta-ts'in there is water of the sea.

West of this there is a river.⁶

West of the river is the Nan-pei-shan, a long range of hills running north to south.

West of this there is the Ch'ih-shui (Red Water).

West of the Ch'ih-shui is the Pai-yu-shan (the White Jade Hill).

On the White Jade Hill there is the Hsi-wang-mu (the residence of the Western King's mother).

West of the Hsi-wang-mu there is the rectified Liu-sha (Flying Sands).

West of the Liu-sha there are the four countries of Ta-hsia, Chien-sha, Shu-yu, and Yueh Chih.

West of this there is the Hei-shui (black or dark water), which is reported to be the western terminus of the world."

The foregoing is the most complete account. Few go beyond the Hsi-wang-mu, or residence of the Western King's mother.

¹ E. Naville, "An Atlas of Ancient Egypt." Special publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund, p. 9.

² Hirth, *op cit.*, p. 292.

³ Herodotus, "Melpomene," 204.

⁴ "Euterpe," 15 ff.; "Melpomene," 168 ff.

⁵ As given by Hirth.

⁶ Most accounts add: "The river runs south-west."

Ma-Tuan-Lin says that the mother of the Western King lives in a temple of jade stone near where the sun sets. He adds that some say the phoenix is her bird. It must be understood that the terms "sea" and "river" are used somewhat indiscriminately by the Chinese chroniclers, and bearing this in mind it is possible to transcribe.

The water of the sea west of Ta-ts'in is the Gulf of Suez. The river west of this must be the Ship Canal begun by Sesostris, continued by Darius I. and Pharaoh Necho, and in full use under the Ptolemies. It ran from Lake Timsah to Bubastis westwards, and to the Gulf of Suez southwards, which would suit the Chinese comment if read south *and* west.

The long range of hills running north to south should be the Arabian mountain of Herodotus; the words seem almost an exact translation of those he employs.

Then the Ch'ih-shui (red water), the Nile.¹ This aspect of the Nile only lasted for four or five days in the year, but it is characteristic of the Chinese chronicler to seize on the salient feature of the inundation, and some authorities maintain that the high Nile was always represented pictorially in red.

The Pai-yu-shan (the White Jade Hill), here placed west of the Nile, should be the alabaster quarries of Het-Nub on the east bank of the river.² From the constant association the localities have been confused, but the temple worship at On (Heliopolis), specially devoted to the sun, furnishes an explanation; for here that ancient Goddess Neith³ (of Libyan origin),⁴ the lady of the quarry, Iûsasset,⁵ Nebt-hetep,⁶ known also as Hathor and Isis, was worshipped as the mother of Ra (identified with Horus of the two horizons), who, according to universal tradition, reigned in Egypt as an earthly king during the golden age, and whose temple in Heliopolis was thereafter named "the mansion of the prince."

Self-existent and unbegotten, Neith,⁷ though allotted a husband by a later theology, was originally self-sufficient,⁸ and daily gave birth to her son the golden sparrow-hawk (Phoenix),⁹ in the alabaster mountain of the east, from whence he sailed across the Nile Valley to enter the mouth of his mother, returning through her body (the night-sky),¹⁰ during the hours of darkness to be again reborn.

¹ For a summary see Maspéro, *op. cit.*, p. 37, footnote. It has been observed that Homer does not mention the Nile. Though personified as Hâpi, the Egyptians themselves had no general term, calling it either the Great River or by numerous terms designating the river at some particular season. To other nations it was the "River of Egypt."

² Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ Sir E. Wallis-Budge, "The Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 450.

⁴ J. Capart, "Primitive Art in Egypt," p. 31.

⁵ The *Σαῶσις* of Plutarch, cf. Pauly, *Real-Encyc.*, p. 230 b.

⁶ Maspéro, *op. cit.*, p. 104, footnote.

⁷ Cf. Proclus in *Timæum Platonis*, i. 30 D (Schneidewin).

⁸ The priest who initiated Cambyes into the mysteries of her cult as Sais records: "Je fis connaître à sa Majesté la grandeur de Sais, qui est la résidence de Neith, la grande mère, qui à enfanté le soleil comme premier né, sans qu'il y eut enfantement" (temporel). Premier extrait de la chronique démotique de Paris. Réveillout in *Revue Égyptologique*, Première Série, tome i.

⁹ Maspéro, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁰ For representations of Neith see Maspéro, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Note that

Although Neith was thus honoured in Heliopolis as the mother of the sun-god,¹ her particular worship was at Sais.² Here it was that Cambyses was initiated into her mysteries by the priest, Ut'a-Hor-resenet,³ who afterwards proved a useful political tool to the conquerors, being sent back from Persia on a special mission by Darius I.

Not only were the Persian population accustomed to see men of Egypt at the court of the great king, but they must have been well acquainted with the appearance of Egyptian gods, for St. Jerome says that the third Ptolemy, whose conquests extended as far as Bactria, earned the title of Euergetes because, among other benefits, he restored statues which, to the number of 2,500, had been carried off as loot after the insurrection had been suppressed.⁴

The Persian kings, or rather their deputies, continued the cult of the mother-goddess, and an inscription of Darius II. on the walls of the temple in the great Oasis (El-Khargeh) runs: "Thine image repositeth in Het-Khebit, in the nest of the Lady of Sais,"⁵ this "nest" being possibly the monolithic shrine so much admired by Herodotus.

But Sais is on the east bank of the Nile, and the theory of the two horizons, which places the "lady of the quarry" in the alabaster mountain of the east, indicates that the "residence" lies against the Libyan hills, "near where the sun sets," and here it can be found in the mysterious little temple of Isis,⁶ "the mistress of the pyramid," whose identity with Neith is established by the inscription on the stele of the restorer:⁷ "He made it for his mother, Isis, Divine Mother," etc.⁸

In vol. i. of Perrot and Chipiez (p. 325) it is stated that "the materials employed in the interior of the building are rose granite and alabaster."⁹ The supporting piers are of granite, the lining slabs of the wall and ceiling, alabaster."

Unique survival of its kind, it seems to be one of those temples called "barbarous" by Strabo,¹⁰ of which Lucian says that they were devoid of ornament.

(assuming the Nile Valley beneath) her feet are on the eastern bank, her hands touching the western desert, but Wallis Budge says this is not invariable.

¹ From a coronation ceremony which took place in a chamber consecrated to Neith and known as "per-aa," the reigning monarch received the title of Pharaoh.

² Herodotus, "Euterpe," p. 170.

³ The Naophoros statue of the Vatican gives his autobiography. An English translation is given in H. Brugsch, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," p. 430.

⁴ Ad Dan. xi. 8. Cf. Reveillout, "Quelque notes chronologiques sur l'histoire des Lagides," *Révue Égyptologique*, tome i., p. 19.

⁵ Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 464.

⁶ Breasted, "Ancient Records of Egypt," i., 177.

⁷ Pesebkhemu of the twenty-first Tanite Dynasty.

⁸ Breasted, *op. cit.*, i., 178.

⁹ The Chinese, who had separate terms for jade of the white and green varieties (the former being esteemed more honourable), must have been able to distinguish it from alabaster, but some allowance for hyperbole can be allowed to a traditional account, and among the Latins, *Turris Eburnea*, which survives as a religious simile, appears to derive from the alabaster Adytum swung on poles in which the image of the mother goddess was carried during the sacred processions.

¹⁰ Strabo, xvii., 128.

It was of unknown age, preceding the erection of the pyramids and connected in some way with the Osiris of Rosta.¹

The worship therein must have been of a chthonic nature,² for the boy-king, Thothmes IV., when on a hunting expedition, entered the temple to make a sacrifice to Isis, lady of the north wall and of the south wall, to Sekhet of Xoïs and to Set.

It is impossible to contemplate this temple without considering its connection with the Sphinx (Hor-em-Khou, "Horus in the Shining Sun," called Harmachis by the Greeks), a connection so lost in antiquity that even in Pharaonic times it was necessary to consult the archives to establish a correspondence.³ Herodotus does not mention the Sphinx, which was probably submerged in his time, but Pliny⁴ says it was one of those sacred places concerning which silence was preserved. He further mentions that it was the burial place of Harmais, and if this presumed (king) Harmais be recognized as a corruption of the (god) Harmachis, a connection with the "bird" of the Western king's mother appears and the Sphinx would be the altar of the sun on which the Phœnix deposited its filial burden in that distant golden age before the ever-increasing sand had engulfed the site and obliterated the temples, thus obliging the priests to transfer the worship of "Horus of the two Horizons" to Heliopolis, because, as the inscription says, "a great magical power (*i.e.*, a spell) had existed in this place from the beginning of all time."

That they cherished hopes of returning to the earlier shrine seems indicated by the vision or voice, probably engineered under their auspices, which Thothmes IV. encountered in that then desert spot, calling on him to excavate the Sphinx, in return for which the hierarchy would recognize his somewhat doubtful right to the throne.⁵

Maspéro says that the legend of the Phœnix was simply a Greek exaggeration of the daily transit of the sungod, which may be true as regards an Arabian origin, but, in considering the Phœnix, it should be noted that it never appeared except in Egypt, and there only at rare though chronological intervals. Further, it would seem that although remarked, and, as it were, attested, the passage of the Phœnix was not a matter of general observation.

Modern astronomical reports offer a possible source of the legend in the Solar Corona, which, in the clear atmosphere of Egypt, may have been observed during a total eclipse⁶ from one of those chambers at the base of long slanting shafts, which in pyramids and at the entrance to rock tombs gave a certain telescopic aid.

To a mind ignorant of the scientific explanation, saturated moreover with the myth and ritual of a solar religion, this natural phenomenon might well suggest a bird with flaming pinions resembling the waving fronds of the date palm (Phœnix). Also it would appear to carry a round dark ball which contained the defunct sun.

West of the residence of the Western king's mother lies the Libyan

¹ Breasted, *op. cit.*, i., 180.

² E. Wallis Budge, "History of Egypt," iv. 84.

³ Breasted, *op. cit.*, i., 179.

⁴ Pliny, "N. H.," xxxvi., 17.

⁵ Breasted, ii., 815.

⁶ The one recorded at Larissa occurred during the lifetime of Herodotus (who testifies to the visit of the Phœnix), and it may have been total in Egypt.

desert, where the Flying Sands have raised one locality 60 metres higher than it lay in 1879.¹

A recent book on Siwa² refers to modern storm legends as well as to Pliny's account of a sacred stone which, when insulted, had the power of raising a storm-wind; and, of the disasters recorded by Herodotus³ in this locality, the one which affected the expedition despatched by Cambyses must have been recounted afar.

The term "rectified," often used as qualifying adjective to the Flying Sands, can, according to Professor Giles, be translated "long," which suggests the Long Wind of these records.

Coming to the four nations which lie beyond the Flying Sands, it is surprising to find in North Africa two names, "Ta-hsia" (Bactria) and "Yueh-chih," associated with Central Asia, but it is just this equivalence of Ta-hsia (Bactria) with Cyrenaica which suggests that the geographical legend was first derived from the victims of Pheretime's vengeance, and the Yueh-chih⁴ were, for the Chinese, the typical Nomads, who, when they heard of Nomads in Africa, called them by the same name.

In dealing with North African localities, it is well to bear in mind that Pausanias comments on the fact that the interior was well explored at a time when the seaboard was but little known.⁵

"Shu-yu," in the ancient pronunciation,⁶ reads Zi-w-ok or t'si-ok (Japanese, Sioku) probably a phonetic attempt at Ethiopia, one of the recognized divisions.⁷ It would be natural to expect some mention of the Atlantes, either Mauretanians or the Gætulians who preceded them, but "Chien-sha" suggests none of these.

Here again Pausanias may throw some light, for he says that Herodotus called the Nasamones, Atlantes, but other geographers used the term Lixidæ (from the river Lixus, the modern Wady Draa) and that this tribe was "the remotest of the Libyans."⁸ Chien-sha may therefore represent Phazania (the modern Fezzan),⁹ which was the capital of that "very powerful nation," the Garamantes.¹⁰ There was a trade route from Fezzan to Meroe, and it seems possible that the Egyptians had some trans-continental acquaintance with West Africa.

"The Book of that which is the Underworld"¹¹ is an abridgment of a larger work entitled "The Beginning of the Horn of the West, the Remote Boundary of Thick Darkness." Here it was that the monster "Apep"¹² lay, sometimes calm, but when he arose in wrath the companions

¹ Hassanein Bey in the *Geographical Journal* for October, 1924.

² C. Dalrymple Belgrave, "Siwa, the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon," p. 76.

³ "Thalia," iii., 26; "Melpomene," iv., 173.

⁴ Sir Aurel Stein, "White Huns and Kindred Tribes," in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxiv., 1905. Also in Schoff's "Periplus," p. 185.

⁵ "Description of Greece," i., 33.

⁶ This and other Chinese readings have been obtained through the courtesy of the Director, School of Oriental Studies.

⁷ Laurand, "Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines," iv., 41, 42, 43.

⁸ "Description of Greece," i., 33.

⁹ In the province called Mauretania Tingetana by the Romans.

¹⁰ Herodotus, iv., 183.

¹¹ Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 205, commonly known as "The Book of the Dead."

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

of the sungod hastened to the assistance of their hero, piercing each successive coil of the enemy with a spear, so that, foam gushing forth, he was unable to tower higher and overwhelm them.¹

This extreme westerly point actually bears in the ritual the name "Horn of the West," which Hanno,² the Carthaginian admiral, applied to the bay lying between 12 degrees and 11 degrees north where he and his shipmates were overcome by religious terror on the voyage, probably undertaken about 470 B.C., when he succeeded in reaching the modern Sierra Leone. And at this point, "which is reported to be the western terminus of the world," this investigation ends.

¹ It should be stated that this imagery is usually associated with eclipse or equinoctial phenomena. See Maspéro, *op. cit.*, 91, footnote 1, 169, footnote 2.

² "Periplus of Hanno" (Schoff), p. 9.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE PYRAMID AGE

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

WHILE the great Pharaohs of the third to the sixth dynasties (*circa* 3000-2500 B.C.) were constructing their mighty pyramids on the banks of the Nile, their courtiers and officials constructed massive tombs, with vast oblong superstructures, known as mastabas. The inner chambers of these mastaba-tombs were adorned with multitudes of scenes, sculptured in low relief, and painted, which portray in vivid detail the daily life of ancient Egypt in that far-off age. The craftsmanship of these reliefs is truly wonderful, and in spite of the conventions of Egyptian design, they are marvellously true to nature. The pictures themselves tell their own tale, but pictures alone did not satisfy the ancient artist, and explanatory legends are attached to almost all of them. But what is more interesting still is the fact that in many cases snatches of dialogue, the conversation and ejaculations of the persons shown in the pictures, are also set out above them. The scenes themselves have a strong appeal to us on account of their human interest, but, thanks to the legends accompanying them, we can not only see the ancient denizens of the Nile Valley at their daily work, but we can hear the very words they utter.

These conversational tags are full of colloquialisms and slang, and are conspicuously different from the very formal and stilted tone of most monumental inscriptions. A few years ago Professor Erman collected and edited them, but the legends studied without the pictures fail in their imaginative appeal. Dr. Pierre Montet, of Strasbourg University, has taken up the study once more, not only of the inscriptions, but of the pictures and scenes to which

they relate.* He has, in fact, elaborated and completed the study which the late Sir Gaston Maspero made many years ago on the scenes relating to agricultural life in the Old Kingdom.

Dr. Montet has classified the scenes, and begins with those that deal with hunting and fishing in the river and the marshes, and the occupations of the boatmen. Fowling and fishing were sports at which the Egyptians were adepts. The Nile and its connections swarmed with fish of various kinds, and birds abounded in the dense reedy vegetation which clusters on the water's edge. Large fish were speared by the hunter, who stands upright in a light canoe made of papyrus-stems, and his practised hand seldom fails him. For bigger game he sought the hippopotamus and harpooned it. Fishes in quantity were caught in nets of various kinds, the details of which are clearly shown in the pictures. Some of these are large drag-nets, which are spread across the stream and drawn in when full. Others are small traps, rather like eel-pots. Line-fishing was also resorted to. The line-fisher was then, as now, a man of infinite patience: he knew he might have long to wait, silent and motionless. In the tomb of Ti at Saqqara a fisherman has thrown his line, which ends in a bunch of fish-hooks and a bait, into the water, and sits aboard his little boat to await results in patience. He is a prudent man, for he has provided himself with a loaf of bread, a cake, and a jar of liquid refreshment. He also has a little reed stool to sit upon. The net-fishers' work is more quickly accomplished, and the disturbed water in their neighbourhood is no good to the line-fisher, who finds a quiet spot and waits in solitude. In one tomb a line-fisher and a net-fisher are at work in the same canoe. This furnishes a good example of one of the conventions of Egyptian draughtsmanship: for the artist well knew that the placid occupation of the one and the turbulent actions

* Pierre Montet: "*Les Scènes de la Vie Privée dans les Tombeaux Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire.*" Strasbourg and Paris, Librairie Istra. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, University Press. 8vo. 1925. Price 100 frs.

of the other could scarcely be successful in one boat. He was limited by the space at his disposal: he wished to portray both kinds of sport in a space which did not allow of separate treatment of each. The water and the boat are common to both, and the onlooker is to read the scene twice over, visualizing only one actor at each inspection.

Water-fowl were killed on the wing by the boomerang or throw-stick, but this method was slow, even when the fowler was expert enough to "kill two birds with one stick." Large nets were accordingly spread in pools in which ducks and other aquatic birds congregated. By means of a mechanical contrivance operated by ropes these nets could at a given moment be closed. The action is usually depicted in two scenes. The rope passes through a barrier of reeds into the hands of a row of men, who are thus concealed, and who await the signal from the leader to pull. We see the birds calmly paddling about above the open net unsuspectingly, and in the second scene the signal has been given, the men on the rope have given a tug with such force that they are all on their backs, the net has closed, and the birds in wild confusion are ensnared within. Succeeding pictures show them taken from the net. Many are taken off alive in baskets to be added to the stock of the poultry farm, others have their necks twisted on the spot, and are handed over to the poulterers.

Meanwhile the men call to one another. "There's a crowd of birds here if you keep quiet," says the leader, and silence follows till the signal is given. "Pull, mate!" says one man to his neighbour; when the action is accomplished, another exclaims, "Easy, mate; steady, the net is full!" The word which I translate "mate" is a familiar term, meaning "companion," used by one workman to another. It belongs only to vulgar speech, and is never found in a literary context.

Another series of pictures shows a herd of cattle being conducted across a stream. This must have been a frequent happening when pasturing the cattle in the Delta. The animals wade in deep water up to their necks, and the

calves are hoisted on the herdsmen's shoulders. Other men in a boat keep a vigilant watch for the crocodile. A fire of conversation is kept up meanwhile by the herdsmen. A cow cries for her calf; the herdsman who is carrying it cries to the animal, "The calf is being carried, nurse!" "Don't disturb the water in the middle," they cry, in fear of the crocodile. If one is sighted, the party in the boat is summoned: "Row! Hurry up, mate!" is exclaimed. The crocodile meanwhile is held at bay by the words of a magic charm which is chanted by the men.

The stock-farms are shown in great detail. Besides the familiar ox and sheep, the Egyptians of the Pyramid Age had domesticated various other wild animals—antelopes of various kinds, and even hyænas. The animals which were being fattened were confined to stables or byres, and fed by hand. The others are tethered by the forefoot to a kind of staple planted in the ground. The animals are fed and watered, the young are cared for, and the cows milked. The hinds assist the suffering cow at the birth of her calf. The purpose of the hyæna in a cattle farm is difficult to decide. It seems unlikely that such a noxious animal should be reared for food; yet in the Old Kingdom hyænas are frequently shown being stabled, fattened, and cared for in exactly the same manner as the wholesome animals. As hyænas were used as hounds in the chase of animals of the desert, it seems more likely that they were domesticated for this purpose and not for food, and that they were kept well fed, or even over-fed, to prevent them from devouring the beasts of the chase. In this view Dr. Montet concurs.

It may be noted that Egyptian farms were run on very business-like lines. The amount of food consumed by each animal and every other administrative detail was recorded on the spot by the scribes who were attached to every estate.

We must pass over the poultry-farms, the registration of the live-stock, and the activities of the butcher, all of which subjects are depicted with a wealth of detail, and proceed

to the scenes which deal with the labour of the fields—seed-time and harvest. The Egyptians raised large crops of flax, for spinning, and of various cereals. They sowed the corn as soon as the waters had retreated after the inundation, while the earth was still soft and muddy. The surface was broken up by a plough drawn by two cows, or by men wielding hoes. Behind them walks the sower, with a bag suspended from his shoulders, scattering the seed. He is followed by a troop of sheep who are driven behind him to tread the grain into the ground. The drivers chant a song to cheer them in their work. In the tomb of Ti an amusing detail is shown. A thirsty workman is surreptitiously milking one of the cows yoked to the plough: his mate keeps a look-out for the foreman, and cries: "Milk away! Hurry up before he comes, herdsman!"

The seed once sown, needed no more attention, and the pictures pass on to the harvest. Flax was harvested, not when the seeds were ripe, but rather earlier: that is to say, when the fibres were in the best condition for textile purposes. A certain quantity, however, must have been left to reach maturity in order to obtain seed for the next year's crop. In the case of cereals, however, the corn is fully ripe when harvested. The mowers move in a line across the fields; with the left hand they grasp a bundle of stems, with the right they wield the sickle, cutting at about knee-level. The generous amount of stubble was left no doubt as pasturage for cattle. The corn when cut was bound into sheaves. As they work the reapers call and sing to one another. "Beer for the man who cuts the corn!" cries one thirsty worker; "I'm a lad for quick work!" says another. The sheaves are tied in bundles and put into large sacks for transport to the granary. A troop of asses goes to and fro; the beasts are loaded in the field and return to be reloaded. The sacks are heaved up on to their backs, and the driver keeps his hand on the burden to steady the very unstable balance. In one picture we see an animated scene when the sack slips off. One man runs up

and seizes the ass's head, another its tail, and two more restore the load to its place. Their exclamations on this occasion are unprintable. One of the donkeys goes on strike and tries to evade its burden. A man seizes its forefoot in one hand and its ear in the other, and pushes it into its place: another beast, a she-ass, has her foal with her. These incidents are all beautifully rendered in the tomb of Ti at Saqqara.

We must regretfully draw to a close. It is tempting to describe the other interesting topics dealt with in Dr. Montet's book. The threshing and garnering of the corn, the making of bread, the brewing of beer, and the culture of fruit and vines are all described in detail, as are also the various crafts of the carpenter, the potter, the jeweller, and others. A chapter is devoted to the details of boat-building, and another to music, dancing, and games. The material execution of the book is excellent. Well printed on good paper, and provided not only with text figures, but with twenty-four photographic plates, this volume in text and indices puts together into a handy compass an immense amount of material, which, if previously published, is only to be laboriously recovered from a score of rare and costly volumes. Dr. Montet has utilized all the best scenes from these scattered sources, and has supplemented them by material from his own copies or from photographs of originals which are as yet unpublished. Naturally, the principal source of information is the magnificent tomb of Ti at Saqqara, which dates from the fifth dynasty, and to which the discerning Baedeker accords two asterisks—it deserves three or more.

It is a long hark from the Pyramid Age to the present day. That the Egyptians originated agriculture there can be no doubt. The pitch of efficiency it had acquired in the Pyramid Age, more than four thousand years ago, connotes a remotely ancient origin. The steam reapers and elaborate appliances of modern farming have carried on in far-distant lands, enlarged but essentially unaltered, the agricultural heritage of Egypt throughout the world.

SHORTER NOTICES

NEAR EAST.

RUSSIA IN DIVISION. By Stephen Graham. (*Macmillan.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The above volume is the result of a visit paid by this well-known traveller to what used to be the borderlands of Russia: Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, and Bessarabia. He had known them before the war, and the comparison sometimes leads him to melancholy reflections. Among the more striking observations may be noted: (1) That the Russian language is gaining ground as a *lingua franca* (German being taboo); (2) a curious political cross-current—that the German peasants in Bessarabia are pro-Rumanian; (3) that Russian residents in Germany have, as a result of the stabilization of the mark, emigrated to France, where they have been well received.

DALMATIA. Painted by Walter Tyndale, R.I.; described by Horatio F.

Brown, LL.D. (*A. and C. Black.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This book is a welcome addition to Messrs. Black's well-known series of colour books. Dalmatia is still *terra incognita* to the majority of tourists, though on a par with the French Riviera in climate and beauty, and, in historical interest, far superior. To attract more visitors, however, it would be necessary to improve the communications and hotel accommodation. Perhaps in time the Jugo-Slav Government will attend to these essentials, as such a policy should serve to increase the prosperity of the inhabitants. Mr. Tyndale's illustrations are very effective in bringing out the local colour.

PICTURESQUE NORTH AFRICA. (*Jarrolds.*) 25s. net.

The publishers are to be complimented on issuing this volume in the "Orbis Terrarum" series. The 240 photogravure plates are excellently chosen, and bring before us the architecture, landscape, and life of the people in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. In a brief preface it is stated that the Arabs have succeeded, where Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines had failed, in impressing on North Africa the stamp of their civilization. It will be interesting to notice the progress during the present century of the superimposition of Latin influences.

FAR EAST.

TAHITI: ISLE OF DREAMS. By Robert Keable. (*Hutchinson.*) 16s. net.

Tahiti, made famous by Pierre Loti, is a subject of which the reading public will never tire. Although the author, to his credit be it said, shat-

ters some of our illusions, there is no doubt that he also has succumbed to the island's spell. Legends die hard, and, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary, we still believe that if at any time we wish to shake the dust of Western life, with its struggles and hardships, from our feet, we can retire to the star-lit shores of Tahiti, and end our days in peace. The great Gauguin did so—and what a mistake for Rupert Brooke to have torn himself away. But this is not Mr. Keable's picture. It seems that even in Tahiti there is European dress, the struggle for existence, and corrugated iron.

LE CHEMIN DE FER DE TAN AP À THAKHEK. By H. Cucherousset.
(Hanoi: *Editions de l'Eveil Economique*.)

The author is already known for his attractive books on Siam and Tonkin. The present is a proposal to open up by means of a railway the province of Laos, which lies on the eastern boundary of Siam, between Tonkin and Cambodge, and is the least developed portion of Indo-China. Moreover, owing to the scarcity of communications, nearly all the trade is at present with Bangkok. The chief produce of Laos is rice, and it is hoped, by means of this railway, to make it available for exportation to France.

FRENCH BOOKS.

1. ANATOLE FRANCE EN PANTOUFLES. By Jean Jacques Brousseau.
(Paris: *Editions G. Crès*.) 7f. 50.
2. PROPOS D'ANATOLE FRANCE. By Paul Gsell. (*Bernard Grasset*, Paris.) 7f. 50.

Anatole France's output as a writer was not small, but if present tendencies are a correct indication, the number of books that will be written about him is destined to be far greater. The two volumes detailed above are both attempts to interpret the great *maître* for the reader by quotations from his own sayings. M. Brousseau's book is really a collection of about 200 short stories, each leading up rapidly to some striking saying; Paul Gsell, on the other hand, chooses fifteen subjects only, and treats them as dialogues, always reproducing the *maître's* sayings in italics. Each method has its advantage, though we think the latter properly would have met with greater approval from Anatole France himself. Paul Gsell's account of France's talk with Rodin is one of the finest things in recent literature. Brousseau's book also contains many gems.

AUX PAYS DU MIRAGE: SYRIE ET PALESTINE. By Henry Barande.
(Paris: *Société d'Editions Géographiques*.)

M. Barande is an artist in words as well as colour. His text is (as might be expected from the title) an enthusiastic narrative of things seen, and his sixteen illustrations (water-colours from his own brush) a very suitable accompaniment. The English reader, who is accustomed to seeing books on Palestine, will turn his attention chiefly to the descriptions of the Syrian coast towns, and of Hamah and Aleppo in the interior. The

author shows a good knowledge of the history of the towns he describes and a ready sympathy for its inhabitants, and does not mar it with political controversy. His book is therefore an ideal companion for the traveller who wants to draw his own conclusions.

LES CLASSIQUES DE L'ORIENT. Vol. xi.: The Thibetan poet Milarépa.

Translated by J. Bacot, with forty wood engravings by J. Buhot, based on a Thibetan iconography of the life of Milarépa. (*Bossard.*)

Milarépa, magician, poet, and hermit in turn, lived in the eleventh century A.D., and his memory is still cherished in Thibet. Rétchung, his disciple, knew him only during the last phase, and induced him to dictate the experiences of his life. The closing portion, describing the saint's death, is, of course, purely biographical. The translator claims that although the thoughts expressed are largely Indian in inspiration, the form of the narrative is essentially Thibetan. He is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has carried out his difficult task; the language and sequence of thought is absolutely clear. It is interesting to note that the provinces and districts mentioned have not changed since the life of Milarépa, and that all the hermitages of Milarépa were situated near Mount Everest, so that Colonel Howard Bury, the leader of the first expedition, was able to trace several of them.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK, 1925. (*Times of India.*)

This indispensable reference book is now in its twelfth year of publication. The chief new interest of the present issue is the incorporation of the results of the 1921 census in the vital statistics. The arrangement of subjects has also undergone a rearrangement, resulting in a more logical order of sequence. It might, perhaps, be useful in some future issue to include some details of London societies and institutions interested in India.

INDEX BIBLIOGRAPHICUS. (*League of Nations.*) 4s.

Marcel Godet, Director of the Swiss National Library, is the editor of this volume, which purports to be an "international catalogue of sources of current bibliographical information," and is issued under the auspices of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. It may be that English periodicals do not specialize in bibliographical information as much as some Continental countries, but the rather short list of English journals quoted does not bear a proper relation to the enormous English literary output. At present this volume is a very handy reference book for Continental and American publications. Perhaps in the next issue the English section will be made more complete.

ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR: OUTLINE OF PLAN. European Series. (*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.*)

In the introduction it is stated: "The tendency to attribute all of the ills of post-war Europe to the treaties of peace, and to the policies built upon them, has proved well-nigh irresistible to the critic. . . . The result has been to obscure more and more the significance of the prime cause of the whole economic disorder—namely, the war." There follows a list giving details of books which will be issued with this object, and the list covers 100 pages. This will give an idea of the vastness of the plan. Each country is represented by an Editorial Board, of which the General Editor, Professor James T. Shotwell, is an ex-officio member. The Chairman of the British Section is Sir William Beveridge.

It is to be hoped that this book will be followed by one outlining the plan of an Asiatic Series.

FICTION.

THE PAINTED VEIL. By W. Somerset Maugham. (*Heinemann.*) 7s. 6d. net.

This novel by a famous playwright describes in a realistic manner the tragedy of a loveless marriage, in which the unfaithful wife is caught with another *en flagrant délit* by her husband, who, in revenge, for he loves her, takes her to a cholera district in the interior where he is summoned in pursuit of his profession. He dies, and she lapses again, to return to England with a clean record—on paper. It is a breathless tale, but disturbing, withal, in that all these things happen in sight of the Chinese.

PERIODICALS

REVUE DES ARTS ASIATIQUES, March, 1925. (Paris.) 10 francs.

This review, which is now in its second year, contains an interesting article by M. Paul Masson Oursel on the "Æsthetical and Philosophical Connection in India furnished by the Prâmana," explaining why it is a mistake to judge Indian art from the Western "natural" standpoint. Georges Roerich discusses the penetration of Gandhara into the countries across the Himalayas, and Georges Groslier, Director of Cambodian arts, discusses how far the Khmer representation of women in sculpture can be said to have a characteristic treatment.

LE NAVIRE D'ARGENT. No. 1. June, 1925. (Paris.) 5 francs.

A leading object of this new literary venture is to give a much-needed platform to young writers, each of whom is thoughtfully introduced by a short biographical note. The present number contains a valuable bibliography of English literature, from the first beginnings to the end of the Renaissance, that has been translated into French, giving the names of the translators. Among renderers of Shakespeare there are Alfred de Vigny,

Maeterlinck, and Marcel Schwob. Chateauhriand's translation of Milton's "Paradise Lost" is also mentioned. The publishers of this new magazine are La Maison des Amis des Livres, 7 Rue de l'Odéon, who claim to have initiated a new movement in bookselling: they insist that it is a profession demanding not only scholarship, but the realization of a sacred trust.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT. January-June, 1924. (Hanoï.) 20 francs.

This School has been fortunate in the rich fields of discovery allotted to them in Indo-China, and in the talents they have been able to attract to their service. The present number contains, besides details of the activities of Messrs. Parmentier, Goloubeff, and Finot, and Miss Suzanne Karpelès, a long article on the Chinese versions of Milindapanha, of which Edouard Specht and Sylvain Lévi found two different versions in 1893. Pelliot subsequently declared that these were in reality copies of one original.

BOOKS RECEIVED

STEVENSON, W. B.: Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. (Clarendon Press.) 7s. 6d.

NIEDERMEYER, OSKAR VON: Afghanistan. Bearbeitet von O. von Neidermeyer und Ernst Diez. 246 illustrations and 9 sketches. (Hiersemann.)

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE: L. Delaporte. Catalogues des Cylindres Orientaux. Vol. ii., 128 plates. (Hachette.) Acquisitions, vol. i.

WESSELS, C.: Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721. (Nijhoff.)

GRISWOLD: The Religion of the Rig-Veda. (Religious Quest of India Series.) (Oxford University Press.) 12s. 6d.

LAW, B.: Designation of Human Types. Translated from the Pali. (Pali Text Society.) 10s.

DAS GUPTA, SURENDRANATH: Yoga as Philosophy and Religion. (Kegan Paul.) 10s. 6d.

EADIE, J. I.: An Amharic Reader. (Cambridge University Press.) 12s. 6d.

CHATTERTON, E.: History of the Church of England in India since the Early Days of the East India Company. (S.P.C.K.) 12s. 6d.

GEORGES REMOND: La Route de l'Abbaye Noire; Souvenirs d'Abysinnie. (Paris: Editions G. Crès.) 7f. 50.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT, MYSTICISM, AND MAGIC

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

SYSTEMS OF BUDDHISTIC THOUGHT. By Yamakami Sōgen. (Published by the University of Calcutta: *Longmans, Green and Co.*, 39, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4.) 27s. net.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. (Oxford University Press: *Mr. Humphrey Milford*, Amen Corner, E.C., and at New York, Toronto, Melbourne, and Bombay.) 10s. net.

The author of "Systems of Buddhistic Thought" was led to the production of this weighty tome by the half-curious question of a fellow-passenger as to what Buddhism meant to him as a Buddhist priest. Unable to reply on account of his defective knowledge of English, he directed the questioner to the article on Buddhism published in Brewer's "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable" (ed. 1900), where on p. 184 Buddhism is said to be a system of religion established in India in the *third* century, teaching that

"the world is a transient reflex of *deity* (!), that the *soul* is a 'vital spark' (!) of deity, and that after death it will be bound to matter again till the 'wearer' has by divine contemplation been so purged and purified that it is fit to be *absorbed into the divine essence*."

Mr. Yamakami, when he was able to understand Brewer's statements, felt that there must be error somewhere, since the Buddhism he had practised and studied from his earliest youth believed neither in the *deity* nor its "spark," and was something totally different. Then and there he registered a solemn resolve that should he be spared to acquire sufficient knowledge of English and Sanscrit it would be his first care to explain to the countrymen of Buddha the real essence of the faith he had taught.

Mr. Yamakami's opportunity came when he was appointed Reader on Buddhism to the University of Calcutta, and certainly his industry, zeal, and scholarship entitle him to receive the highest thanks from his fellow-researchers. He claims justly their attention to his work on account of the comprehensive character of the

"philosophical system expounded therein—a philosophy which, though arising from the soil of Indian speculation, has been totally ignored and condemned here (India) for centuries together. It is my devout hope that Indian scholars of Sanscrit and Pāli may not neglect the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Canons of Buddhism. It is they who have to take up the mission of unveiling the true relation between the religious and philosophical ideas that lie concealed in the numberless, though fragmentary, works of Ancient India and Tibet, and solve the problem of the bond of union amongst the great religions of the East."

The author's contention that the "flower of psychology was first produced in Indian gardens" through the *experiences* of the practitioners of Yoga *rather than by reasoning* will prove of interest in view of the psychological researches so actively pursued at the present time. As the author points out, these old students had discovered the subconsciousness of the modern psychologist, in their term *Ālaya-Vijnāna* or Store-house consciousness ever active and continuous, was included the sum-total of consciousness, normal, super, and subconscious.

The book of "The Kindred Sayings," Part III., is issued by the Pāli Text Society, and is dedicated to the memory of its Founder, the late Professor T. W. Rhys Davids. In an illuminating editorial note, Mrs. Rhys Davids, its editor, proffers "a word of apology, a word of appreciation, a word of historical suggestion."

There is only space here to refer to Mrs. Davids's word of appreciation, endorsing the translator's view as to the value of this volume as a "study in the doctrine of personality."

In the two episodes, "Nakula's father" (p. 1) and "Tissa" (p. 90), Mrs. Rhys Davids feels we are dealing with the "living word of a live man," and that it were well this volume were published if only to show a personality that could draw his worth after the speaker and his message as certainly Gotama drew his world.

Nakulapitar, addressing the Exalted One, says :

"Master, I am a broken-down old man, aged, far-gone in years. I have reached life's end, I am sick and always ailing. . . . Let the Exalted One cheer and comfort me, so that it may be a profit and a blessing to me for many a long day.

"True it is, true it is, housefather, that your body is weary and cumbered. For one carrying this body about, housefather, to claim but a moment's health would be sheer foolishness. Wherefore, housefather, thus should you train yourself: 'Though my body is sick my mind shall not be sick. Thus, housefather, should you train yourself.' "

Here Gotama does not plague the sick man with the names of the incorporeal parts of us, remarks Mrs. Davids. He bids him keep his mind healthy lest the diseased body infect and age that mind. When the comforted man departs he is waylaid by the disciple "and the Khandha doctrine is fully trotted out."

Then, in the Tissa episode, the high-born man, unused to the simple life of the Order, depressed and weary, is mothered and heartened by his kinsman and teacher. Asks Mrs. Rhys Davids :

"Is it likely that Gotama, knowing, as none but an inspired helper knows, the hearts of men, would submit this poor, possibly bilious, certainly sick-hearted brother to a catechism about the frailties of factors one, two, three, four, five? Gotama was not a marvellous

disease-healer like Jesus : he was a will healer. We seem to see him taking Tissa's hands, and sending into him the magnetic current of his own force of will . . . and then the healing is driven in with words like so many electric shocks : 'Courage, Tissa ! Cheer up, Tissa ! I am here to guide you ! I will keep you ! I will make you strong !' or words to that effect. Would we had all he really may have said ! Rarely have the Suttas saved from the devouring past so vivid an etching in bare outline as this. A fragment, and with interpolation, it still lives. And in it Gotama lives, the teacher men so loved that they bequeathed their love of him and his love of them to the faith and devotion of centuries to come."

Copious notes and a careful index add greatly to the value of this quaint and psychologically interesting volume, on the translation of which Mr. Woodward deserves to be heartily congratulated.

II

SKETCHES OF GREAT TRUTHS. By Wayfarer.

THOUGHTS OF THE GREAT. By George S. Arundale. (*Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.*) Cloth, 2s. each.

THE THEOSOPHICAL REVIEW. Edited by S. L. Bensusan. (London : *The Theosophical Society in England*, 23, Bedford Square, W.C. 1.) 7s. 6d. per annum.

In her foreword to "Sketches of Great Truths," Dr. Besant tells us that the essays in this booklet originally published in the Supplement of *New India*, were written with the hope of capturing the casual reader and luring him on in the search for deeper and fuller knowledge.

Great these statements of truth are, so great that the plain man might well be overwhelmed by them, "Inevitable unchanging law, the same for all, no favourites, no good or bad chance . . . just a law—needs tempering with the poet's

"All's Love, yet all's Law,"

and, though this is done elsewhere, still, to the uninitiated, Theosophy may seem hard, nay even cruel, and only appeals when its conceptions are associated with the teachings of the Mystics, Oriental and Occidental.

Mr. Arundale dedicates his selection to

"The Young in Heart,"

"the truly great," through whom he hopes the world will soon realize its brotherhood.

Greatness is a reaction, he tells us, an attitude, and this attitude, this reaction may find expression in action, feeling, or thought. It is to be hoped that the success of this first selection will ensure the publication of the second series of these excerpts from the author's "Thought Book."

"Above all else, remember that these thoughts are but intended to remind you of that which I trust you already know. It is not so

much knowledge that we need as the vital remembrance of it, the practice of it. I commend to you as the supreme truth within this little book the vital thought expressed in the noble prayer of John Drinkwater”:

* * * * *

“Grant us the *Will* to fashion as we feel,
Grant us the strength to labour as we know,
Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel,
To strike the Blow :

“Knowledge we ask not—Knowledge Thou hast lent,
But Lord the *Will*—there lies our bitter need,
Give us to build above the deep intent
The Deed. The Deed !”

This sixth number of Vol. I. (New Series) of the *Theosophical Review*, excellently produced as are most theosophical publications, is an amazing medley. Two or three of its articles are, many times over, worth the humble sixpence that purchases them all. Edgar Allan Poe is left far behind in “Things I have Seen,” by Mary Bligh Bond. Mr. Cooke-Adams presents Einstein’s hypothesis with masterly lucidity, while Mr. Spurrier’s paper on “The Electronic Reactions of Abrams and the Horder Committee” should be issued as a pamphlet in the interests of the general reader.

To those who know the facts the Horder Committee report is painful reading. Yet it has its humorous side. Here are two passages from the report as quoted by Mr. Spurrier :

“That certain substances, when placed in proper relation to the emanometer Boyd, produce beyond any reasonable doubt changes in the abdominal wall of ‘the subject’ of a kind which may be detected by percussion.”

As Mr. Spurrier points out, the significance of the first of the conclusions of the Horder Committee, quoted above, lies in the fact that in the view of that Committee itself, to quote again from its text, this said conclusion is—

“Tantamount to the statement that the fundamental proposition underlying, in common, the original and certain other forms of apparatus designed for the purpose of eliciting the so-called electronic reactions of Abrams, is established to a very high degree of probability.”

In other words, despite the adverse statements of the *Scientific American* the Electronic Reactions of Abrams *really do occur*.

The humour lies in the second conclusion of the Horder Committee—viz., that no evidence is available to justify the deduction that the Electronic Reactions of Abrams occur with those practitioners who use the *apparatus designed by the very man who discovered those reactions* !

All one can say is that there is none so blind as those who will not see. Before visiting the Abrams Institute at San Francisco last May I had verified these reactions for myself through the courtesy of one of Abrams's pupils in this country, using Abrams's apparatus. However, we must be thankful for small mercies. Now that the Horder Committee has established the fact that these reactions do occur, it, or some other body, must go on to verify the curative as well as the diagnostic results, for conscientious physicians and intelligent laymen will not remain satisfied to leave the matter at the point to which the Horder Committee has brought it.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1925

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY MAJOR-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA
DHIRAJ OF PATIALA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., A.D.C.

It is not easy to give a clear account of the impression made upon the mind of a Delegate by the League of Nations, since the impression itself is complex and without precision. The League, in fact, is an organism which is passing rapidly through successive stages of development : which is fluid rather than concrete, dynamic rather than static.

My first impressions were somewhat unfavourable. The depressing character of the Salle de la Réformation, in which the Assembly sits, the confusion attending the first day of the Session, the time wasted in apparently fruitless oratory—all these made me wonder for a moment whether I had really served my country and my Order by leaving India to attend such a gathering. But before long I observed two things. In the first place, this was no ordinary meeting of Parliamentary representatives. I had only to look round about me to discover the majority of front-rank statesmen of Europe. Almost every one of the fifty nations here represented had sent its Premier or its Foreign Minister, and in some cases both. It was further plain that a large number of these eminent statesmen were

personal friends, for I was greatly struck by the cordiality of the atmosphere. As it seems to me it is no small thing to gather together in a single hall the men who by their official position, and the power which it has placed in their hands, are authorized to speak for almost half the world. The mere fact that they meet, talk, walk, and dine together cannot but encourage harmony, smooth over difficult questions, and conduce to friendly arrangements. Indeed, one of the most practical achievements of the League is its encouragement of the habit of compromise, of give and take, of the settlement of differences by friendly discussion.

My second observation was equally interesting. It became plain to me that the League performs for public opinion the task which a lens performs for light : it receives it, transmits it, and concentrates it upon the point where it produces the maximum effect. To public opinion the Assembly in particular is very sensitive ; and in the atmosphere of enthusiasm which characterizes the Sessions resistance to a certain kind of demand is almost impossible. Hence arises to my mind a particular blend of strength and weakness which runs through all the doings of the League. On the one hand, the Great Powers, despite all the diplomacy that can be devised, frequently find themselves confronted with a situation in which they have either to accept the prevalent sentiment, or to incur an undesirable odium by remaining isolated in resistance to it. This is on the whole healthy, especially as the smaller States, which make up what may be called the rank and file of the League, respect the position of the Great Powers, and do not as a rule employ their numerical majority injudiciously. Here let me note emphatically that my experience is far from confirming the complaint made by certain superficial observers that the "equality" of the League is mere camouflage. It is very far from true to say that the Great Powers "rig" everything from behind the scenes : that the smaller States are mere puppets dancing at the bidding of a hidden hand. On the contrary, there is a perpetual give

and take. The smaller States take care not to press the Great Powers too hard; but the Great Powers cannot resist, as experience has shown, a strongly backed demand for action of a particular kind. Their influence as a rule is cast in the direction of moderation. They endeavour to curb injudicious enthusiasm, to inculcate caution, and to prevent the adoption of sweeping resolutions which there is little prospect of carrying into effect. When for some reason or another they abandon this function for the moment curious things happen. Witness the events of the Fifth Session, when the Premiers of Britain and France, far from guiding the enthusiasm of the Assembly into channels which admitted of early practical expression, put themselves in the advance-guard of the idealists, acted as though there was no distinction between saying something and doing it, and altogether ignored difficulties of the most obvious kind in a manner worthy only of a revolutionary convention.

There can be no two opinions as to the force, call it moral or call it psychic, wielded by the Assembly. This body reacts clearly and emphatically to the proposals placed before it, and gathers behind its sentiments an impetus which makes them most difficult to resist. For which reason there is always the risk that it may be stampeded into unreflecting idealism, and thus commit itself to views or programmes of a character likely to affect deleteriously its own influence and reputation. It is therefore important that there should be submitted to the Assembly only those proposals which have been carefully considered from the point of view of practicability, and properly prepared from the point of view of constitutional procedure.

Hence comes the unique importance of the work of the committees. It would be a mistake to assume, as is sometimes done, that the Assembly is a mere rubber-stamp, which automatically places its imprimatur upon the decisions of the committees. The Assembly has a formidable will

of its own ; it will reject or alter, from time to time, what is placed before it. But the committees act as a strainer for much of what might otherwise clog the machinery. It is in the committees that the wild-eyed enthusiasts find themselves compelled to reckon with hard facts ; in the committees that amicable compromises are arranged and working harmony cemented ; in the committees that the burden of the work is carried through. Personally, I was so much convinced of the truth of this, that I deliberately concentrated upon the committee side of the work, and left the Assembly rather alone. I may be pardoned for remarking that this line of action was justified by its results. Two questions in particular, among the cases definitely assigned to me, threatened to involve, either directly or indirectly, implications of a very undesirable nature. It would have been open to me to reserve my views, and those of the Government of India, for the open Assembly. I preferred to bring my guns to bear in committee, with the consequence that I was able to secure all the desired results without incurring the odium of strongly opposing, in public debate, the views of a certain great and friendly Power.

A word about the social side of the League. Everyone works so hard during the four weeks of the Session that large and elaborate entertainments are somewhat at a discount. Many Delegations confine their hospitality to a single *soirée*, or one admirable concert, to which everyone is invited. I myself preferred to arrange a continual series of small, informal lunches and dinners, at which I had the privilege of entertaining privately and separately the Delegation of each important nation. Among the results I count many new friends, much first-hand information about the drama of contemporary politics from persons who play the leading part therein ; and—as I sincerely hope and trust—the awakening of a new appreciation, in several quarters at least, of the character and ideals of my own Order and of my fellow-countrymen. There can be

no question that the present situation in India is much misunderstood abroad. I count it among the most important duties of any Indian representative to enlighten those persons whom he meets concerning the constitutional and political progress, the aspirations and apprehensions of our beloved Motherland.

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA

BY LADY CHATTERJEE, M.A., D.SC.

THE detailed survey of the industrial position in India undertaken during the War by the Indian Industrial Commission brought into prominence many obstacles in the way of fuller development. The Commission recommended that Government should no longer pursue a *laissez-faire* policy, but should take an active part in fostering the industries of the country. It was also realized at the same time that measures should be adopted to increase the efficiency of labour, and that in order to do this the working conditions must be improved and the health of the workers safeguarded. It is these latter aspects of the question that will be dealt with in this paper.

The recommendations of the Commission relating to the amelioration of the conditions of labour received further support at the International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919. Largely as a result of the resolutions passed there, India was compelled to revise not only her factory legislation, but also her mines legislation. In order to be in a position to ratify the Washington conventions and recommendations, India had to introduce a sixty-hour week in factories and in mines; the employment of women at night had to be completely prohibited; the minimum age of employment had to be raised to twelve, and an enquiry had to be instituted into the possibility of granting maternity benefits to industrial workers.

All these *desiderata* were embodied in the Factories Act of 1922. The Act was also made much wider in its scope than previous Acts, being made applicable to all factories where power was used and where the numbers employed were not less than twenty. Authority was also given to the

various Provincial Governments to bring factories employing not less than ten persons, whether power was used or not, within its scope.

The Washington recommendation that an enquiry should be made into the question of maternity benefits was also carried out, and a report submitted to the International Labour Conference in 1921 stating the difficulties in the way of legislative enactment. The Government of India, however, was not content with this somewhat negative attitude and instituted further enquiries in the two major Provinces of Bombay and Bengal. These were respectively undertaken by Dr. Barnes and Dr. Curjel, belonging to the Women's Medical Service. Their reports were published in due course and have aroused much interest. Although no legislation has yet been passed, a Maternity Benefit Bill, introduced into the Legislative Assembly by Mr. N. M. Joshi (in his capacity of a private member to represent Labour) in September, 1924, is under consideration. Debate on the Bill showed that it bristled with many practical difficulties. The Member in charge of Industries was accordingly compelled to move that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of obtaining opinion thereon. In spite of the difficulties that lie in the way of administration there can be little doubt that a maternity benefit scheme is very much needed. It is very disheartening to find that when the appointment of a Select Committee to consider this measure was moved in the present Assembly, the Member for Industries opposed the Bill on the ground that it was both unnecessary and undesirable.

The revision of the Mines Act was next taken in hand; a Bill was introduced in 1922 and passed early in 1923. The salient features of that Act consist in the limitation of the hours of work above ground to sixty and underground to fifty-four, and the raising of the age of employment to thirteen years. The question of the prohibition of the employment of women underground was raised at the same time by Mr. N. M. Joshi, but Government was not prepared

to do more than reserve to itself the right to prohibit the employment of women in certain circumstances by passing orders thereon. The Central Government also undertook to consult Provincial Governments on the matter. The problem is particularly difficult owing to the fact that, according to the latest available figures, nearly 50,000 women are so employed, and over 39,000 of this number work in coal mines. To throw so large a number out of employment would seriously disorganize the industry and cause grave discontent unless the change is effected gradually. There can be little doubt that legislation on these lines is desirable, but in the interests of the workers themselves the change should not be too rapid. According to time-honoured tradition a man may take his wife down the mine to carry the coal hewn by him, and the joint wages so earned are a useful addition to what is earned at other times by agricultural work. If women are excluded from work underground not only will it be necessary to pay higher wages, but other means for carrying the coal will have to be devised.

Having thus succeeded in improving the working conditions both in factories and in mines, Government next turned its attention to the subject of Workmen's Compensation. The demand for such legislation dates back as far as 1884, when workers in Bombay asked for full wages during a period of serious disablement and for provision for life should a man be permanently disabled from following his occupation. Workers in India, however, had no redress in case of accident, except in the case of death, until 1923, when legislation to enforce minimum payments for accidents was passed. Now, not only are workers in factories protected, but also workers in mines, transport workers, men employed in the building trades, telegraph and telephone linesmen, underground sewage workers, and members of fire brigades. The difficulties in the way of administering this legislation, particularly where women are concerned, will be dealt with further on in this article.

An important piece of legislation now under consideration is that relating to the registration of Trade Unions. Legislation to give adequate protection and legal status to Trade Unions was promised in a speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in 1921. The promise was redeemed at the commencement of this year, when a Bill was introduced into the Assembly. The Bill is a Government measure, and provoked a certain amount of criticism, especially on the part of Mr. N. M. Joshi, who bitterly complained that when he had moved a resolution in the House he had hoped for a "sound Trade Union law on the English model," whereas in place of the "bread made of clean English flour" he had been given "bread mixed with stones, if not made of stones." His main contention was that the Bill had been framed in such a way that many Trade Unions would be unwilling to register, while at the same time those that did not register would be liable to prosecution under the conspiracy section of the Indian Penal Code. It was aptly pointed out that if that were the case it was quite open to him to bring forward a Bill to amend the Penal Code, and that criticism on such ground was beside the point. The Assembly affirmed the principle of the Bill when it passed a motion for its reference to a Select Committee, so that there is now every possibility of the Bill finding its way into the Statute Book.

Another Bill formulated by Government, though not yet introduced, relates to the investigation and settlement of trade disputes. In order to elicit public opinion, and to give the fullest publicity to their proposals, a letter together with a copy of the proposed measure was sent out simultaneously to all Provincial Governments and to the Press. In that letter attention was drawn to the fact that the need for some such measure had received the support of the committees appointed in Bombay and in Bengal to investigate the question. Further, the growth of the Trade Union movement, in the opinion of the Government of India, rendered "legislative measures for the investigation

and settlement of trade disputes at once more necessary and more easy of application." It was the intention of the Government to introduce the Bill at the commencement of this year, but this has not been done. It is to be hoped that there will be no considerable delay in bringing into force such a measure, which cannot fail to be of great utility both to employers and employed.

Yet another measure which has recently been passed relates to the complete repeal of the penal provisions of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act. This Act dated back to 1859, but was modified in 1920. Under the original Act it was legal to prosecute a workman who had accepted a monetary advance and signed a contract for leaving work without a valid reason. If convicted, he could be fined and imprisoned as for a criminal offence. A definite pledge was given in 1923 by Government that this law would be repealed. This pledge has been recently fulfilled, and the repeal will come into force with effect from April 1, 1926.

Like the Maternity Benefit Bill, the Weekly Payments Bill was introduced in September, 1924, by a private member, Mr. Chaman Lall. The object of the Bill, as stated by the mover in rather forcible language, is to get the worker "not only out of the clutches of mill managers and mill agents, but equally out of the clutches of the average money-lender." The necessity for the Bill arises from the fact that in the Bombay cotton-mill industry wages of operatives are, as a matter of course, paid six weeks in arrears. As the workers are not capitalists, they have to live on borrowed capital during the first six weeks of their employment, and the debt so contracted frequently hangs like a millstone round their neck. Employers fail to recognize that owing to this system of payment a large percentage of the wages paid out inevitably finds its way into the pockets of the money-lender instead of conducing to the efficiency of their labour. The Bill is clearly intended to remedy a great evil, but the Member for Industries found it necessary to ask for further consideration

on the ground that it was hardly fair to proceed with the measure until it was fully proved that the need for it was felt by the workers and admitted by the public at large. The reason thus assigned by the Government for delay in consideration is proof not only of the weak position of labour in India, but also of the fact that public opinion is not yet sufficiently organized in favour of sound labour legislation. The motion for the circulation of the Bill for the purpose of eliciting opinion was successfully carried. It is true that the Bill may require more careful framing, but it is also abundantly evident that employers can look for little sympathy among enlightened people if they withhold their support.

Before proceeding to deal with the need for further legislation, we may examine the steps that have been taken to enforce existing legislation. The question of the administration of factory legislation will first be considered. In the latest report, published in 1925, statistics are given relating to factories for the year 1923. From the tabular statements appended to that report it is evident that about half the total number of factories get inspected only once, that less than one-third are inspected more than once, while more than 1,000 factories do not receive an inspection visit throughout a whole year. The majority of the managers can therefore bank on being immune from further visits after the annual inspection has taken place.

The fact that so many factories are inspected at such long intervals does not reflect any discredit on the existing staff of inspectors. They work extremely hard, but they are very much understaffed.

The position is particularly bad in Bengal. The chief inspector of that Province is responsible not only for all factories in Bengal, but also for the factories in Assam. In the former Province there are over 1,000 factories in which over 540,000 persons are employed, while in the latter Province there are 579 factories in which nearly 50,000 persons are employed. In Bengal there are more

than 70,000 women and about 35,000 children at work, while in Assam about 12,000 women and an equal number of children are employed. In order to discharge these heavy responsibilities, the Chief Inspector had in 1924 a staff consisting of two inspectors who worked throughout the year, and one senior, the other being on leave. Two new officers were appointed in the last quarter of the year. The position for 1925 is even more distressing. One of the inspectors has left the Department, while another has again had to return to England on medical leave. The third has been lent to Bihar and Orissa. The Chief Inspector is, therefore, left with one senior inspector and two juniors to carry on the entire work. There is no mention in the Report either of the need of a woman inspector or of the possibility of one being appointed, in spite of the large number of women and children employed. With so inadequate a staff, it is not surprising to find that in Bengal, in 1924, slightly more than half the total number of factories were inspected once, and that about one-third were not inspected at all. In Assam the position was considerably worse. Only 43 factories out of the total number were inspected by the trained staff, while 188 were inspected by district officers and sub-divisional officers who, so far as it is known, have no particular qualifications for the work entrusted to them.

In Bombay, according to the latest available report, that for 1923, steps have been taken to reorganize the Factory Department. It consists of a Chief Inspector with two senior and three assistant inspectors, of whom four are Indians. In Bengal there is only one Indian on the inspecting staff. No mention is made of the appointment of a woman inspector, though it is believed that one was appointed later in 1924. Such an appointment was long overdue, in view of the fact that nearly 70,000 women and over 11,000 children are employed in the Bombay Presidency. The total number of adults is more than 345,000. The position with regard to the number of inspections is

more satisfactory than in Bengal, though it is to be hoped that the number of factories visited only once will decrease very considerably now that the staff has been reorganized.

In Madras, where there are more than 1,000 factories, only a very small proportion were not visited at all, but here, again, one may hope that it will be possible to decrease the number that are visited only once. It is unsatisfactory to note that, though there are more than 25,000 women employed, there is no woman factory inspector.

Other unsatisfactory features of the administration of the Factories Act are the comparative lack of prosecutions and the very small fines that are imposed by the magistrates. Inspector after inspector in the different provinces complains of the stultification of their efforts to enforce the law. In Bengal the Chief Inspector draws attention to the fact that in the majority of cases magistrates impose penalties which are quite incommensurate with the gravity of the offences committed. In almost all cases he states that the fines are so small, particularly in the case of large concerns, that they are regarded as insignificant, and treated with indifference. In the Punjab the inspector found that though he instituted proceedings for serious breaches of the Act, yet magistrates failed entirely to realize their seriousness, and that, consequently, the fines were cheerfully paid, and the manager "goes back to his factory and continues to repeat the same offence." In the Central Provinces the inspector complains bitterly that "owners consider it less expensive to pay the fines imposed in flagrant cases of neglect than to provide suitable guards."

This lack of appreciation on the part of the magistrates of the seriousness of the offences is extraordinarily unsatisfactory, especially in view of the fact that proceedings can be instituted only by inspectors with experience, and there is therefore very strong presumption that the case is not

likely to be either frivolous or malicious. Further, the workers themselves are not yet in a position to help the factory inspector in his efforts to see that the law is observed. They are, in consequence, all the more in need of protection. Government should certainly take effective measures to see that the efforts of inspectors are not rendered nugatory through the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of the magistrates who have to pass judgment in such cases. Trade Unions in India, as soon as they become properly organized, might also perform much useful work in this direction.

Unlike the administration of the Factories Act, for which the Provinces are responsible, the administration of the Indian Mines Act lies with the Central Government. The inspecting staff consists of a chief inspector, an electrical inspector, with two seniors, who divide the mines in India between them. The senior inspectors are in their turn each assisted by two juniors. The area to be covered is immense, and the total number of mines to be inspected is over 1,600. The number of persons employed in 1922 was more than 200,000, of whom nearly 50,000 were women employed below ground, while over 28,000 worked above ground. The responsibility is clearly a heavy one. From a bare analysis of the figures for 1922 it would appear that about half the total number of mines were not inspected at all. It is probable that many of these are very small, but it is not possible to ascertain the numbers employed in them as they are not separately given. Inspection of coal mines is one of the chief duties of the inspectors, as coal is the most important mineral, and the bulk of the miners are engaged in that industry; but even here one finds that 187 mines were not inspected, in some of which large numbers were employed. For instance, in the district of Birbhum in Bengal there are eight coal mines, giving employment to over 12,000 persons, and yet this district does not appear to have received the visit of an inspector at all. Further, in

addition to the fact that the inspecting staff is evidently too small to cope with the work, it is noteworthy that, though so large a number of women are employed underground, there is no woman on the inspecting staff to safeguard their interests. It is also astonishing to find that no Indian was employed on the staff till 1923.

The administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act was entrusted in the major Provinces to whole-time Commissioners. The report of the Commissioners for Bengal has been published, but is, unfortunately, not available in England. From a Press review of the report it would appear that the number of claims in the first six months was comparatively small. It is satisfactory to note, however, that no less a sum than Rs. 32,682 was actually paid as compensation. Without the report it is not possible to state what proportion of this amount was paid to women workers. Their position is extremely difficult, as they are unwilling to make use to any large extent of the existing dispensaries, which are in almost all cases entirely staffed by men, and, as has already been shown, there is only one woman factory inspector in India.

Before closing this account of labour legislation in India, attention may be drawn to certain measures which, if adopted, would undoubtedly help to increase the efficiency of labour very considerably. One of these measures is the establishment of an industrial health service. A perusal of the reports of the factory inspectors makes one realize how closely health questions are allied to their work. The Workmen's Compensation Act further makes the employment of medical men a necessity. If the Maternity Benefits Bill is passed, medical women will ultimately have to be employed in connection therewith. For the satisfactory administration of all these measures persons with medical and public health qualifications are very much needed. In certain Provinces directors of public health act as *ex officio* inspectors of factories, but their duties are already sufficiently onerous, and cannot leave much time for work of this

nature. When such a service is created, the needs of women workers should not be overlooked, as has been the case in the past. Medical women should be an integral part of such an organization.

Some time must necessarily elapse before this service can be called into being, and during the interval the factory and mines inspecting staff might well be augmented and strengthened. Attention has been drawn to the necessity of having women inspectors in view of the large numbers of women employed both in factories and in mines. This is all the more necessary as Indian women are by nature and custom very diffident. They do therefore find it very difficult to approach any of the men inspectors in order to voice any complaints or to make their requirements known. This was found to be the case in England, and is very much more the case in India. Another difficulty which has to be overcome by the inspecting staff is that of language. Workers in India are generally illiterate and almost always ignorant of English. Although the members of the staff are required to learn one of the Indian languages, their heavy duties must inevitably preclude them from becoming expert in those languages. The Bombay Government has made a good commencement by the appointment of Indians on the staff, and there are also Indians in Madras. The other Provinces may well follow the good example set by Bombay when they recruit additional inspectors.

Another measure, which would undoubtedly tend very much to increase the contentment of the labour force, would be in the introduction of some form of Truck Act. In England Truck Acts have been in force since 1831. No similar protection is afforded to workers in India. Many firms have very elaborate systems of fines in force. Not only do they make deductions of wages for double the length of absence, but they also withhold wages when workers leave without giving due notice. The fines relating to faulty work are also in many cases severe. As the

workers are, in the majority of cases, illiterate, and as wages are, in the Bombay cotton mill industry, for instance, paid six weeks in arrears, it is not possible for them either to check the amount of the fines deducted from their wages or even to comprehend exactly for what reasons the fines have been imposed.

Space will not permit of a further discussion of the needs of labour, but before concluding it may not be out of place to emphasize the desirability of a new outlook on labour problems. Employers and employees in England as well as in India now find themselves separated by a broad gulf. In England the welfare movement has attempted, and in some cases most successfully, to bridge this gulf. There is even greater need in India for a welfare movement, though its development may be along somewhat different lines. What is primarily required is recognition of the fact that the worker in a factory is a human being, and that his health and happiness are as important to society as the prosperity of the industry.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

ON August 31, 1925, the quotations were as follows: In London—price of gold, 84·96 shillings per fine ounce; price of silver per ounce, 925 fine, 32·88 pence; rate of exchange of the rupee, 18·16 pence. In New York—the pound sterling, 4·855 dollars; price of fine silver, 71·75 cents per ounce. In Bombay, on August 11, gold was quoted at 21·44 rupees per tola of 180 grains; the sovereign at 13·83 rupees, and fine silver at 72·4 rupees per 100 tolas. These quotations give the following values:

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER.

	In 1913.	January 31, 1920.	January 31, 1922.	January 31, 1924.	August 31, 1925.
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold...	113	82	99·5	99·3	113
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign ...	100	72	88·1	87·9	100
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees:					
In London ...	15	11·9	17·5	15·9	13·2
In India ...	15	17·0	17·9	16·3	13·8
Value of the rupee in grains of gold:					
In London ...	7·53	9·6	6·5	7·1	8·5
In India ...	7·53	6·7	6·3	6·9	8·4
Value of the rupee in pence sterling in London	16	28	15·6	17·2	18·2
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold in London ...	16	20	13·7	15·1	18·2
Value of the rupee in grains of silver:					
In London ...	253	149	197	229	245
In India ...	257	157	194	222	249
Ratio of gold to silver:					
In New York ...	34	15·5	31·3	32·7	28·8
In London ...	34	15·7	30·5	32·2	28·7
In India ...	34	23·5	30·8	32·0	29·6

During the last nineteen months the measures taken by the British Parliament have resulted in restoring the British paper pound sterling to the value of a sovereign—that is, 113 grains of fine gold, as compared with the 99 grains it was worth in January, 1924. The rupee has risen in value

in sterling from 17·2 to 18·2 pence; but as in January, 1924, the pound sterling was worth only 88 per cent. of the sovereign, the rise in the value of the rupee, when measured in gold, has really been from 15·1 to 18·2 pence. In other words, the rupee, which before the war was worth 7·53 grains of gold, and in January, 1924, was worth only about 7 grains, now exchanges for 8·5 grains in London, and for 8·4 grains in Bombay; and the sovereign, which before the war exchanged for 15 rupees, and which in January, 1924, was worth about 16 rupees, now commands in Bombay only 13·8 rupees. This rise of about 20 per cent. in the gold value of the rupee during the last nineteen months has greatly altered the Indian currency position.

The Royal Commission, which has recently been appointed to report on the Indian exchange and currency system and practice, will no doubt consider whether an attempt should be made to fix the rate of exchange of the rupee in terms of gold, as it had been fixed for a number of years before the war. If that were done, the rupee prices of commodities would tend to vary with gold prices, and as one of the chief objects to be aimed at is the stability of commodity prices, it will be for consideration whether in the future gold is likely to form the best basis of currency from the point of view of stability. According to Sauerbeck's series, in the United Kingdom the wholesale gold prices of commodities in general use rose between 1896 and 1913 in the proportion of 61 to 85—that is, at the rate of 1·4 points per annum. There can be little doubt that one of the chief reasons for this rise of gold prices (in other words, fall in the commodity value of gold) was the great addition to the world's stock of gold due to the increase in production which took place after 1890. If there had been no great war, and if the new production of gold had continued at the pre-war rate, it seems probable that the rise of gold prices would have continued, and that the average wholesale gold price of commodities in this country might now have been about 17 per cent. above what it was in 1913—that is to say, taking the prices of 1913 as 100, the index-number for this country might now have been about 117. As a matter of fact, according to the statistics published by the League of Nations, in those countries which have kept or brought their paper currencies up to the value of gold, the index-numbers of wholesale commodity prices were, in June last: United Kingdom, 158; United States, 157; Canada, 159; Australia (May), 167; New Zealand, 174; South Africa (April), 130; Holland, 153; Sweden, 161; Switzerland, 161; Germany, 134. These figures are not strictly comparable, but, broadly speaking, they indicate that the rise in wholesale gold prices in these countries (except Germany) has been about 60 per cent.; in other words, it takes about 16 ounces of fine gold to purchase wholesale the same quantity of general commodities which would have been purchased for 10 ounces in 1913. This great rise in the gold price of commodities (or fall in the commodity value of gold) can only to a comparatively small extent be due to the increase in the world's stock of gold, owing to an excess of new production of gold over the amount of gold lost during those twelve years. It must be mainly due to the great destruction of commodities during the war, to lower production of commodities, and to the fact

that the world's effective demand for gold has decreased at a more rapid rate than its effective demand for commodities, owing to the impoverishment of many countries, and to the general withdrawal of gold from circulation.

As regards recent changes, during the twelve months ending with June, 1925, the index-numbers (reduced to terms of gold) have altered as follows: United States from 145 in June, 1924, to 157 in June, 1925, United Kingdom from 144 to 158, Canada from 150 to 159, Holland from 141 to 153, Sweden from 156 to 161, Switzerland from 159 to 161, Germany from 116 to 134, France from 127 to 134, Italy from 127 to 135, Belgium from 134 to 135, Japan from 164 to 168, India (Calcutta) from 166 to 184. During these twelve months therefore there has been almost all over the world a very considerable rise (averaging about 6 per cent.) in the wholesale prices of commodities, when measured in gold—that is, a fall in the commodity value of gold. This seems to indicate that the world's available supply of gold is increasing at a faster rate than the world's effective demand for it, which might be due to the increase of the world's stock of gold owing to new production, to the setting free of reserves of gold, or to the desire of the world's population to purchase commodities rather than gold.

Altogether, to judge from past experience, gold as a basis of currency does not provide an absolutely stable basis for commodity prices. But what is the alternative before India? The United Kingdom and the United States, which are the principal creditor countries, have now currencies directly based on gold, and are not likely to accept any other basis than gold for the payment of the debts due to them, although that means that payment can at present be made in a much smaller quantity of commodities than would have been required before the war to repay debts of similar amounts fixed either in sterling or in dollars. Many other countries have either got back to the gold standard or are trying to do so, and it seems probable that soon practically all international trade will be conducted on a definite gold basis. Before the war, when the rupee was merely a token coin, equal in value to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, India's international trade, and even her internal trade, were really based on gold. Now the rupee has no longer a fixed value in relation to gold, nor do fluctuations in the value of silver have any appreciable effect on the gold value or the commodity value of the rupee coin. That depends on the relation between the supply and demand for rupee currency and the supply and demand for other commodities (including gold and silver). The supply of rupee currency is regulated by the Government of India without any automatic control, such as is exercised in the case of sterling or of dollars by the right a creditor has of demanding the equivalent in gold coins which have an intrinsic value of their own, according to the number of grains of gold they contain; whereas the rupee coin, which at present buys about 249 grains of silver in India, contains only 165 grains of pure silver. The Government of India, I venture to think, made a great mistake before the war in rapidly increasing the quantity of rupees and notes, which, during and after the war, entailed a period of anxiety and great expense in the endeavour to maintain the conver-

tibility of currency notes. The Secretary of State certainly made a mistake in 1920 when he announced that he would aim at giving the rupee a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 11·3 grains of fine gold—that is, one-tenth of the gold in a sovereign. This experience, together with the experience of many other countries during and since the war, shows the danger of entrusting the management of a currency to any body of men, however capable, honest and impartial, without some automatic check, which would prevent even a partisan or doctrinaire Government from manipulating the currency in the interest of particular classes, and thus possibly inflicting great injury, especially on the poorest of the population. The people of India will be safer with a currency based on gold, although the commodity value of gold is liable to fluctuate, than with one dependent on the varying opinions of any body of men.

Writing in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* in April, 1924, when the rupee was worth about 7 grains of gold, in place of its pre-war value of 7·53 grains, I urged that the Government should formally cancel the futile announcement of 1920, make the sovereign legal tender in India at the pre-war rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign, and aim at keeping the gold value of the rupee at that rate. Since then, however, the gold value of the rupee has risen to 8·4 grains of gold, which gives it a value in exchange of over 18 pence gold, and the sovereign in Bombay now commands only 13·8 rupees. But it must be borne in mind that so lately as January 31, 1922, the rupee was worth only about 6·5 grains of gold, and that only nineteen months ago it was worth only about 7 grains, and the recent rise in its gold value to 8·4 grains may prove to be only temporary, as being due not only to the general fall in the commodity value of gold which has taken place over the world as a whole, but to exceptionally good harvests in India, which led to an increase in the demand for rupee currency. If the world's demand for gold increases, or the world's production of commodities overtakes the world's demand, then the general gold price of commodities will fall, the commodity value of gold will rise, and the gold value of the rupee will tend to fall. If India suffers from poor harvests and her exports decrease in comparison with her imports, there will be less demand for rupees, and the people who hold large hoards of rupees may feel compelled to put them into circulation and thus increase the available supply of rupees, which would tend to reduce the gold value of the rupee.

In the interests of stability, therefore, it is desirable to fix the gold value of the rupee below its present value of 8·4 grains. It seems probable that sovereigns may soon come into general circulation in India, as they showed signs of doing before the war; so that it is of greater practical importance to fix the ratio in so many even rupees to the sovereign than in so many even pence to the rupee. I therefore now venture to suggest that the sovereign should be made legal tender in India at the rate of 14 rupees, instead of the pre-war rate of 15 rupees. This would make it equal in value to 8·07 grains of fine gold, and the par rate of exchange would be 17·14 pence. If this were done, exchange could not rise appreciably above that rate, as it would then become profitable to import sovereigns

into India and use them as legal tender for 14 rupees. The real danger would be, as it was before the war, that the gold value of the rupee might fall below the par rate; and to minimize that danger the Government of India should refrain from coining any more rupees, and should make a large reduction in the quantity of currency notes outstanding, leaving the population to make up the currency required for circulation by utilizing the 877 million rupees now in the Currency Reserve, and a portion of the great quantities of gold and rupees which are at present hoarded. In that case, it would probably never be necessary to draw on the £40,000,000 which the Government still holds in the Gold Standard Reserve.

THE PACIFIC PROBLEM

I. JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH AMERICA

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI

INCREDIBLE as it may sound to Britishers, it nevertheless is true that many in the United States and in Japan scent propaganda when a European—be he an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a German—takes it upon himself to disseminate, especially in America, the idea that the two Pacific Powers are bound to fall out, that their navies are each pursuing a plan with a view to the “great war in the Pacific” which may be forthcoming within a decade. Such propaganda, if propaganda it be, raises both here and in Japan a number of questions. Is there not a European Power or Powers which will derive a benefit from a weakened Japan or a weakened America? Will not great commercial nations of Europe, eager to maintain the economic supremacy they have long enjoyed in the Far East, especially in China, welcome a conflict which will inevitably prove a serious setback to Japan's growing trade and industry? If so, is it not natural that some Europeans, possibly officially or otherwise inspired, should deliberately hold up before the American public the spectre of a Japanese menace, emphasizing with plausible statistics that unless the American navy builds more ships, and builds quickly, it will soon lag behind the Japanese navy? Such questions are being asked not by prejudiced people, but by impartial, serious-minded, often well-informed, men and women.

The writer does not propose to answer these questions. The rôle of Cassandra is not an enviable one. Nor is it profitable to build argument upon assumptions and speculations. Far better it seems to us to confine ourselves to a statement of facts essential to the right understanding of relationship between Japan and the United States.

It may be readily admitted that immigration is the most

knotty problem as between Japan and America. The American Immigration Law of 1924, with its Oriental exclusion provisions, has not solved, but has aggravated, that question. Whatever be the opinion of its authors, Japan does not look upon it as the last word on Japanese immigration. Nor are Americans of one opinion as to the wisdom of the manner in which that law excludes the Japanese. Not that Japan wants to send emigrants to America, nor that Americans, even of the liberal class, advocate anything like free Japanese immigration. That is not the point. The question is whether statutory exclusion, as applied to the Japanese, is the best way to attain the purpose for which it was adopted last year. To this question Japan replies, as do many Americans, emphatically in the negative. On both sides the opinion is prevalent among enlightened people that the object of the Exclusion Law, as far as Japanese immigration is concerned, can be attained in a way that will not encroach upon the pride of the proud nation. To be more explicit, Japan would accept without grudge the restriction of immigration upon the general percentage basis provided in the Immigration Law of 1924. The application of this plan would, as President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes repeatedly explained to the Congress last year, be tantamount to total exclusion of Japanese immigration for the simple reason that, according to the 1890 census (which is the basis of the percentage plan), the Japanese in America numbered only two thousand, 2 per cent. of which would be negligible. Yet Japan would have acquiesced in this virtual exclusion, because it would have placed her, at least legally or technically, upon equal footing with European nations, and thus spared her the embarrassment of accepting the stigma of inferiority so rudely fixed upon her. She hopes, and believes, that public sentiment in America will gradually crystallize in a modification of the law more in harmony with the Japanese view.

Japan's attitude towards the immigration question has

always been conciliatory. Japan, as a nation, has never encouraged immigration to the United States or Canada, for she has genuinely been solicitous for friendly relations with these countries. Japanese immigration to the United States, even at its highest watermark, amounted to little over 1 per cent. of total immigration to that country. And yet, when California, in 1906, began to agitate against the Japanese, Japan, for the sake of good neighbourhood, did not hesitate to enter into the so-called "gentlemen's agreement," which practically put an end to Japanese immigration.

Japan, though willing to restrict the emigration of her subjects of her own accord, has consistently taken the stand that discriminatory restriction or exclusion of Japanese immigration by a formal treaty with, or by a domestic law of, any foreign nation with which she is on equal terms is incompatible with the prestige and dignity with which the Powers have by common consent clothed her. If international good manners and courtesy mean anything, and are of any value in the promotion of peace among nations, this point of view seems worthy of due respect. In deference to this stand the American Government in 1911 eliminated from the treaty with Japan a clause relative to the exclusion or restriction of Japanese immigration. Downing Street, too, accepted the Japanese view by providing in the 1911 treaty that "the subjects of each contracting party shall have full liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territory of the other," and that they "shall in all that relates to travel and residence be placed in all respects on the same footing as native subjects." Thus Japan is, before the world, on equal footing with England in the matter of immigration, as she was with America until the enactment of the Immigration Law of 1924. If she entered a "gentlemen's agreement," restricting the emigration of her labourers to Canada or the United States, that was entirely her voluntary arrangement. True, she recognizes unreservedly the binding force of such agreements as between the parties concerned ; but as for the world in general, it is

not expected to recognize their existence. In other words, the world is asked to close its eyes to the "gentlemen's agreement," recognizing only the treaties which place Japan on equal terms with the leading Powers of the West.

This position was clearly understood by Premier Mackenzie King, of Canada, when he stated before the Dominion House of Commons in 1923 :

"The Japanese Government offered itself to restrict the number of persons coming to this country in accordance with agreements which might be made between the Government of Canada and the Government of Japan. It was, I think, mainly a matter of national pride with the Japanese. They desire to preserve, in the face of the world at all events, the right of their citizens to go anywhere, and I say quite frankly that if this Parliament, and particularly our friends from British Columbia, prefer to end any agreement they have only to say so. They have only to insist that such rights as are secured by treaty shall be ended, and we can soon settle in that way, if that way will settle it, the whole question of Japanese immigration. If, on the other hand, this country wishes to preserve trade with the Orient, we shall have to have some regard for matters which, with respect to their citizens, the Government of the Orient regard as all-important. If the Japanese Government is agreeable to making an agreement with this country which will preserve to that Government such rights as it regards as essential to its citizens, and at the same time avoid, as effectively as any other arrangement can, the immigration of labour from Japan to this country, I think it will be infinitely better for all to adopt the latter course."

Secretary Hughes, in an effort to forestall statutory exclusion of Japanese, made much the same statements to the Congress at Washington. He endeavoured either to save the "gentlemen's agreement," if in a more restrictive form, or to extend the general quota limitation to Japanese immigration, for the two plans, as applied to the Japanese,

would have attained the same purpose—Japanese exclusion without violating Japanese pride. It is hard to believe that a contention so reasonable and so convincing could be ignored, yet the Congress flew in the face of reason and logic, and voted for statutory exclusion.

What will—what can Japan do? Happily, indications are not lacking that the sanity and moderation which have characterized her policy in the past will continue to guide her in the right direction. As Baron Shidehara, Japan's Foreign Minister, explained before the House of Representatives last spring :

“We regret the discriminatory clause against the Japanese in the Immigration Act of 1924. The question still remains unsettled. It should, however, be remembered that a law cannot be modified except by a law, and that under the constitutional system of the United States the Legislature is entirely independent of the Executive. It is obvious that continued discussion of this matter between the two Governments at this time will not, in itself, serve any useful purpose. What is really important in the final analysis of the question is that the American people shall have come to a correct understanding of our people and of our point of view. An impetuous mood or an impassioned utterance will not conduce to international understanding. There is no doubt that the same love of justice that kindled American independence still continues to inspire the minds of the American people. The day will come when this fact will be fully demonstrated.”

In a word, patience and “watchful waiting” will be the essence of Japan's policy in the matter of immigration. Not only has she not acted towards the United States in the spirit of “an eye for an eye,” but she has replied to the American challenge in a wise and generous manner. Even when the ink was fresh upon the American Exclusion Act, Japan adopted a significant measure, the first voice lifted in reply to the American law. It solved without reservation the question of dual citizenship by recognizing that a child

born in America of Japanese parentage was *ipso facto* an American citizen, completely divorced from Japanese allegiance. Under this new law an American-born Japanese is no longer required to register his birth with the Japanese authorities, or to petition them to renounce his Japanese nationality. This revision was made to satisfy the Americans who had singled out Japan's former nationality law for criticism, although that law was practically the same as the laws prevailing in Continental Europe.

Another Japanese measure adopted in response to American exclusion is the new Land Law, which extends land ownership to foreigners, including Americans. Ever since the western States in the American Union enacted anti-Japanese land laws, a certain section of the Japanese public has been insistent upon the enactment of a similar law against the American residents in Japan. In the face of such clamour, the Government and the leading men of Japan have stood firm for a policy of moderation and conciliation, which finally crystallized in the new Land Law adopted last spring. As long as Japan keeps her head and maintains this attitude of sanity and wisdom, there is little danger that the peace of the Pacific will be disturbed.

The immigration question, of course, is not the only question between Japan and America. There are also problems of China, of Manchuria, of Siberia. In the years immediately preceding the Washington conference of 1921-22, the American Senate and the American public were exceedingly critical towards Japan's policies in regard to Shantung and Siberia. It was then feared that the two nations might come to a clash on those issues, rather than on the immigration question. But events in the Far East have since taken a totally different course. The Siberian question, as far as it affects American-Japanese relations, has become a thing of the past. Japan has long since completely withdrawn her troops from Siberia, and has entered into amicable relations, at least apparently, with the

Soviet Government. To-day, hardly a voice is heard in America criticizing Japan's policy towards Siberia. Rather, sympathy is expressed for Japan in the difficulty she is experiencing in dealing with such an extraordinary neighbour as Soviet Russia. As for the Shantung question, it was settled to the satisfaction of China—and of America—even before the solution of the Siberian question. Japan, in compliance with the agreement made at the Washington Conference, completely restored the former German territory and railway to China in the Fall of 1922. The renunciation was so prompt and so complete that memories of the heated discussion, which once enlivened the American Senate and the American Press, have long since faded away in the American mind.

In Manchuria, Japan's policy has been just as moderate and reasonable. At the Washington Conference, Baron Shidehara, on behalf of the Japanese Government, announced that Japan was ready to make the following concessions :

First. To throw open to the common activity of the International Financial Consortium, organized at the instance of the American State Department, the right of option obtained by the Japanese capitalists with regard to certain Manchurian railway loans and loans to be secured on local taxes in South Manchuria.

Second. Not to insist on the preferential right obtained by Japan in 1915 concerning the engagement by China of Japanese advisers in South Manchuria.

To-day the Japanese policy in Manchuria, as an issue between Japan and America, is about as important as the difference 'twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee. And why not? No real American interest in Manchuria has ever been thwarted or jeopardized by Japan. So far from it, American trade in that country has greatly increased since the Japanese advent there. When Tsarist Russia held South, as well as North, Manchuria, American trade there was negligible. The appearance of the Japanese after the

Russian war changed this condition in favour of American commerce. From 1907 to 1920 the South Manchuria Railway alone bought American materials to the extent of almost \$100,000,000. In addition, American machinery and materials to the sum of some \$60,000,000 were imported to Manchuria by various Japanese business firms.

Japan has, as many Japanese believe, been carrying on a civilizing mission in Manchuria, establishing modern schools and hospitals, introducing an effective system of public sanitation, promoting trade, and developing natural, especially agricultural, resources. All this added phenomenally to the wealth and prosperity of the natives. Under the Russian *régime* the Manchurian railways were military roads. The Japanese have completely changed this condition. The late President Hayakawa, of the South Manchuria Railway, in the instructions issued to the employees of the company in 1922, said :

“ Towards all nationalities we must loyally observe the principle of equal opportunity, and must be guided by the spirit of harmony and co-operation, and should demonstrate to the world the open and fair attitude of the Japanese people. Free competition is what we expect and welcome heartily. We shall meet any and every competitor like a sportsman, and should hope to win only by ability.”

Largely due to the liberal policy pursued by Japan, the trade of Manchuria multiplied by leaps and bounds. In 1908 its import and export trade amounted to only some \$71,800,000. In 1922 this increased to \$377,400,000.

All these facts have been gradually dawning upon Americans of the thinking class. Even the late Mr. Willard Straight, who as American Consul-General in Manchuria was once Japan's bitter critic, learned in his later years to look at the situation in a new light, and became an advocate of American-Japanese economic co-operation in China.

In discussing Japan's position in Manchuria, the fact

must always be borne in mind that the soil of that country was anointed with Japanese blood in the titanic war which was forced upon her because of the intrigue concocted by the late Li Hung-Chang. It is now a matter of common knowledge that the Chinese statesman, having been defeated by Japan in a war he had forced upon her in 1894, entered into alliance with Russia, and secretly invited her to Manchuria in the hope of wreaking vengeance upon Japan. But in satisfying his grudge against Japan Li cut off his nose to spite his face, for Russia proved King Stork in place of King Log. Japanese policy in Manchuria has ever since been formulated with an eye upon Russia. To-day Soviet Russia, despite its professed renunciation of imperialistic policy in the Far East, still remains a source of apprehension to Japan; for the Soviets not only have no intention of giving up any of the vital interests secured by the Tsar in Manchuria, but are bringing even Mongolia under her sphere of influence. They are also reported to be secretly inciting Koreans against Japan. Whether her political colour be white, red, or pink, Russia continues a cause of Japan's fear.

And so it seems pertinent to conclude this article on American-Japanese relations with the following frank statement by Dr. Tyler Dennett, an American scholar, whose admirable documentary study entitled "Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War" presents an impartial interpretation of Japan's acts in Manchuria:

"In 1903 Russia was firmly lodged in Manchuria. She displayed every intention to remain. It was her declared purpose to close the markets to free commercial opportunity. Americans as well as other merchants were excluded from the interior of a region where American trade was growing rapidly. Secretary Hay wrote some more notes and secured some more verbal victories, but the Russians were still there. . . . The United States would not fight for the integrity of China. The American Government, notwithstanding the effrontery and the false-

hoods and the broken pledges, was not in an attitude of hostility to Russia.

“Japan came forward and dislodged Russia. The effort cost the United States not a life nor even a cent. It cost Japan about \$1,000,000,000, it cost her the labour of one-fifth of her productive male population for more than a year and a half, and it cost her the lives of nearly one in every hundred of her male productive workers. Russia was stopped; Europe was also stopped. The partition of China was delayed and probably will never take place. This result was a commercial and political benefit to the United States.”

2. LIBERAL AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS JAPAN

BY SIDNEY L. GULICK

THE spectacular Hawaiian manœuvres and "war game" of the U.S. Navy in April and May, 1925, followed by the visit to Australia of a large section of the American fleet, have given an impression of strained relations between America and Japan that do not in reality exist. These manœuvres were planned long before the adoption by Congress of the Immigration Act of 1924, which contained a section excluding from immigration to the United States for permanent residence "aliens ineligible for citizenship." But for the unhappy feelings created by that Act the Hawaiian manœuvres and the Australian cruise would have received little public attention.

The historic attitude of the United States towards Japan has been that of goodwill. From the time of Commodore Perry and Minister Harris in the fifties of the last century down till after the Russo-Japanese War the people of the United States looked on Japan with special favour. They rejoiced in her every forward step. They welcomed Japanese students to their educational institutions and Japan's commissions of various kinds to study their political and business methods. They looked with approbation on her adoption of so many of America's customs and procedures. America was the first Government to express readiness to do away with the hated extra-territorial treaties and regulations. In the Russo-Japanese War American sympathies were entirely with Japan. She was regarded as the "under dog," whose cause against the grasping, unscrupulous imperialism of the Czars appealed mightily to the American imagination and sense of right.

The beginning of strain between the two countries arose in connection with the immigration of Japanese to California and with economic competition in South Manchuria. Japanese were flooding in to California (1900-1907) in larger numbers than could be readily absorbed in the industries. This created a serious economic struggle for white labourers. Japan's victory over Russia and her taking over of all Russian concessions, rights and interests in South Manchuria resulted in conditions which largely eliminated the American trade that had been rapidly developing under Russian domination of that area.

In connection with both of these points of strain, for nearly twenty years there has been constant discussion, a vast amount of ignorance to which sinister interests could appeal, and much misrepresentation. Politicians and the sensational Press on the Pacific coast spoke of the "yellow menace." They transformed the issue from one strictly economic and local to one chiefly racial and international, and gave it a bitterness of accent that was quite unnecessary.

Although the American and Japanese Governments had worked out the "Gentlemen's Agreement," by which, without any legislation by Congress, further Japanese labour immigration was stopped by Japan herself, and although Japan's administration of the Agreement was thoroughly loyal and effective, yet the political anti-Japanese agitation continued. Statistics of Japanese arrivals showing steady increases were published, disregarding increasing departures; the public, and even Congress, were made to believe that Japan was violating the Agreement. Partial and wholly unscientific figures of alleged birth-rates startled Californians into thinking that the Japanese were the most prolific race on earth, and that California was in danger in a few decades of being completely overwhelmed by American-born Japanese. Japan's imperialistic policies in China, disclosed in the "twenty-one demands," were urged as evidence of her alleged militaristic

plans for the conquest and annexation of the entire Pacific coast.

These in brief were the psychological conditions that led the Pacific coast states to enact laws forbidding the sale of agricultural lands to "aliens ineligible for citizenship." In California the laws also forbid not only the leasing of agricultural lands to such aliens, but even the making of crop-contracts. The only way in which Japanese can work on the land is as day-labourers.

Various considerations led Congress to enact the blanket Asiatic exclusion law. First of all should be mentioned the rising conviction that the United States has been altogether too free in admitting immigrants of all classes from all peoples and races. Belief in a drastic policy of restricting immigration from every land has taken a strong hold of the entire nation. This was embodied in the quota immigration law of 1924, which cut down immigration from all southern and eastern European countries to exceedingly small figures. The general principle underlying the law was the admission of only moderate numbers of those peoples most nearly like the majority of the American stock, and the rejection of those relatively unlike us. In the case of Asiatics, who are the most unlike us of all the races, and who, moreover, by our laws of naturalization are not eligible to become citizens, it was naturally felt by most that the correct principle was complete exclusion.

Congress was led to its action by several other considerations also. For years there has been a struggle between the Senate and the Department of State regarding their respective rights and powers under the Constitution. Here was a case in which the Congress could easily assert its superiority over the Department of State. Both political parties, moreover, were eager to win the support of the Pacific coast states for the Presidential election which was then pending. Neither party could afford to offend California, the vote of which state alone might be crucial.

Just as the discussion was coming to a conclusion the Japanese Ambassador sent a note to Secretary Hughes regarding the Gentlemen's Agreement which contained the words "grave consequences." This was seized on by agitators, misrepresented, and made to express a "veiled threat," or even an "open threat." Hysteria invaded the Senate. After that, all logic was futile.

It was the combination of circumstances and considerations that led to the enactment of a law overriding the advice and desire of both the Secretary of State and the President. Both insisted that the proposed Asiatic exclusion section of the law was a serious error, which would deeply offend Japan, undo in large measure the good effects of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, and practically nullify the goodwill of Japan due to America's sympathy and help at the time of the great earthquake and fire. It is difficult to believe that Congress deliberately intended to offend or humiliate Japan. That it did so, however, is beyond doubt, if we are to accept evidences from Japan.

Since the beginning of the anti-Japanese agitation in California some twenty years ago, a growing body of intelligent Americans has deplored and opposed the successive steps in the misleading and prejudiced agitation and the discriminatory legislative programme. They have recognized the reality of the economic, cultural, and racial problem raised by the immigration of tens of thousands of Japanese who have settled in relatively limited areas. Broad-minded Americans have agreed in the main that the policy of rigid restriction of Asiatic immigration was correct. Yet they have insisted that this general policy could be secured by laws free from humiliating race discriminations, that the treatment of Asiatics in the United States should be identical with that given to all other aliens residing here, and that truth, honesty, and goodwill should be faithfully adhered to in dealing with a confessedly difficult matter.

When the anti-alien land law was passed in California in 1920 the vote stood 668,483 for and 222,086 against, while 382,452 voters were not enough interested in the question to vote either way.

When Congress was considering the immigration law during the months of March, April, and May, 1924, large representative bodies which approved the law as a whole expressed sharp opposition to the Asiatic exclusion clause. This was especially true of religious and business bodies—the Churches and Chambers of Commerce. Large sections of the Press also spoke out in no uncertain tone their support of the proposals of Secretary Hughes and President Coolidge and their emphatic condemnation of the partisan politics, narrow understanding, and hysteria of Congress in dealing with an international question of such vital importance. The point of universal criticism was the discourteous manner, the obnoxious, prejudiced, and ill-tempered discussion, and the essential needlessness of the law.

Just here was the tragedy. Japan was ready to make any adjustment of the Gentlemen's Agreement which might be desired by the United States, within bounds of reason and honour, so that America could have secured practically all it wanted, and at the same time have done it in a manner that would not have offended Japan.

During the year since the law went into effect the writer has heard more expressions of goodwill for Japan, more earnestly expressed, than at any time during the past dozen years while he has been specifically cultivating understanding of and friendship for Japan. There is a rising tide of conviction that Congress blundered, and that in due time that blunder must be rectified. But it is also evident that time will be needed to educate the American public to the full meaning of the Act. The vast majority of our people have little interest in international matters and still less understanding of them. This it is that makes it possible for politicians in and out of Congress to deal with them in the way they have.

As an indication, however, of the attitude and purpose of the multitudes of broad-minded Americans we may refer to the policy of the National Committee on American-Japanese Relations. "Causes of irritation should not be left to work out their inevitably disastrous consequences. Courageous and loyal patriots in America and in Japan should face the facts. They should insist that all matters of difficulty can and should be settled by reason, conference, and conciliation. Steps should be taken promptly in both countries to provide the people with the needed information, and to secure the necessary changes in the national mind. 'Sincere and cordial amity' should be maintained, misunderstandings removed, wise policies adopted, and appropriate legislation enacted in both countries.

"This committee on American-Japanese relations, composed entirely of American citizens, has been formed in order to attain these ends in so far as their attainment depends upon the people and Government of the United States. We rely on enlightened leadership in Japan to take corresponding action in that land. International goodwill between America and Japan depends on what America and Japan both do. We both must practise the inescapable principles of right international relations. Deeds are what count, not words."

A recent rather full declaration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, after stating the situation of the relations of the United States and Asia as affected by the immigration and naturalization laws, creating strain and a sense of humiliation, and calling for the reconsideration of the entire matter, contains the following affirmation of "fundamental principles and ideals":

"We believe that the principles of Christianity, the dictates of humanity, and the welfare of the world demand the recognition by all Governments of the brotherhood of man, and the inherent right of all nations and races to impartial treatment.

"The nation that, in its world-famous Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the equality of all men, pledged

its sacred honour to support that Declaration with life and fortune, and announced its determination to be guided by a 'decent respect to the opinions of mankind,' cannot, with honour to itself, ostracize any race, or ignore the rights or needlessly wound the feelings of other nations.

"The last nation on earth that can afford to stoop to a policy of racial discrimination is that one the life and spirit of which include elements of citizenship gathered from every quarter of the globe.

"This make-up and character of the American people should qualify them to a remarkable degree for courteous and tactful conduct in international relations, and any deliberate disregard of these high obligations is not only an inconsistent and self-humiliating procedure, but a dangerous policy, recklessly fanning the flames of racial hate, and destroying the ties of international goodwill."

In the light of the entire situation, the Churches of America are urged by the Federal Council "to give early and careful study to these urgent problems, for they intimately affect the business, political, and religious relations of the American people with more than one-half of the human family. Right and friendly relations with them must be one of our imperative objectives."

A silver lining may, therefore, be seen behind the dark clouds hanging over our international horizon. It behoves men of broad minds and goodwill in every land to encourage one another to mutual understanding. Let us learn to see that which is promising and encouraging, for this also is part of the reality with which we are dealing. Nations as well as individuals must learn to overcome evil with good.

3. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHINESE

BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

THE Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW has requested me to write a paper on the above subject, and in attempting to do so satisfactorily I think I cannot do better than copy out, word for word, without change in spelling and grammar, an English letter I received in July last from a Shanghai Chinese whose chance acquaintance I made in England nearly a quarter of a century ago, when he was educating himself at his own expense abroad without any assistance whatever from his own countrymen, official, mercantile, or otherwise : at that time he was already a competent reader of French, and had taken at least one University degree in England, besides qualifying for the Bar. Some years before the revolution of 1911 he returned to China, but was only gruffly received at Peking when he applied to certain Manchu and Chinese officials of rank for an interview, with a view to obtaining employment ; after this I lost intelligence of him for some time, until he wrote one day to tell me that he had obtained a temporary judicial post of immediate importance under the republican authorities, and had settled down with his wife and children permanently in Shanghai. The family is Christian ; that is to say, he was once under the strong moral influence of the late Timothy Richards, whose memory he greatly reveres, though he himself does not, so far as I can gather, "plump" for any particular sect, and seems rather to favour the idea of China's having, and being historically entitled to, a Christian Church of her own : his wife, on the other hand, is, he tells me, a devout Christian of some nonconformist sect, and I believe the three or four children, boys and girls, are being

educated in both the Chinese way and the European way, the wife meanwhile being in native circles a zealous public promoter of "women's rights." I say all this, not because I have ever asked him, or he has ever been at pains to inform me, about his intimate affairs, but to illustrate the psychology of one definite individual Chinese family when left absolutely free to develop itself in its own way under the combined influences of European life, preceded by missionary persuasion of some undefined kind, but at all events under the auspices of the universally respected British missionary above named. [The rest of the letter describes a new Kansuh province.]

The Unchanged Letter (in reply to a purely geographical question).

"Your letter arrived some days ago, when those regrettable incidents occurred here of which you must have read in the papers. We are now [9th June] living in the midst of a strike, with idle strikers—not so many these days—and volunteers, marines, etc., patrolling the streets. The matter had a very simple origin for its immediate cause; but now I can see quite a number of causes, all contributing to this general outburst. The 'big four' party found its footing at Canton insecure, notwithstanding the moral and intellectual support received from Red Russia: the most active part of that party is certainly as red as can be; they wanted another place for propaganda, and otherwise Shanghai is the place for them. Their programme is first and foremost to befriend or bring over the needy intellectuals, and through them the stupid students, most of whom are on either side of twenty,—and then the riff-raff of factories.

"Some years ago Shanghai saw the beginning of the so-called 'street unions,' which so far had existed only with a few *min-tang* [popular party] nothing-to-do's for the purpose of making agitations appear in the name of a body-corporate; e.g., welcoming the 'big gun,' or echoing his views, or paying respect to his memory. These, with the needy intellectuals, the *min-tang* journalists, the students, the pro-

fessional intriguers, form the nuclei of labour unions. The aim and object, so far as I can see, is to get a big party of such people here and weld them together. Some weeks ago there was a strike at Nagai cotton mill, in the course of which a labourer *Ku* [Chinese character] was killed by the Japanese: this gave the wire-pullers a subject to work upon; hence, for some days in the last week of May, there were students going about, in groups of several, haranguing and distributing pamphlets denouncing Japanese mills, 'unequal treaties,' 'imperialism,' 'capitalists,' and the new proposed bye-laws to be passed at an extraordinary rate-payers' meeting; namely, bye-laws on registration of printing presses and increase of wharfage dues.

"Now you can see that the big-gun party are really at the back of the students, who have really got nothing to do with any of these matters—save the death of that striker; and the so-called 'unequal treaties,' etc., were really imported from Russia *via* Canton.

"On Saturday the 30th [May] some of those students were arrested for distributing pamphlets and addressing people in the street: some of them committed assaults on some foreign police. From this point I refer you to the *North China Daily News*, which seems to be fairly correct. Curiously enough, on the same Saturday at 11 a.m. some Fêng-t'ien [Manchuria] military commissioners, who had been sent down from High Quarters to investigate into the squabbles between the local *kin-kin* [Chinese characters from the Book of Odes meaning 'military bounders'] over opium profits, were shot at and wounded by some officer, who in a panic tried to flee by jumping down from an upstairs room, and met his end.

"Opinion over the present matter is greatly divided. The old type Chinese are against the strike and the irresponsible agitations, and these are the real *Hu-jên* [Chinese historical characters for 'Shanghai men'] who have contributed very largely to Shanghai's prosperity. Among these it was felt that the Municipal Police ordinarily deal very harshly with the Chinese; while others (among whom I find my *nei-jên*) [Chinese characters meaning 'wife'] believe that the whole blame for this matter rests with the

students and their instigators, and not at all with the police. The agitators are now doing their best, and the native press publish nothing but of the students and their vociferations;—I dare say that some of our older editors have been pressed into so doing against their better judgment."

Here the letter ends, so far as the strike is concerned. It will be noticed that the date, June 9, proves the calm, unprejudiced, and unpolitical view of what led to the much more serious anti-foreign attacks which were to follow, and is absolutely convincing as to at least one local man's "psychology."

Perhaps, in attempting to deal as requested with the general question of Chinese Psychology, I may be allowed to refer back to a book entitled "John Chinaman and a Few Others," which Mr. John Murray was good enough to publish for me a quarter of a century ago, but which, after running rapidly through three editions, is, I believe, no longer on the market. This book, though written "in light fantastic vein," is, in reality, Chinese psychology almost pure and simple; moreover, its contents are all absolutely true in point of fact. When the Chinese or possibly Manchu general, with his 5,000 or 6,000 men army on his way to meet the Russian invaders, were "captured" single-handed, and then bluffed into ordering the civil authority to find immediate lodgment (in his own *yamên*) for three British travellers, servants, horses, mules, cart, baggage, etc., he was by no means such a ninny as to believe that Mr. Bullock (afterwards Professor of Chinese at Oxford) was his old friend and adversary the Russian General Pu; but being, like most Chinese and Manchu military men in those days (1870), totally unable to read an official document, and his educated secretary being unable to deny that "our friend Prince Kung," whose name headed the formidable passport, was a genuine exalted Manchu, uncle of the then Boy Emperor, the gallant man, who had never heard of passports, had to invent in his quandary some presentable means of "saving

face" in full view of his rowdy soldiers, who were crowding round the tent and eagerly watching the startling proceedings of the distinguished "Russian" generals Chwang (Parker), Pu (Bullock), and Kia (Gardner). Sir Thomas (then plain Mr.) Wade did not at all relish the proceeding when narrated to him, especially as General Chang, in bidding us good-bye, had announced his intention to call and see Sir Thomas at the British-"Russian" Legation when he should return with his victorious anti-Russian army through or to Peking.

Professor Soothill (now the late Professor Bullock's present successor at Oxford) was the protagonist, in 1884, of another *John Chinaman* anecdote; this was during the excitement of the French war. Within four hours of his hasty arrival, hatless, across the Wênchow river, at the British Consulate, every single foreigner from the city and the island except myself was in the large consular gig near the embouchure of the river, on the look-out for a rescuing steamer, and the residences of every foreigner (including the foreign-managed Chinese custom-house) had also been burnt to the ground. The military and civil authorities crossed over with their troops at midnight and found me and my "boy" sitting and standing quietly at a tea-table placed outside. The General explained that he had been told I was with the others in the boat, but that he had come to save the Consulate building from being burnt down; the city magistrate came an hour later. Before two o'clock in the morning it was arranged between us that all the civil and military officials should come over next day and apologize; after which duly done, I undertook to "square" the five Great Powers involved (England, France, Germany, Italy, and America) if they—the Chinese—would correspondingly guarantee to do the same with the Viceroy at Foochow and the Governor of Hangchow. They were delighted; a "treaty" was signed; everyone (including the customs staff) got full compensation, and (there being then no telegraph south of Shanghai)

the affair "blew over" so quickly that I believe even the Shanghai newspapers neither mentioned nor knew anything of the details. It was some months before the "Powers," including President Arthur and Prince Bismarck, had finished "approving," and Sir E. Malet (who had been my guest when Acting-Consul at Kewkiang in 1873) wrote privately from Berlin, where he then was Ambassador: "The more rows you are in the better for you, so long as you don't create them yourself."

John Chinaman contains a number of other anecdotes which from first to last are illustratively psychological, and perhaps tend in sum and for all ranks to put this side of the Chinese character in a clearer light. Two very distinguished gentlemen, neither of whom was at the time, or has been since, in the faintest degree acquainted with me personally, frankly expressed their opinions over twenty years ago. Mr. (now the Right Hon.) T. P. O'Connor devoted several pages of *T. P.'s Weekly* to a review of what (I think) he called "the Book of the Week"; and Mr. James Geikie, himself a poet, wrote to me privately to express his pleasure at the unlooked-for tenderness of Chinese poetry. The conquerors of 2,000 years ago, after weighing the merits of Taoism and Confucianism, decided that the latter of the two was the better politico-moral guide for humanity; neither Buddhism nor Christianity seems to have done much to shake this general conviction. The Chinese to a man, whatever their individual weaknesses, seem to have a profound respect for even-handed, tolerant, and disinterested justice, whether exhibited by their own countryman or by the foreigner. There have often been student or graduate "rows" during the nineteenth century, and the Manchu Government has always been particularly careful to nip them in the bud; military men, especially, have always been brought sharply to book for allowing their men to show rudeness to students and undergraduates at the prefectural examinations. I myself was once suddenly attacked by students, but, as narrated in

John Chinaman, the ready wit of my faithful "boy" saved me from a drubbing. This unique servant himself is a leading psychological feature in my book. Once in Sz Ch'wan province I was suddenly jeered at by a noisy gang of students; but when I turned quietly round and said: "When a friend appears from afar, is it not a pleasing matter?" an old gentleman at once stepped forward and remonstrated with the crowd. (These are the opening words of the book so ably translated by Mr. Soothill and usually called *Confucius' Analects*.) Professor Soothill and his colleagues of London and Cambridge in June last gave their views to the press directly after the present "row" became serious. I also tried my hand, heading my letter *Solvuntur tabulae risu*—an expression taken from the Roman law, and meaning practically "the contending parties end by shaking hands all round"; but my too sanguine views were not found acceptable.

It is curious that Twan Chī-jui, the Chief Executive, and Admiral Ts'ai T'ing-kan, one of his chief henchmen, are both religiously inclined—at least, from a literary point of view. I know neither, but I understand that Twan Chī-jui is a Buddhist specialist, whilst Ts'ai T'ing-kan appears to be a Taoist admirer. I do not know how the latter heard of my existence, but two or three years ago he sent me a presentation copy of his own revised and clarified edition of Lao-tsz's philosophy. I replied thanking him as follows: "The T'ang dynasty poem runs: 'I throw down my pen and take to my sword'; but here we have a gallant admiral throwing down his sword and taking to his pen." I now notice from the Press that the Admiral thinks the present "row" could easily be settled over a cup of tea, and I agree with him.

In a word, I repeat that the Chinese as a nation have an instinctive and inherited passion for disinterested justice and right, preached by both Lao-tsz and Confucius. Their highest officials I have always found susceptible to just impulses when good-humouredly appealed to, and my

experiences with half a dozen Viceroy and Governors—not to say one subsequent Emperor—illustrate this view in the pages of *John Chinaman*. I append unaltered extracts from a letter received twenty-five years ago from Sir Robert Hart, who was himself then smarting under cruel and ungrateful attacks by the Boxer mob.

PEKING,

11 Dec., 1900.

MY DEAR PARKER,

I have just read with much interest your excellent paper in the October number of the *ASIATIC*, and I have noted that you point to the extra-territoriality principle which runs through the various treaties as the one thing which must be changed if there is to be anything like cordially friendly relations between China and the West. This is my belief also; and I see that, in articles published under the names of Ross, Taw Sein Ho, and Younghusband, I am not singular in my view that the Chinese do not like us, and that sooner or later they will become too powerful to be trifled with. That composition of mine which appeared in the November *Fortnightly* was pencilled during the last days of the siege. It is a somewhat florid affair, but as it was written during a period of intense excitement, it not unnaturally took some of the colouring of the day. Nobody will be better pleased than myself if my forecast proves to have been wrong; but I still think that the "China for the Chinese" feeling will grow, and that in a few decades the *tuan-lien*, or volunteer system ordained by the Empress Dowager to be started in every district, and which I style "the Boxer movement" for simplicity's sake, will develop into something very formidable—more especially for defensive purposes; and with such a possibility in the future I strongly advocate reasonableness in our dealings with China, and not an attempt at terrorizing. Unless these things are looked at with the eyes of the other party they will never be seen as that party sees them, and they will for ever and ever be offensive, distasteful, and trouble-breeding. I am quite sure that there is a way of harmonizing discord, and that the Chinese preference for peace, love of right, and subordination to reasonableness, have only to be handled properly to make the future all we could desire.

When my houses were burnt down I lost everything—official archives and private papers—and it just makes me wild to think of it! But it is not a time for rage, and revenge is a poor satisfaction for the past and a sowing of bad crops for the future. China behaved as foolishly and as wickedly as her worst foes could wish, and though it can all be explained, it cannot in any way be excused, and she must take the consequences; but the consequences are a something to be shaped and dictated by civilized and Christian Powers, and I hope and pray that the opportunity to be reasonable, to be magnanimous, to be Christian, will not be lost. I am just as angry as anybody; but if I am blinded by anything, it is by

the desire to be charitable, and to try what kindness will do. I'll be sixty-six in a few weeks more, and have not much time ahead of me either for work in China or for connections with earth's doings, and I should be sorry for ever and for ever elsewhere were I now to set a wrong idea agoing or keep back a right one. Natural evolution will shape the plan, with time and circumstance for warp and woof!

Wishing you a happy new year,

Yours very truly,
ROBERT HART.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1924-25 :

The Association elected 45 new Members during the year, but lost 17 by death and 24 by resignation. The figures are very slightly less favourable than those of last year, but a fluctuation of one or two is to be expected. We are fortunate in being able to welcome among our new Members H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, H.H. the Maharaja of Benares, H.H. the Raja of Mandi, and H.H. the Nawab of Banganapalle.

The loss in our numbers, such as it is, is mainly due to the increase of deaths. The Association sustained a very severe blow in the untimely death of the Chairman of Council, Lord Pentland, who had always shown keen interest in the work and, not confining himself to mere encouragement, had always been ready with suggestions for new Members and new papers. Lord Curzon was one of our Vice-Presidents, and though his varied interests and public work prevented him from attending our Meetings, his unwearied interest in the East was well known. Amongst others mention should be made of Sir Thomas Bennett, a Member of Council. In order to continue the interest shown by him, Lady Bennett has taken his place as a Member, and her offer to further the cause of the Association will be much appreciated by Members.

It is hoped that Princes in India will support the Association, and the Council would also request the Members to do their best to obtain new recruits.

Sir Louis Dane has consented to be Chairman of Council, and you will be asked to elect him in due course this after-

noon. The Council has been strengthened by the addition of Sir Alfred Chatterton and Sir Montagu de P. Webb, both of whom represent industrial interests, each in his own sphere.

Eight papers were read during the year. They were of the usual varied type. Administration was represented by Sir Gerald Giffard's paper on "Medicine," and Sir Armine Dew's on "Frontier Problems," each excellent in its own line. Mr. F. H. Brown's thoughtful paper on "Indian Students" may also be placed in this category. Of a more general kind were Sir Reginald Craddock's genial sketch of Burma, and Pandit Shyam Shankar's "Mystery of Stereotyped Customs," while Professor Scott introduced a new subject in discussing "Unemployment," with special reference to Indian experiments in home-crofting. The usual conversaziones were held in December and June and were much appreciated.

The Indian Section of the British Empire Exhibition attracted much attention last year, and is reported to have been very successful. It is hoped that India, though not officially represented, may have a similar success this year.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.

Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E.

Sir Henry Procter.

N. C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.

It is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £168 11s. 8d., as compared with £153 11s. 5d. last year.

The Council desire to record their appreciation of the zealous services of Mr. Stanley Rice, the Hon. Secretary, and of Mr. King, his assistant.

LAMINGTON, *President.*

By Order of the Council,

STANLEY P. RICE, *Hon. Secretary.*

APPENDIX A.

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 12, 1924.—"The Sukkur Barrage Project, 1920," by Frederick Wright (late Chief Engineer in Sind). The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

July 14, 1924.—"The Mystery of Stereotyped Customs of India," by Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A. The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

October 20, 1924.—"India and Burma: Some Contrasts," by Sir Reginald H. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

November 17, 1924.—"Some Aspects of the Future of Medicine in India," by Major-General Sir Gerald Giffard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.M.S. (retd.). Surgeon-General Sir R. Have-lock Charles, G.C.V.O., I.M.S. (retd.), in the chair.

January 19, 1925.—"Unemployment—A Lead from India: The Calcutta Educational Colonies Movement and its Principle," by Professor J. W. Scott, D.Phil., M.A. J. St. Loe Strachey, Esq., in the chair.

February 23, 1925.—"India's Gifts to England," by Stanley P. Rice, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.). The Right Hon. Lord Amptill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

March 23, 1925.—"Frontier Problems and Defence," by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair.

April 27, 1925.—"Indian Students in Great Britain," by F. H. Brown, Esq., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., in the chair.

APPENDIX B.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Miss Katharine Acland.

Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed, C.I.E., M.A.

Charles Maurice Baker, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

- Sir George Stapylton Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
 Albert Victor Wallace Bamford, Esq. (Student Member).
 Frank Gregory Butler, Esq., I.C.S.
 H.H. Nawab Mir Fazli Ali, Nawab of Banganapalle.
 Lieut.-Colonel H.H. Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Benares.
 Lady Bennett.
 Lord Cable.
 Sir Geoffrey Rothé Clarke, C.S.I., O.B.E., I.C.S.
 A. R. Dard, Esq., M.A.
 Prafulla Chandra Das, Esq.
 Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine B. Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.
 Sir William Foster, C.I.E.
 Barré Cassels Forbes, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Reginald Arthur Gamble, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Professor Nagendra Nath Gangulee.
 Sir Frederick Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B., M.A.
 Sir Robert Erskine Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.
 J. L. B. Llewellyn, Esq.
 A. C. Mukerjee, Esq., M.A.
 Sir John Ontario Miller, K.C.S.I.
 Sir Reginald Arthur Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 S-aeed S. Mohamedi, Esq., M.B.
 H.H. Raja Jogindar Sen, Raja of Mandi.
 Major - General H.H. Maharajadhiraja Sri Sir Bhupindar Singh Mahindar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., Maharaja of Patiala.
 Steuart Durand Pears, Esq., P.W.D. (retd.).
 George Pilcher, Esq., M.P.
 Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, C.I.E.
 Dewan Bahadur Shrinivas Konher Rodda, C.I.E.
 Sir William James Reid, K.C.I.E.
 Donald James Stephens, Esq.

W. E. Gladstone Soloman, Esq.
Rao Bahadur S. K. Sundaracharlu.
Sir Thomas Joseph Strangman.
Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh.
Lala Bishamber Sahai.
Sir Charles George Todhunter, K.C.S.I.
Major John Creery Miller, I.A.
Dewan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavacharya.
Gerald Anstruther Wathen, C.I.E., M.A.
Dharam Chand Wadhwa, Esq.

APPENDIX C.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

Sir Arthur Robert Anderson, C.S.I., C.B.E., A.M.I.C.E.
Sir Thomas Jewell Bennett, C.I.E.
F. C. Channing, Esq.
Sir William Earnshaw Cooper, C.I.E.
A. F. Cox, Esq., C.S.I.
The Most Hon. the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston,
K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L.
Sir William Frederick Duke, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand,
G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.
Sir Leslie Creery Miller.
Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E.
H.H. Raja Sir Arjun Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Raja
of Narsingarh.
Madame Olga Novikoff.
The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Sir Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E.
C. W. Simson, Esq.
H.H. Sir Bala Rama Varma, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maha-
raja of Travancore.
Sir William Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I.

APPENDIX D.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Khwaja Muhammad Afzal.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephen Lushington Aplin.

Egerton Beck, Esq., M.A.

General Sisley Richard Davidson.

Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I.

Dr. Lawrence George Fink, M.B.

Sir Pirajirao Bapu Saheb Ghatge, K.B.E., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Chief of Kagal.

Rev. Herbert Halliwell.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.

Sir Jehangier H. Kothari, O.B.E.

Kavasji Palanji Kotval, Esq.

Lieut.-Colonel William B. Lane, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retd.).

Sir Havilland Le Mesurier, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E.

Keshav B. Mavlankar, Esq.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair, C.I.E.

Mangaldas G. Parekh, Esq.

Miss Rosanna Powell.

Walter Francis Rice, Esq., C.S.I.

Frederick John Richards, Esq.

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Sardar Sahib Narinjan Singh.

M. Sorabji.

Rao Bahadur Dayabhai Surajlal Thathi, I.S.O., J.P.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE fifty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, June 22, 1925.

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E. (President of the Association), was in the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i.-H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. C. S. Campbell, C.B.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Professor Nagrendra N. Gangulee, Major Gilbertson, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen,—Since we last met at our Annual Meeting we have had to condole with ourselves on the death of Lord Pentland who, as we all know, was Chairman of Council of this Association, and to whom we owe a great deal for the zeal with which he watched over its fortunes. I was abroad at the time, and his death came as an unexpected blow to me; that a man apparently in the prime of his life almost had passed away so suddenly. We have already passed motions of condolence, but we would like to voice once again our feelings of gratitude for having had him as Chairman. In losing him we have lost a very sincere friend from our midst. (Hear, hear.)

To fill his place we have invited and secured the services of Sir Louis Dane. As you all know, he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab from 1908 to 1913, and he was also Secretary of the Government of India, Foreign Department, and therefore is one who is well conversant with India, and I am sure will do his utmost to carry on the work which Lord Pentland has so faithfully discharged. I am glad to see him here to-day; we are both fellow-sufferers at this moment, and have both been on the sick list.

Then besides the loss of Lord Pentland we have lost many distinguished members of the Association, including Lord Curzon, Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, Sir William Duke, H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore, Sir William Mackworth Young, Sir Thomas Bennett, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, and H.H. the Raja of Narsingarh.

We have, however, secured the interest of some of the Princes of India by the fact that H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala, H.H. the Maharaja of Benares, H.H. the Raja of Mandi, and H.H. the Nawab of Banganapalle have all joined our Association.

Now no doubt you all have copies of the Report, and therefore I need not go into detail as to the work that has been carried on, but you will see the numerous papers that have been read and which have been listened to

by considerable audiences. It is all very satisfactory, and shows the work of the Association under the auspices of Mr. Stanley Rice has been faithfully pursued, and I am sure we are all very grateful indeed to Mr. Rice for the painstaking work he has done. (Hear, hear.) We all know his many publications, and also of his letters to the Press, which show how he keeps in touch with our Indian Empire, and I am sure everyone who comes in touch with him gets his best attention.

With regard to conditions in India, last year I was rather optimistic, and I said the clouds in India were slowly dispersing, and I think I was quite correct in my views, as things have turned out. Everything that I hear from India is that the conditions prevailing between ourselves and the Indians are more harmonious. It is difficult indeed with people of two such different characteristics—India with its religion and mysticism, and we with our restless materialism—but if it is wrong on the one side to speak almost contemptuously of the contentment of the Indian as “pathetic,” it is equally also wrong on the other side for people to shut their eyes to the freedom from external aggression, from internal wars, and to the improved conditions of life India has obtained from British rule. If only both parties would visualize on a larger scale and extend their vision they would not only be fairer in their attitude, but India would be more likely to make an assured advance towards the goal of their aspirations. Although there are these differences, still in the past they have been able to work together, tending to increased sympathy and greater understanding, and there is no reason why in the future, under whatever system of administration is set up, greater harmony should not prevail.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not say anything further, but I will now proceed to carry out the business on the Agenda. I first of all beg to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts ; after what I have said I need not go into any further detail, but I will ask Sir John Cumming to second the proposal.

Sir JOHN CUMMING: My Lord and Gentlemen,—I have pleasure in seconding that resolution. The Report is a most satisfactory one, and all our thanks are due to Mr. Rice for the great help which he has given to the Association and for the assistance he has rendered to co-operation between the two countries.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: The next point is with regard to the re-election of President and Vice-Presidents.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I have much pleasure in proposing that the Right Hon. Lord Lamington be re-elected President for the following year, and the Vice-Presidents who are mentioned on the list. They have all signified their willingness to serve, and I am sure we could not have a better set of men to represent us.

Mr. PENNINGTON: I have great pleasure in seconding that resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I am glad indeed to be still occupying the honourable position as your President, and I thank you very much for your re-election.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to propose that Sir Louis William Dane be elected Chairman of Council. The noble Chairman has already preceded me in reference to Sir Louis Dane's nomination, and has recounted briefly the service he has rendered to India. It is a matter of great advantage to Societies like ours that those who have passed the best years of their life in sympathetic discharge of their high duties in India should be willing to devote some time of their retirement to the administration of such bodies. We cannot hope to succeed in our efforts to watch over the interests of India unless men of real experience of the type of Sir Louis Dane are ready and willing to support us. While we regret the untimely death of Lord Pentland, who during the brief period that he succeeded Lord Lamington as Chairman of the Council did very zealous work for this Society, we may feel sure that Sir Louis Dane will follow in his footsteps.

I was concerned to see at the end of the Annual Report a somewhat brief reference to the zealous services of Mr. Stanley Rice and of Mr. King, his assistant. I was concerned for this reason, that as the drafting of a Report of a Society like this rests with the Secretary, it must be somewhat difficult to include in it the expression of the true sentiments of the Committee.* Therefore, I was pleased that the noble Chairman in his opening remarks referred in suitable terms to the services of Mr. Rice, assisted by Mr. King, and I thought I might fittingly take this opportunity, having some personal experience of the work of the Society, to amplify the brief record in the Report testifying to the very zealous endeavour and attention which they devote to their duties. (Hear, hear.) It may be remarked that Mr. Rice works in an almost honorary capacity, and therefore he is entitled to our deep gratitude.

I beg to propose that Sir Louis William Dane be elected Chairman of Council. (Cheers.)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the motion which has been proposed by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, and I do so with the greater pleasure that Sir Louis Dane was my old chief under whom I had the honour to serve five years, and I am sure no words are necessary from me to commend this resolution to your enthusiastic acceptance.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I am very much obliged for what Sir Mancherjee and Sir Patrick Fagan have said, and to you gentlemen for having elected me. When I was asked to serve I expressed the view that it would perhaps be better if you got someone younger, especially as the idea was rather prevalent a little while ago that anyone who had left India for more than two years was absolutely ignorant of the trend of opinion in India and the general course of events there. Well, I have left India a good deal more than two years, but at the same time I have done my best to keep up my interest in India, and, though I admit one has always something to learn about the East and India, at the same time I cannot help

* The passage was added by special desire of the Council.

feeling that there is a great deal of eternal sameness about India, things that really matter seem to go on in much the same way as they used to do, and I hope that I may be able to be of some use to your Association with such experience as I have gained in the past. At any rate, I will do my best in that respect. (Hear, hear.)

The SECRETARY: With regard to the next item on the Agenda, I want to make some little explanation. With regard to the election of Members of Council, Sir Alfred Chatterton and Sir Montagu Webb were co-opted by the Council, and by our rules this requires confirmation by the General Meeting.

As to the re-election of retiring Members of Council you will see there are actually five who retire by rotation. Of those the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali has agreed to continue, and also Mr. Henry Marsh. Sir Arundel T. Arundel thinks that advancing age will prevent his doing any good, but Lord Lamington suggests that he has done very good work for us in the past and continues to do good work—because he is on the Literary Committee—and suggests that he be asked to continue on that understanding. Sir Henry Proctor, I think, is ill. Mr. Sen resigned on the ground, I think, that his work is increasing, but there again Lord Lamington thinks in order to form a link between the Association and Indian students—even if he cannot come to all the meetings—he should be asked to continue. The actual proposal that we are now asking Sir Charles Yate to put before the meeting is the confirmation of the co-option of Sir Alfred Chatterton and Sir Montagu Webb as Members of the Council, and the re-election of the two members that are on the paper in your hands.

Sir CHARLES YATE: First of all I beg to propose the confirmation of the co-option of Sir Alfred Chatterton and Sir Montagu Webb as Members of Council; and as regards the retiring Members, Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Henry Marsh, I beg to propose that they be re-elected as Members of Council.

Mr. RICHTER seconded the resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir CHARLES YATE: With regard to the appreciation which has been expressed of our Secretary, Mr. Rice, and Mr. King, his assistant, I should like to support that because, as a Member of Council who is frequently at the rooms of the Association, I can substantiate how Mr. Rice does give his time to the work of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

The SECRETARY: Very nice things, for which I am deeply grateful, have been said both by our President and also by members, but I should like to refer to the extremely valuable services of Mr. King. He labours under very considerable domestic difficulties, but he always comes cheerful to the office, and he also is very considerably more than clerk; he often has most valuable suggestions to make, and he takes the greatest interest in the Association—he almost lives for it, and thinks there is nothing else in the world. (Hear, hear.)

May I also take this opportunity of respectfully thanking the President for the assistance he has given to me. To the Secretary of an Association like this it is a very great asset to have a President to whom one can go for

advice and help. One can always be sure of a courteous and patient hearing, and I should like to thank Lord Lamington in the presence of this meeting for all the help he has given to me.

The CHAIRMAN : I am very glad indeed to have had this little addition to the Agenda. These little words of praise as regards Mr. Rice and Mr. King sound very nice, and I am glad to be able to associate myself personally with the words which have been spoken. They show the zeal people can give to a cause which they desire to help. With regard to the rest I am afraid I am very little use. I should like, however, to suggest that our name ought to appear in the telephone book, so that people can ring up the rooms and ask for information, whatever it might be.

Even if one does not take a very active part in the work, it is a great thing for those who are working to feel that they have the support of those who may be in the background only. "He also serves who only stands and waits." Therefore I welcome this afternoon all those who have come to give their support to the work of this Association, which I do honestly believe carries on a very useful purpose as regards our relations with the Indian Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM : I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman, who has carried through the business of this meeting with such speed and efficiency. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN : I thank you very much.

The Annual Meeting was followed by a *Conversazione*, which was attended by a large number of Members and their friends.

RECENT PROGRESS IN INDIA

BY SIR MONTAGU DE P. WEBB, C.I.E., C.B.E.

A STRANGER depending for up-to-date information of Indian affairs on what has recently appeared in the newspapers and on the bookstalls of England, might be forgiven if he formed the conclusion that our efforts in India of the last hundred years or so have come to naught, that the country is now a seething mass of disaffection on the verge of chaos and ruin, that British rule and British institutions were almost at an end, and that India is now, in short, "wrecked" and "lost" beyond recovery.* True, this spate of pessimism relates entirely to matters political; but in the absence of information regarding other aspects of Indian life, it must tend to depress public feeling, and to weaken the spirit with which the people of this country should approach the problem of the further development of India. I venture, therefore, to put before you another aspect of Indian affairs—namely, that under the beneficent and stimulating guidance of Great Britain, the country has for long been making steady and continuous progress in all directions; that her peoples are, on the whole, good-natured, peaceful, alert and industrious, and not inappreciative of the value of British institutions and of the British

* *E.g.*, "The Wreck of India," by Harold F. Wyatt, in the *English Review* of May, 1924; "Incompatibility in India," by H. G. Wells, in the *Westminster Gazette* of July 5, 1924; "The Fruits of Weakness in India," by Harold Cox, in the *Daily Mail*, of August 26, 1924; "The Danger in India," by Sir Sidney Low, in the *Weekly Dispatch* of September 7, 1924; "Will India Follow Egypt?" by John Albion, in the *Sunday Pictorial* of November 30, 1924; "Our Mistake in India," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the *Evening News* of December 2, 1924; "'Red' Agitation in India," vide a telegram in *The Times* of February 6, 1925, etc.; "A New Ireland," vide an article in the *Daily Herald* of April 5, 1925; "The Peril in India," by Lord Meston, in the *Sunday Times* of April 5, 1925; "The Lost Dominion," a book, by Al. Carthill, published by Blackwood and Sons; and many other writings of a similar kind.

connection ; that her economic position is now better than ever before, and far stronger than that of any other overseas division of the British Empire ; and that these conditions, implying as they do admirable and successful work on the part of the British in the past, should, properly regarded, be a source of pride, inspiration and strength to the people and Government of Britain to-day in the great work that lies before them.

The disappointment and depression reflected in much of the writing about India that has appeared in England during the last twelve months, arise, it seems to me, from an incorrect appreciation of values—from giving to political activity, in particular Indian political activity, an attention and significance out of all proportion to its true bearing on the life and development of India as a whole. Similar errors in value are not unknown in this country, where, in spite of the noise and turmoil of political strife, and the many changes of political parties in power, economic, social and scientific progress has hitherto continued uninterruptedly. In the case of India, notwithstanding that a democratic form of government implies an educated, homogeneous electorate, we have, in pursuance of our progressive British policy of putting all parts of the Empire on the road to self-government, entrusted to a very heterogeneous electorate, consisting of approximately only 2 per cent. of the population, the power to elect representatives to assist in the work of government. A small number of this 2 per cent. have criticized and rejected our scheme ; and, in the case of three Legislatures out of eleven, have recently succeeded in carrying their hostility to the extent of persuading a majority of their representatives to refuse to vote certain items in the Budgets as a protest against the present form of government. Having regard to the political inexperience of both the electorate and their representatives, this possibility was foreseen and provided for in the Government of India Act of 1919 ; and the work of government has not been in any way interrupted. Beyond

the additional labour and anxiety which the effort to work the present Constitution has involved on all who have taken part in it, and especially on the officers of Government, the hostility of India's political extremists has had little or no effect on the real work of the community; and the peoples of India as a whole have continued to move slowly but steadily forward to their present-day level of prosperity, which, however it be regarded, is well in advance of anything ever known in the previous history of the country.

In this connection let us consider first the immense size of the present population. India being an old and in some respects a highly developed country, it might be thought that almost every acre of land that could be made to yield a crop must have been brought under cultivation long ago, that the yield must have been raised to the highest point possible, and that, the maximum food supply having been reached in the distant past, the numbers of the population must have for long remained stationary. But this is not so. During the last hundred years and more the population has been steadily multiplying, till it has now reached the immense total of approximately 320,000,000, by far the largest figure ever known. This fact implies that notwithstanding what we consider a high death rate (especially of women and infants), and the terrible losses from fevers and occasional famines and epidemics of plague and influenza, there have been nevertheless, on the whole, (*a*) less famine and disease, (*b*) greater security for the people, and (*c*) more food supplies grown and obtainable by the people since the coming of the British than at any time in the previous history of India. (There being no prudential restraints among the masses, the population has always conformed to the biological law of multiplying up to the extreme limits of the obtainable food supply.) A growth of population such as has occurred in India is therefore creditable to the Government under whose administration it has taken place. And every well-informed Indian understands and appreciates this fact.

This advance, moreover, has not been one of mere growth or multiplication, but also of genuine development and progress. Thus, the establishment of peace, order and security, the dissemination of knowledge, the checking of disease and famine, the improvement of communications, and the irrigation of waste lands which have permitted the rapid growth of population, have involved the creation of new Departments, new classes of thought and activity, new kinds of livelihood, and additional material resources, that all spell true progress. With the establishment by Government of an Imperial Department of Agriculture with its headquarters at Pusa and subordinate organizations throughout India, it has been possible to produce better qualities and larger yields in the case of several of India's chief crops—rice, sugar cane, wheat, jute, cotton, tobacco, etc. ; and the appreciation of growers of those crops is evidenced by the increased demands for the improved seed, which in some cases have far outrun the supply. Fruit growing is receiving attention. The improvement of cattle is also being brought about, to the very great advantage of the country. Better agricultural implements and the more extended use of machinery are being encouraged. Pests of all kinds, animal and vegetable, are being attacked. Quite recently, the progress of agriculture, particularly in the west, has been materially assisted by the successful development of the Co-operative Movement, which, in a variety of ways, is assisting and educating the agricultural classes—three-quarters of the population of the country.

Increased knowledge and energy, however, have by no means been confined to agriculture, but have found expression in a variety of industrial undertakings. Coal, petroleum, and manganese ore have been unearthed in India in large and increasing quantities ; whilst the output of gold, silver, lead, salt, saltpetre, iron, tin, mica, and cement now amounts to a considerable sum. But the chief industries in the country are the cotton and jute mills, which between them employ over 600,000 persons daily. Next to them in the

numbers of workpeople employed come the various railway workshops with over 150,000; cotton gins and presses, over 145,000; followed by engineering shops (75,000), rice mills (61,000), tile and brick factories (51,000), jute presses (38,000), printing presses (36,000), dockyards and Port Trusts (26,000), iron and steel works (25,000); and saw-mills, tanneries, sugar factories, oil mills, petroleum refineries, stone works, rope works, silk factories (all employing between 20,000 and 10,000 persons each daily); and lac factories, woollen mills, rubber works, lime works, motor and carriage works, paper-mills, potteries, flour-mills, tobacco factories, and cement works, in the order named, each employing over 5,000 persons daily. It is perhaps not generally known that India is now the chief industrial country in the tropics, and the eighth largest in the world.

India's recent adoption of a policy of Discriminating Protection with the object of stimulating industrial growth—in itself marking a stage in the general progress of the country—will no doubt in some measure achieve the object aimed at, though not with the rapidity or to the extent that its most enthusiastic advocates expect: and for the reason that much more than an artificially enhanced price for the finished article is required for building up extensive manufacturing industries.

But few people realize the extent of India's economic progress, or the astonishing magnitude of her yearly output. Thus, given a favourable season and a good demand, and India can produce—

Food:

Rice	about	35,000,000 tons per annum.
Wheat	„	10,000,000 „ „
Jawar	„	5,500,000 „ „
Gram	„	3,600,000 „ „
Barley	„	3,200,000 „ „
Sugar (raw)	„	3,000,000 „ „
Maize	„	2,500,000 „ „
Other grains	„	12,000,000 „ „
Tea	„	372,000,000 lbs. „
Coffee	„	22,000,000 „ „

RAW PRODUCTS :

Oil seeds	about	3,500,000 tons per annum.	
Cotton	"	6,000,000 bales	"
Jute	"	10,000,000 "	"
Rubber	"	13,000,000 lbs.	"
Petroleum	"	300,000,000 gals.	"

MINERALS :

Coal	"	22,000,000 tons	"
Iron ore	"	900,000 "	"
Gold	"	600,000 ozs.	"
Silver	"	4,250,000,000 "	"

MANUFACTURES :

Paper	"	32,000 tons	"
Woollen goods	"	12,000,000 lbs.	"
Cotton goods	"	1,100,000,000 "	"
Jute goods	"	2,300,000,000 "	"

By the aid of the above and other productions (whose value must amount to some thousands of millions sterling per annum), 320,000,000 of people are able to live ; and, last official year, were able to sell overseas surplus products valued at over £288,000,000—the largest sum that India has yet realized abroad in any one year—a striking indication, it must be admitted, of India's recent progress in the realms of commerce.

With this great supply of money India last year bought abroad and imported some £255,000,000 worth of goods of which the following were the principal items :

	£	
Cotton manufactures	61,700,000	(chiefly from the United Kingdom).
Gold	55,000,000	(largely from South Africa).
Sugar	15,700,000	(mostly from Java).
Silver	15,000,000	(nearly all from London).
Iron and steel manufactures	14,200,000	(chiefly from the United Kingdom and Belgium).
Machinery	11,900,000	(mostly from the United Kingdom).
Mineral oil	6,700,000	(mainly from U.S.A. and Persia).

It is difficult to detect in India's steadily increasing and now enormous trade—far larger, be it noted, than that of any other overseas division of the Empire—any indications of breakdown, wreckage, and ruin. Yet there are a few, it must be admitted, who assert that the peoples of India have

not benefited by this economic development. I can only reply that from personal observation in north, south, east, and west, the country-people appear to me to be better clothed than they were thirty years ago, and that they certainly exhibit more ornaments of silver and also—especially in the south—of gold. Then, too, the people have recently shown greater ability to resist famine, fewer families requiring assistance, and many now being able to buy grain who in olden days were forced in famine time to subsist on roots and grasses. But very definite evidence of increased prosperity can be seen in the steadily expanding receipts from third class railway traffic; also in the increased revenue from taxes on income. In the case of the townfolk, the growth of the cities, the much larger wages and salaries now earned therein, and the multiplication of luxuries on all sides are matters of common knowledge. If further evidence of India's material progress be required, it can be found in the continuous absorption of the rupee currency, and the regular and often immense importations of the precious metals, culminating in last year's £70,000,000 worth—a record.

If time permitted, I should go through all the departments of Government's work, and all branches of public activity, especially in social matters, in order to confirm my assertion that in whatever direction we may turn in India, we find abundant evidence of progress, no doubt often slow and halting, but, on the whole, definite and continuous. Even in the department of politics—a far less important department, I submit, than the fields of economics and social welfare, having regard to the present position of the masses of India—there has been steady and, all things considered, not unsatisfactory progress. From the highly centralized system of Government in operation when the British Crown assumed responsibility for India—a system in which Indians played no part and took very little interest—we have gradually decentralized, till we have arrived at to-day's Constitution with its democratic

legislatures made up, so far as the majorities in each House are concerned, of representatives of the public voted for by an electorate enlarged to the limits of prudence and public safety. The present system under which each Government (Central as well as Provincial) consists of Councillors and Ministers responsible respectively to the British Parliament and the Indian electorate for the functions which they exercise, is no doubt unique. So, also, is the political situation in India with its different races, religions, and castes mutually distrustful and often openly hostile to each other. So long as ninety-five per cent. of the people are illiterate, speak different languages, and observe different customs, political progress on democratic lines can only keep pace with the general education and enlightenment of the masses.

It unfortunately happened that the present reformed Constitution was launched at a most difficult time when the widespread dislocation arising out of the Great War caused such financial stringency in both the Central and Provincial Governments that all forward movements were momentarily checked. The newly elected Indian Ministers, with restricted finance, were quite unable to make any practical and popular display of their newly acquired authority. Nor could the new democratic legislatures do more than exercise a check on the heavy expenditure, and, where absolutely unavoidable (as in the Assembly), keep on voting additional taxation—a course of action not calculated to enhance their popularity with a young and very critical electorate, and extremely disappointing to the new legislators themselves. These misfortunes were augmented by what seemed to me three very unfortunate matters, namely :

(a) The great delay in raising the first Indian War Loan. (Two and a half years elapsed from the outbreak of war before any War Loan was raised in India.) The result of this delay was an excessive rise in prices that inflicted great hardships on all small wage earners, and thus antagonized *the masses*.

(b) The sales of "Reverse Councils" in 1920 at far below market rates, which resulted in immense losses to the trading public, and so antagonized the *commercial classes*. (Government themselves lost over £20,000,000 by these sales, and the public probably ten times this amount, at least.)

(c) The overruling of the Assembly by the certification of doubled Salt Duties in 1923 on the eve of the first General Election after the introduction of the Reformed Constitution, which action antagonized all sections of the *politically minded* throughout India.

My reason for referring to these matters now is to point out that the inflammation and excitement of political hostility to Government, which reached its climax a few months ago, was greatly facilitated by unfavourable economic conditions. Happily, thanks to a succession of good monsoon rainfalls, economic conditions in India have been steadily improving during the last three years; and with improved agricultural, industrial, and commercial prospects, political hostility has lost much of its force. Thus, at no time last year (when political talk in India was most bitter and menacing, and pessimistic articles were appearing in the English press), was the slightest flutter noticeable in the great business centres and money markets of India. Investments in Indian Post Office Saving Certificates were steadily increasing, and the prices of Indian Government securities were steadily rising. Exports were increasing, trade was booming, and India was already sending forth enquiries for that gold and silver which she subsequently imported in such amazing quantities. These were the facts that our pessimists overlooked. This year the Government of India's financial position has so far improved that for the first time for many years no Sterling or Rupee Loan is to be raised. This reflects progress in yet another direction.

India's continued economic advance means the removal of many of the hardships that inclined the masses to regard Government and all its doings with distrust and hostility.

The way is therefore prepared for an improvement in the political situation. And with the gradual ascendancy of reason in the councils of India's political leaders (who have at last seen the absurdity and uselessness of mere obstruction unaccompanied by practical constructive effort), the outlook is now brighter than it has been for some time past. The great irrigation projects at present in course of construction in Sind, the Punjab, and the United Provinces will, when completed and in full yield, add to India's agricultural possibilities an area more than twice that of cultivated Egypt, and a volume of produce—wheat, cotton, rice, oilseeds, etc.—worth more than £50,000,000 a year. Yet this is but relatively a small matter in comparison with what remains to be done. Western science can not only improve the health of the masses of the people, and so add greatly to their efficiency, but it can ameliorate their conditions of life generally. It can reform agricultural methods; it can improve enormously the quality and increase the yield of the crops. (What has already been done is but a mere beginning.) Further, it can improve, multiply, and diversify industrial output; increase and quicken means of communication and mutual intercourse; and generally enable the masses to lead fuller, greater, and happier lives.

My conclusion, then, is this: That the Indian prospect is good and inspiring. The country is naturally rich, and is well populated. It can and does easily feed itself. In addition it produces immense volumes of valuable commodities in strong demand by other countries, and, carrying as it does but a light load of national debt (only about £600,000,000, of which close upon £400,000,000 is "Productive"—i.e., invested in canals, railways, etc., that yield the interest on the debt, or more), its economic position is very strong. As already explained, great scope for increased production exists, so that India will surely in the near future grow still richer, stronger, and more influential in the world's affairs than she is at present. Increasing economic prosperity will open the road to further social and

political reform (though progress in these directions can hardly be expected to outstrip the general education of the masses, and the growth of mutual tolerance and trust between the various races, creeds and castes). Human history affords no example of 250,000,000 of people ever before governing themselves on democratic lines; and where those people are so divided by language, religion and caste that they cannot intermarry, the problem of centralized, democratic administration and control becomes greatly complicated. But complications are made to be unravelled, and difficulties to be overcome. Britons in the past have not been accustomed to turn back in face of difficulty or danger. Nor, I am sure, will India's leaders. And where the problem is one of bringing the fruits of modern knowledge in the shape of increased health, security, prosperity, fair play, and freedom to hundreds of millions of the human race, surely there is no room for the miasma of pessimism. Many of India's most cultured sons are men of outstanding talent and character, not only in matters of law and politics, but also in the worlds of commerce and industry, science, poetry and philosophy—true seers who appreciate to the full the benefits of modern civilization and the impossibility of resisting this world-wide development which finds so many of their countrymen still living in a by-gone century. The co-operation of these leaders of India is essential to the further progress of the masses of India. Let us, therefore, continue to appeal to them to act with us in the work that lies before us both. And let us together face the situation with confidence and determination, inspired by the belief that no greater task has been ever set before any people in any age. If we all tackle the problem in this spirit, I feel sure that we shall in course of time win our way to success, and find a solution of which humane and reasonable men, all the world over, will approve.

(N.B.—In the above paper Sterling figures have been calculated at 1s. 6d. per rupee.)

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, July 13, 1925, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Sir Montagu de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., entitled "Recent Progress in India." Sir Charles Armstrong was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine Dew, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Stanley Reed, Sir Claude and Lady de la Fosse, Sir Henry Procter, Mr. E. L. Price, C.I.E., O.B.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. S. D. Pears, Mr. O. Rothfield, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Miss M. Sorabjee, Mr. A. Gopalji, Mr. Ismail Ahmed, Mr. H. C. Seth, Mr. H. Vickers Storey, Mr. A. de Mello, Mr. P. Brandt, Mr. and Mrs. A. Devon, Mrs. Martley, Mrs. Drury, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. A. C. L. Bilderbeck, Colonel and Mrs. Hulseberg, Mrs. Campbell, Mr. R. B. Thornley, Miss Petre, Mr. W. P. Milne, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Sir Montagu Webb needs no introduction from me. If he is unknown to some of you personally, he will, at any rate, be well known to you by name and reputation. Sir Montagu Webb has done a great work in India, and he is well qualified to speak to us this afternoon on the commercial, industrial, and economic progress in India in recent years. I have known Sir Montagu Webb for many years—I would rather not say how many—and when I first knew him, if I remember rightly, he was greatly interested in the very abstruse question of bi-metallism. Since then, either through the Press or in other ways, Sir Montagu Webb has kept the Indian public well informed on all economic and financial questions that have come to the front from time to time, and for many years past he has been a recognized authority in India on these matters. He has at all times been a candid, but at the same time a very helpful critic, and his object all through and at all times has been to promote the welfare of Indian people and to increase the trade of India. His principal work has been done in Karachi, a town which has grown immensely and greatly improved since I first visited it in 1889. The improved port facilities, trade facilities, and railway facilities which Karachi now enjoys are largely due to the initiative and driving powers of Sir Montagu Webb. I am sure you will be very much interested in the paper which I will now ask Sir Montagu Webb to read to us.

The Paper was then read.

Mr. PENNINGTON: This very comforting paper says nothing of the

poverty of India. One might think that it did not exist. Yet we all know that side by side with great wealth, actual and potential, there is also great poverty, largely due to the Hindu law of inheritance with its infinitesimal subdivision of the land, over which the British Government has no control. India is in fact a wealthy country inhabited by a majority of poor people. The problem of Indian poverty is now at last, thanks to the University of Calcutta and others, being thoroughly investigated. "Homecrofting" may be one remedy. It is curious that more than thirty years ago I read a paper objecting to the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoriji's theory of the poverty of India, in which, I think, he estimated the gross income of the country at about the present value of its exports, and both he and my friend the late Mr. Hyndman spoke confidently of the bankruptcy of India as "imminent." We ought to be thankful to Sir Montagu for putting things in a more cheerful light.

Sir STANLEY REED expressed his entire acquiescence with what had been said by the Lecturer. With regard to the difficulties of the present constitution, the point with regard to the Act of 1919 was that from 1914 onwards everybody was concentrating on the idea of constitutional growth. The importance of a sound economic policy was essential. In the past the Government of India had been cool towards the economic growth of India. The agricultural policy needed a stimulant. The value of the crops in many ryotwari areas could be doubled without a single unit of additional labour or a single anna of additional capital by the consolidation of the fragmentary holdings, and the national wealth of India would be doubled in the next five or ten years by means of a more vigorous agricultural policy.

With regard to industrial policy, they found the great textile industry was being ruined by dumping of goods from Japan and Shanghai. If that was permitted they would be signing the death-warrant of British rule in India. In India they must think in terms of economics as well as in terms of politics.

Lord LAMINGTON said Sir Montagu Webb was a great authority on matters connected with the finances and commerce of India, whose opinion was at all times valuable, particularly as counteracting the ideas at present entertained in certain quarters in England with regard to the future of India. In his opinion, whatever unrest there was in India was not so much due to economic causes, but to the fact that the Indians found that the whole educational system had in the past tended to a stamping of Indian ideals and Indian characteristics by Western thought. At the present time there was a reaction against that tendency. He had always thought that by setting up the numerous Universities in India and by making the higher educational system extraordinarily cheap to the middle classes of India they had created a class which had imbibed Western thought and ideas, but who had found, when they had finished their studies, that they had no training as to how to utilize their knowledge for the benefit of themselves and their fellow-countrymen. Moreover, throughout the world there had been a tremendous outbreak of national feeling among all people, and it was very improbable that India

would escape it. The Indians had become affected with the idea that there was a great future before them, but he could not believe that the unrest was the outcome of hostility to, or of hatred of, the British rule in India. (Applause.)

Mr. A. GOPALJI said he was surprised to hear the Lecturer speaking about the progress of India. The problem of India had puzzled Mr. Baldwin and everybody else. In a recent speech Mr. Baldwin had said that India was causing the Government grave anxiety. British politics had never desired to give India anything. It had been suggested that there were great religious differences in India, but he thought greater differences existed in England. With regard to the differences in India, it must be remembered that India was as big as the whole of Europe, minus Russia, and that a certain amount of diversity was quite natural; but for whatever differences there were the British Government was entirely responsible. He agreed with the Lecturer that the Indian Government thought more of politics than economics. With regard to the question of poverty in India great misrepresentations had been made in this country. He was neither a pessimist nor an alarmist, but he could assure them that the conditions in India were most terrible. In Bombay alone 624 infants out of every 1,000 died under the age of one year, which was entirely due to the British administration.

Mr. E. L. PRICE said that the British had become involved in India politically against their will; in the first instance they had gone to India to trade, but in trade there must be security for their possessions and means of transport, and, as there was no security, they took political measures to make for themselves the security which there was no power in India to provide. When they had used force it was in conjunction with Indians who were in sympathy with them. For instance, 60 per cent. of the troops who recaptured Delhi in the Mutiny were Indians. It had always been the desire of England to establish peace and security in India. It had not been a question of destroying the existing systems, for whenever a prince was found to be depended on to maintain something like British standards of security he was allowed to maintain his position. Our attitude in India had not been like that of the Spanish in Peru and Mexico—to destroy everything; it was rather to enter into alliance and co-operation with the best elements in India. Before India could take her place as an element in the comity of nations many social reforms were necessary. There was, for instance, the scandal connected with infant marriage and other social abominations, which England had always been not unable, but unwilling, to interfere with, but was very anxious for the Indians to give up. Mr. Gopalji had said the divisions in India were not greater than in Europe, but he would point out that Europe had never been combined as a nation. The making of India into a nation would be a slow process, which could not be performed without radical social reforms being accepted by the Indians themselves. So far as Britain had failed it was not for want of goodwill, but because they were unwilling to use the force at their disposal to interfere with the social organization of the peoples of India. (Applause.)

Mr. O. ROTHFIELD said they had been extremely lucky to have had the privilege of listening to the lecture of Sir Montagu Webb, and also in having the point of young India put before them by Mr. Gopalji. There was no doubt that India had progressed enormously in commerce, industry, and wealth in the last few years. The prosperity, however, had not been equally distributed among the various classes of population. In his opinion British rule in India had produced more advantages than disadvantages, but there was a great deal of poverty. In the Deccan, which from time immemorial had been occupied by a population of small agriculturists, there was no question that those people found themselves in a state of declining prosperity, and a great many of them would go to the wall, as the yeomen had gone to the wall in England when the industries had begun. In the result the agriculturists were being forced into the city of Bombay, where the housing accommodation was inadequate, to which no doubt was attributable the high infant mortality referred to by Mr. Gopalji. Looking at the facts from a rational point of view they must blame the Government for not dealing with the scandalous conditions which produced such a state of affairs. Measures should be taken to ensure improved sanitary conditions and the encouragement of social and economic progress and reform.

Sir LOUIS DANE said that he had not meant to speak, as it was much more satisfactory that well-known non-official leaders in commerce should testify to the progress of India. No one could really speak for the whole of that great sub-continent. He had spent thirty-seven years in the Punjab, and so far as that province was concerned did not agree that Britain had done nothing for India, and that Government had no agricultural economic policy there. When he went to the Punjab in 1876 there were two small canals, which were the successors of watercourses which had been made by old emperors for the benefit of their pleasure gardens. The Government of the Punjab had realized that the Punjab was an agricultural province, and could best be profited by measures for the benefit of the agricultural community, some 85 per cent. of the total population. The Government had inaugurated a policy of irrigation, with the result that by 1913, when he left the province, there was an enormous network of canals covering the whole of it, which had been constructed, not for commercial speculation, but by the British Government for the benefit of the people of the Punjab. The result was that an area of ten and a half million irrigated acres was producing on the average two crops a year. By this means the wealth had been distributed over the whole of the population, who by measures introduced by Government from 1868 onwards had been secured in their holdings. The conditions of life had so risen that at the present time a sewing-machine and a gramophone were recognized as the ordinary luxuries of a cultivator's family, and in several districts of the Punjab he had been told that the men did not consider silver jewellery was good enough for their wives, but only gold, which would account for some of the £70,000,000 of bullion to which the Lecturer had referred as going to India. The growth of the population of the Punjab had been enormous.

With regard to the salt tax, compared with the cost of carriage the tax was infinitesimal, though he admitted that in Bombay and Madras, where salt could be made from the sea and the cost of carriage was smaller, the tax made a difference ; still, in spite of the tax, salt was at present many times cheaper than it had ever been in the history of India owing to the great improvements made by the British Government in communications and in the methods for extracting and distributing the salt.

In these days a great deal is heard of fragmentation of holdings, which seems to be becoming an agricultural journalistic stunt. The problem is no doubt serious, but it is not new. A good deal can be done at revisions of land revenue settlements to secure consolidation of holdings by exchanges, and more could be done if such consolidations were treated as agricultural improvements, entitling the areas affected to some reduction of revenue. Much is possible when irrigation is being introduced even in most difficult cases where the fragmentation is due to tribal or religious causes. He had to deal with such a case in 1892-96 when Settlement Officer in Peshawar. There in former days, as with the Irish septs, the whole land of a tribe was periodically redivided over the fighting men of the tribe. Each man was given a proportionate share of all classes of land by running the strips right across a village. Fields in such circumstances approached the definition of a line, length without breadth, and he had come across fields two miles long by one yard wide. In such circumstances effective irrigation was impossible, and after some trouble even the quarrelsome and litigious Pathan landowners were induced to cut up the land into blocks suitable for irrigation without bloodshed. The possibility that irrigation might be withheld otherwise was a potent inducement, and such action is no doubt possible elsewhere. But the Government are not to blame for this fragmentation, and consolidation of holdings is, and always must be, a difficult and even dangerous problem if not very carefully handled.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will, I am sure, agree with me that we have just listened to a most interesting and valuable paper, and I feel that we are greatly indebted to Sir Montagu Webb for the information he has given us and for the trouble he has taken in putting before us many interesting facts and figures, which show clearly the steady progress India has made in recent years with British help and under British administration. Sir Montagu Webb's conclusion "that the Indian prospect is good and inspiring" is most encouraging, and I agree with his view that India will continue to make steady progress, and that she will add year by year to the enormous wealth she already possesses. Indians are born traders, and although perhaps in their dealings they have not always the stability of the British merchant, they are full of enthusiasm and enterprise, and need only that help and guidance which we have freely given in the past and are willing to give in the future. The trading Indian, as a rule, is anxious to get rich quickly, and, owing to this, he very often oversteps the bounds of prudence, which frequently brings disaster ; but notwithstanding that many industrial and banking losses have been incurred during the past few years, there is, nevertheless, a very solid foundation of business and economic enterprise, and the trading organization of the country is little

short of marvellous. Sir Montagu Webb has done well in pointing out that India's enormous trade is far larger than that of any other overseas division of the Empire, for this is a point which in the many controversies of the present day seems to me to be very often forgotten or perhaps purposely overlooked. Have we ever realized before that India is the eighth largest industrial country in the world? True, her chief and her main employment is, and always will be, agriculture, in which 75 per cent. of her population are directly employed; but within limits there is scope for industrial development, and the progress that has already been made is little short of wonderful. Nothing should be done, however, to discourage the improvement of agriculture, for money spent with this object in view is bound sooner or later to give a good return; whereas the industrial world is subject to many outside influences, and from a money-making point of view has not therefore the same permanent stability. For the crops that India produces—and produces easily with a good monsoon—there will always be a good demand, and the encouragement of her external trade is therefore a matter of very great importance. In this connection I was particularly pleased to note the Secretary of State's remark last week in the House of Lords "that an immense increase was attainable in the yield and therefore in the prosperity of agricultural India." "A future," he said, "of incalculable prosperity awaited India if, and when, she learned fully to realize and to value her agricultural kingdom." Sir Montagu Webb has told us of the enormous imports last year of the precious metals: fifty-five millions of gold—a marvellous figure—and fifteen millions of silver. A country that can absorb enormous quantities of gold is obviously making progress, and this is one of the encouraging features of the present time. Sir Montagu Webb's remarks on India's recent adoption of a policy of discriminating Protection are interesting, and I agree with him that whilst it will no doubt achieve in some measure the object aimed at, it will not be with the rapidity or to the extent that its most enthusiastic advocates expect. For myself, I rather regret the present apparently rather strongly Protectionist views of the Government of India and of a majority of the Legislative Council. I doubt very much if this rather rapid change of policy is going to bring that increase of wealth and successful industrial progress which seems in some quarters to be anticipated. I imagine that before very long it will be realized by the Legislative Council that heavy import duties add materially to the cost of living, and that from the Indian point of view this is not desirable. The increased duties on iron and steel must add to the cost of agricultural production, and the heavy duties on imported cloth, necessary though they may be from the point of view of balancing the budget, must add to the cost of existence. To develop Indian industries by high protection will cost in taxation an enormous sum of money, and how far this is advisable expenditure when the main wealth of the country will always be in its agriculture is a point for very serious consideration. The cost of living in India is now much higher than it was, and although this may be due to a variety of circumstances, one cannot but feel that an agricultural country with a population of 320 millions ought to be able more rapidly to

reduce its cost of living than a country such as Great Britain, which exists under very different conditions. How far the increased and increasing tariff is likely to affect the cost of living in India I am unable to say, but the point is surely an important one which should not be lost sight of. As an evidence of increased prosperity, Sir Montagu Webb has referred to the steadily expanding receipts from third-class railway traffic, and, as we all know, third-class carriages in India are often inconveniently overcrowded, and the traffic is one—owing to its steady progression—which railway administration finds some difficulty in grappling with. I had occasion only a few days ago to point out that during the past year—*i.e.*, to March 31, 1925—the G.I.P. Railway alone carried within a fraction of forty million intermediate and third-class passengers against less than half a million second and under 100,000 first. The third-class passenger, although he travels at a very low rate, is the backbone of Indian coaching traffic, and I agree with Sir Montagu Webb that the steady increase to which he has referred is a very striking instance of increased prosperity. In connection with the carriage by the G.I.P. Railway of public merchandise, I had also occasion to point out that whereas in 1859 on the short section then open only 106,000 tons were carried, the quantity twenty-five years ago was 3,500,000 tons, against 7,250,000 tons to-day, another instance, ladies and gentlemen, of progressive prosperity and of a steadily increasing foreign trade, which it will always be wise for India to encourage. Sir Montagu Webb has done well in pointing out to us that "India's economic progress means the removal of many of the hardships that inclined the masses to regard Government and all its doings with distrust and hostility." India is not, of course, the only country in the world in which economic distress causes political discontent, but the masses in India, whose knowledge is necessarily very limited, are perhaps more liable to be influenced in their political views by economic causes, and a low cost of living is therefore essential for India's welfare. Prosperity to a large extent is dependent on the monsoon, for India is mainly agricultural; but there are other factors connected with a low cost of living which a wise Government will do well to bear in mind, for the contentment of the country is, after all, the contentment of the masses, who will not be much influenced by political agitation if they have the wherewithal to clothe and feed themselves. The great irrigation projects now in course of construction to which Sir Montagu Webb has referred are bound to bring increased wealth to the country, and the more we, as British administrators, can do in this way to increase its material prosperity the better for us and for the people of India. They recognize this fact as well as we do, and amongst the trading community there is, and I think there always will be, a great desire to work in close connection with the British merchant, who has done so much in the past to assist in the industrial development of the country. I am not therefore despondent of the future of India—I am in fact very hopeful that good progress will continue to be made, and, as Sir Montagu Webb has expressed it, "India will surely in the near future grow still richer, stronger, and more influential in the world's affairs than she is at present."

I am extremely obliged to Sir Montagu Webb for his very interesting paper, for the soundness of his views on this important question, and for the valuable information he has given us.

SIR MONTAGU WEBB thanked those present for the very kind way in which his remarks had been received. In view of the lateness of the hour he would confine his reply to three minutes. Mr. Price asked for a definition of progress. He had perhaps not heard the beginning of the paper, wherein he (Sir Montagu) had explained that by progress he meant not merely growth or multiplication, but new kinds of thought, activity, and livelihood; in short, development from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. Mr. Pennington and Mr. Gopalji had referred to the poverty in India. There was poverty in India, no doubt, as elsewhere. But he had given proofs that the masses in India were better off now than thirty years ago. In reply to Lord Lamington's comments, he did not suggest that recent economic hardships were the cause of recent political unrest, but that political hostility to Government was facilitated and encouraged by unfavourable economic conditions. Mr. Gopalji and Mr. Rothfield seemed to blame Government for the terribly high infant mortality of the city of Bombay, but that city enjoyed complete self-government under a Swarajist municipal corporation with a Swarajist president. They should therefore blame that corporation rather than the British Government. If the Bombay cotton mills were now feeling the competition of the cotton mills of Japan, and wanted the present excise duties removed, let them apply formally for protection, and the Indian Tariff Board would at once look into their case. Sir Stanley Reed had spoken the truth when he urged that a definite agricultural and economic policy for India was wanted. Such a policy should be formulated as soon as possible. But the further education of the Indian electorate was at the root of all India's problems. Let all parties combine to find the best ways of extending that education, and India's further progress would be assured.

On the motion of Mr. Stanley Rice, a hearty vote of thanks was by acclamation accorded to the Chairman and the Lecturer.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

FORTHCOMING ARRANGEMENTS

October 19: "Village Panchayats in India," by Mr. C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S., RETD.

November 9: "The Warp and the Woof of the Fabric of Indian Life," by Mr. R. K. Sorabji.

The above Papers will be read at the Caxton Hall, at 3.30 p.m. in each case.

POETRY

THE PRAISES OF FUJI

BY J. CALDWELL JOHNSTON

(Author of "The Book of the Beloved")

I

A WOMAN has faults in her beauty ;
 The fairest garden, seen closely, disappoints ;
 The sunny day
 Has often a stormy ending.

But climb the steep rock-ridge,
 Despite the stumbling stones and the darkness :
 With the first pink of the dawn
 You will worship the snow-tipped, sky-pointing, incomparable Fuji !

II

I have worshipped at an hundred Buddhist shrines,
 I have washed among the lotus in the sacred waters of
 Biwa,
 I have loved and been loved by the loveliest in the land ;
 But these things are as dust, are as dust, beside the loveliness of thee, O Fuji !

III

O ye craftsmen, cast away your jewelled and enamelled pieces ;
 O ye poets, destroy the most wonderful of your songs ;
 O ye limners, how dull are your colours, how fumbling your outlines,
 Compared with the vision before me here of Fuji !

IV

I know not if in reality the Gods exist.
They say so! They say so! I know not if the Soul exist.
I know not if Heaven exist. Nay, more! I care not.
I know that thou art, that thou art, O divine and immortal
Fuji!

V

At dawn thou art lovely, O Fuji-san, at noon and at sunset ;
And lovely art thou when the Moon-King robes thee in
silver ;
But loveliest of all,
Each time, each time, O Fuji, that I behold thee!

LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE BRAHMANS

BY STANLEY RICE

Two sects or castes of men, belonging to widely different civilizations and to widely different social conditions, have fallen under condemnation beyond the measure of justice. Sentence has been pronounced against them without hearing all the evidence, especially the evidence for the defence. Not that there have not been grounds for the general verdict because it is unfortunately true that human nature tends to fall below a high ideal and that the single-minded aims of earlier generations become obscured or deflected by the sordid ambitions, the narrower outlook, the lust of power and of all things pertaining to this world, of their followers. This degradation is always more liable to happen when the aims are purely spiritual, and it might be said not without justification even for so sweeping a statement that no religion has been free from it. There seems to be always a tendency to glorify ritual at the expense of ethics, and it is to correct this tendency that reformers arise whose aim is to cut away excrescences and to restore the original purity. Thus it was that Buddha arose to fashion out of ritualistic Hinduism an ethical creed which found no place even for a God ; and yet Buddhism has, in parts at any rate where it is so fervently practised, degenerated almost more than any other religion into a mummerly of ritual, vain repetitions of once sacred phrases that now have no more spiritual value than the abracadabra of a wizard or the hocus-pocus of a witch.

Brahmans and Pharisees have thus suffered from an inordinate emphasis upon these shortcomings and a certain indifference to, if we may not call it ignorance of, their origins or at least of the environment in which they have been brought up. The scathing denunciation of Christ, recorded for us by hands which, with all the zeal of a reforming religion, set down perhaps with alacrity, as some Goldsmith or Sudra to-day might use towards the object of his special hostility, all that could weigh down the balance

against the enemies and eventual slayers of their Master. And since these accounts are to-day the precious heritage of Christianity—and rightly so—the Pharisee, held up to everlasting scorn as hypocrite and viper, has become the very type of the sanctimonious ritualist, whose utter contempt for humanity and his duty to his neighbour is only equalled by his punctilious observance of the finer points of the law, of “the washing of pots and cups, of brazen vessels and of tables.” The popular conception of the Brahman is largely due to the influence of the missionaries, to whom he is the embodiment of arrogance and oppression. He has presumed to lay claim by reason of birth alone to a superiority which morally is spurious, not only because all souls are equal in the sight of God, but also because in fact there are many righteous men of inferior caste, and even of no caste at all, who are morally superior to many a Brahman, and intellectually is only maintained and justified by the oppression of others and especially of the outcastes. A great deal has been said about the status of the latter, and it is of course very easy to draw a harrowing picture of their abject misery. “They have been kept deliberately,” says Bishop Whitehead, “in a state of abject poverty and utter ignorance. They are excluded from the temples; they are denied even access to the wells, and when there is a drought the sufferings of these poor people from want of water are most pitiable.” More terrible still, the outcaste is untouchable and even unapproachable. If he meets a Brahman or even sees one coming far off, he must cover his mouth and cry “Unclean!” as though he were a leper. Pariahs have not been treated as human beings; they are reckoned lower than the order of beasts generally and much lower than the sacred cow in particular. Bishop Whitehead mentioned that the episode of the social leper occurred on the Malabar coast; he does not say that it is in Malabar that these particular customs have been carried to extremes, though of course the degradation of the pariah is sufficiently well marked all over Southern India. But as usual in Indian matters it is unsafe to generalize, and it is as untrue to pretend, as many writers do, that the treatment of the outcaste in Malabar is typical of his treatment elsewhere, as it is to assert, as has been asserted in a Christian church, that the worship of Kali in her most repellent form is the only hope of salvation to some 220,000,000 Hindus. You might say with equal justification that the Soviet Government of Russia is typical of all republics, or that all Europe makes an idol of war because Imperial Germany

glorified it. If that be the view of the missionary, who not unnaturally looks at the matter from the standpoint of his particular craft, and sees in the Brahman, not only the chief oppressor of his favourites, but also the principal obstacle to the spread of Christianity, to the official the Brahmins represent the political agitators, unscrupulous in method, cunningly prudent since by a pretence of zeal for the National Cause, they are really only working for the predominance of their own caste as the inevitable sequel of the cry for Swaraj, and incorrigibly corrupt in their shameless bestowal of places upon their kith and kin. So deeply in the official view is nepotism in the blood that many a European officer on whom devolved the duty of making appointments has made a point of deliberately rejecting the advice of his Brahman advisers lest he should be beguiled into favouring the son-in-law or the distant cousin of these astute foxes, and no man likes to be tricked because no man likes to be made to look ridiculous.

There is therefore a considerable analogy between the Brahmins of India and the Pharisees of Judæa in the time of Alexander Jannæus and later. Like the Pharisees the Brahmins started their career as a sacerdotal order to whom was entrusted the guardianship of the Law and the Sacred Scriptures; with that of course went the instruction in and interpretation of the Law. As in India so in Judæa "the great majority of the people, who willingly recognized the authority of the Pharisees as religious teachers and followed their lead, were not themselves Pharisees." It is moreover worthy of remark that as the Hasmoneans tended more and more to sink the High Priest in the King, so did the priestly caste, being closely associated with the Government, become more and more concerned with political questions and were not inclined to let their devotion to Torah* restrict their freedom to work for the political interests of what was now the kingdom. Indeed one may go further than this. For as from the Pharisees sprang the asceticism of the Essenes on the one hand and the fanatical Zealots on the other, so to-day in India may be found Brahmins whose whole thoughts are of pilgrimage and of the Vedic Ashramas with their periods of seclusion in the forest and of the homeless beggar, and again others who in their zeal for the political redemption of their country, emulate if they do not quite reach the ferocity of the arch-zealot Simon, famous for ever as the fierce defender of Jerusalem.

* The Teaching, or as it is commonly rendered, the Law.

Much misunderstanding of both has resulted from insufficient sympathy with the environment of each and a careless disregard of historical evolution. It seems to a Christian bishop, and to many others who have followed the same line of thought, very terrible that the outcastes should be debarred from the temples and excluded from the caste wells, for we need not go as far as Malabar for examples of pariah disabilities, nor overstate the case by relying on extremes. No doubt these disabilities are at times acutely felt, but are they in substance worse than many European examples of ancient and modern history? From all we know the life of the Spartan helot was not one of unalloyed bliss; the ergastula of Rome could doubtless tell many a tale to rival Mrs. Beecher Stowe's. Who knows with what tears and blood and sweat, with what grinding of the poor and oppression of the helpless, the Pyramids of Egypt were raised to the glory of the dead king and the admiration of posterity? If you had ventured to suggest to a French noble of the *ancien régime* that the peasantry of France were not treated like human beings, and were valued at about the price of his dog and considerably below that of his horse, he would have looked at you in surprise, and politely, after the French manner, inquired if you had perchance lain too long in the sun. The ideas of liberty, the right of man to live his life according to the laws of God, and the just and humane laws of man required for commercial or national existence, equality, the right of every human soul to regard himself as the equal of every other in all but the transitory appearances, the Maya, of this world, fraternity, the obligation of every man to regard every other as bound to him by the common bond of humanity—these ideas, born of the Revolution, have permeated modern thought to a degree of which we are too often unaware and being now the watchword of Europe, they are applied to Asiatic civilization inexorably, so that those who do not conform to the European standard are condemned out of hand. And if instances of Brahman arrogance in Malabar must be cited and heard with approval, let this one serve upon the other side. A certain Brahman wakil, a man universally respected for his upright conduct, noticed a poor pariah woman struggling on the road with a load of firewood which she had dropped. He offered to help her but she drew back. "Sir," she said, "you are a Brahman and I a pariah; you must not help me." He insisted and both went their way rejoicing, he of the two in the greater exaltation of spirit.

"You must not help me." No doubt it could be argued that here was a victim of age-long oppression, so accustomed to her chains that she could not conceive the possibility of their falling off even for a moment. But surely the saner judgment is that the woman was acquiescing in the state of society in which she found herself. She was obeying instinctively a convention that is as unquestioningly honoured as are our European conventions. If you welcome a guest at your club you shake hands with him; you would probably be surprised if the waiter at your table offered to shake hands with you. And yet, why not? His touch is not pollution; he is an honourable man, pursuing an honourable calling. But you do not, because it is not the custom.

"That is all very well," you will perhaps exclaim, "but the one is a harmless custom and the other involves a deep degradation. You cannot compare the two." That is, of course, only to import once more the European idea into an Asiatic civilization. The Pharisees were the guardians and interpreters of the Mosaic Law to the people and they had long been so recognized before the birth of Christ, for their first emergence as a distinct sect was in the time of John Hyrcanus. And the written Law was the most precious possession of the Jews since it contained the Revelations of the Most High. To understand the position of the Pharisees and of the ancient Brahmins one must transport oneself into an atmosphere in which religion was the only thing that really mattered. It is true that the Sadducees were also guardians of the Law or the Teaching—that is, of Revelation, but it has been suggested (and the name of Lauterbach is credited with the suggestion) that they differed from the Pharisees by reason of their strict adherence to the text and their disregard of tradition. Now the Jewish "Law" was divided into two portions, the one, Halachah, connected with ritual and the other, Haggadah, with ethics. It is not difficult to see that when the one is regarded as of equal importance to the other, occasions would arise when a man would ask, "What ought I to do in such and such circumstances?" and his natural inclination would be to go to his spiritual adviser in a matter so grave. That spiritual adviser would be a Pharisee, not a Sadducee who was the pundit of the theocracy. And since these small matters were constantly arising in concrete form, in the shape of the question, "Ought I to *do* this or that?" and not "Ought I to *be* so and so?" it is more likely that he would consult the Pharisee on points of ritual rather than on points of ethics.

To use a homely illustration: if one were summoned to Buckingham Palace, it is safe to lay a wager that the chief anxiety would be to conform to the ritual, what sort of clothes to wear, whether to advance to the King's chair or wait for a command, how to retire, and so on. No one requires to be told how generally to behave.

But all these points of ritual which seem of such vital importance to the Jew seem to the Gentile unspeakably trivial. "The Gentile would at once notice that the Jew did many special acts as a religious duty, that he made a point of doing many things, in themselves apparently trivial, in a particular way, and that he refrained from doing other things which to the Gentile seemed harmless or indifferent. . . . Whether the Gentile ever sought to know the reason why the Jew acted as he did, or would have understood if the reason had been explained to him, is not now the question."

The parallel is here so close that what has been written of the Pharisee might equally have been written of the Brahman. Like the Pharisee he has been the repository of the Sacred Law, but for many hundred years longer. In the beginning was the Rig Veda, with its majestic praises of God as manifested in Nature, with little ethical content, and hardly more ritual. To it were added the Yajur and Sama Vedas, which dealt more particularly with sacrifice and the efficacy thereof; and finally came the Atharva Veda with its insistence on incantations and magic. The Upanishads, Brahmanas, Sutras, and other sacred writings, expressive of Hindu metaphysics rather than philosophy followed upon these, and the whole was in the keeping of the Brahmins, who were, therefore, the interpreters of it. It was, and is, to them that the people resorted when they were in doubt how to deal with a situation. "We listen to our Guru," said a highly educated Brahman only the other day, "and do what he tells us." And so when caste arose, in whatever manner it may have arisen, endless questions of what might be done and what might not must have presented themselves. Anyone who reads the description of Indian ritual ceremonies must have wondered how a man could possibly carry out all the details of them without mistakes.

"Hard, hard, hard is it only not to tumble
So fantastical"

seem the prescriptions which it is proclaimed essential to follow.

Say if you will that it was the cunning of those who are

typified in a well-known book as Panditji, and sneer with the author of that book at the Brahman ; but remember that the Christian Church retained the learning and the power in its hands until they were wrested away. Gregory and Innocent, à Becket and Wolsey were powers so long as the Church could maintain the supremacy of the clerical learning. It lost its power when the urgent need came for reform, brought about by the insistent scandals of priestly life. And, as the Pharisees were drawn into the political vortex of the age, so did the Churchmen desert their proper calling for the pleasures or the anxieties of politics. By degrees the temporal power gained the upper hand ; the influence of the Church waned, and the clergy were confined to their proper sphere. Bunyan's picture of the Pope exhibits all the fury of the age in England. It exaggerated the position at the time, but its symbolism, though needlessly offensive, is not without truth to-day.

Now in a country where religion still counts for so much, and where, to the observant Gentile, "the only side which he can observe is that side where his religion found its most characteristic expression in action," it is surely natural that the Brahman should be regarded as the lord of creation, and, that being so regarded, he should so regard himself. It was already pointed out that few religions, if any, can remain on the high pedestal on which their founders placed them. Sooner or later all the great religions have suffered degradation, and that many Brahmins are to be found who "observe these things," and are yet utterly indifferent to "the weightier matters of the law," is not a surprising thing. Surprising, indeed, would it have been if it were not so, for then would Hinduism be the one shining exception that proves the rule. The Brahmins have received adulation, and they have accepted it ; they have kept unto themselves the guardianship of the Sacred Writings, and the people at large have consented unto it. In later times, when the leaven of the revolutionary ideas, introduced by the European, began to work, the lower castes have greatly vilified the Brahman—not without cause, for reasons that must already be apparent. But to hold that the great mass of the people resent the assertion of superiority is to misread the social conditions of India. It may be a good system or it may not ; but that it is a system to which the people still cling is a proposition beyond gainsaying.

"Sir," said a Brahman official one day, "I count it a misfortune to have been born a Brahman." A strange statement, surely, for one who belonged to the privileged

caste ; but he was alluding to the intense suspicion with which European officialdom regards the Brahman. Bishop Whitehead has committed himself to the remarkable statement that, in a certain school, there was hardly any difference as regards ability and intellectual development between Brahmins and outcaste Christians, so far as was revealed by the results of a scholastic examination. If this means that the outcastes could pass examinations as creditably as the Brahmins, the argument may pass ; but if it means that in after life the outcastes will show themselves the equals of the others, all official experience—and that is the experience of most Englishmen—is against him. Blood tells ; the centuries, which have left their mark upon the Brahman features, have developed an intellectual ability unequalled by other castes. That is why the Brahman has monopolized the service of Government, and why Government is, in accordance with modern ideas, so anxious to hold the scales even until it is “a misfortune to have been born a Brahman.” That there are many Brahmins who use this ability to overreach others, to insinuate harsh things against men of other castes, to grasp at places for their own fellows or relatives, I am not concerned to deny. But that, too, is largely the result of the Indian social system, of the clannish spirit that dominates caste, of the family system which, by making the family the unit, identifies the individual with all the other members, and it can hardly be doubted that that which prevents other castes in India from pursuing the same methods is lack of opportunity and lack of ability. The Brahman succeeds, and is conspicuous in succeeding, because he is cleverer, and because heredity, inclination, training, or what you will, has placed him in a more favourable position for exercising his ability. It is a question of ethics. To some it may seem a more sacred duty to provide for those to whom they are bound by the sacred ties of religion as applied to family life. To do good to others is recognized as an ethical principle by all civilized people ; “Charity begins at home” is a proverb which not only is frequently upon our own lips, but is constantly acted upon every day of our lives, from the rising up in the morning to the shades of night. There is, indeed, only one principle, which we as Europeans value more, in that line of thought. The call of public duty or of the country’s needs outweighs considerations of family ; so that rather than seem to job a son or nephew into a place, a man in authority will deliberately choose the inferior. But if that sentiment is absent, the other holds the field and

if we condemn it, it is because in that particular respect (for it does not prevent the business man from taking his son into partnership) our own particular ethical code has decided against it and has labelled it nepotism.

The Brahman like the Pharisee has entered politics and is represented as the chief opponent of Great Britain. Panditji is biding his time; he is cunningly on the watch for any false step from which he may reap an advantage; he has all along been secretly shaping destiny for his own ends. Could satirical travesty go further? The opponent to the British Raj is not the Brahman except by accident. He is the product of British policy and British education, the inevitable product to which the earlier rulers of India looked forward when they started the country upon its educational career. He may be Brahman, he may be Sudra; that he is seldom Mussalman is largely due to the suspicion of Islam that the Faithful would be left behind in the race and that to support the Hindu would be to court his own ruin. That he is more often than not the Brahman is due to the accident of heredity.

It is, of course, heresy to pretend that the Pharisees were any better than the New Testament shows, but truth compels, and Dr. Hart in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is driven to put a construction upon the words of Christ which, to say the least, is unconvincing. To have expressed opinions on the Brahman so contrary to the usually accepted notions is heresy of a less pronounced type, because the subject is less intimate. Nevertheless it remains true that we shall never know much of ethics until we learn to put away prejudice and to think ourselves back into the atmosphere that surrounded and still surrounds them. Then alone shall we understand why the Brahmans have the position they hold; then perhaps we shall cease to talk so glibly, if so entertainingly, about Panditji and his incessant Machiavellian wiles, and shall be able to see things in their truer perspective.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE

A CONFERENCE ON SOME LIVING RELIGIONS WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

Held at the Imperial Institute, London, September 22 to October 3, 1924, under the auspices of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London) and the Sociological Society. Edited by William Loftus Hare, Joint Honorary Secretary to the Conference, with an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., PH.D. (*Duckworth.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.)

A SURVEY of the religions of the British Empire which includes in its purview neither Christianity nor Judaism will seem to many of us like acting the play of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet omitted; but Sir Denison Ross in his reasoned Preface explains the cause of this omission as follows:

"The chief aim of the Conference made it unnecessary to include in the programme any lectures on Judaism or Christianity, as the organizers considered that their function was chiefly to familiarize those attending the lectures with the religions of the Empire relatively little known in this country."

Sir Denison Ross's Introduction is succeeded by the story of Modern Religious Congresses, by the editor, Mr. W. L. Hare.

The World's Parliament of Religions was opened at Chicago in 1893, and was the first experiment of its kind, initiated by a band of American ministers of religion. It was followed by a Congress of Religions at Basle in 1904, and by another at the University of Oxford in 1908, presided over by the late Sir Alfred Lyall. There was a Congress of Religions at Leyden in 1912, the last one held before the war broke out, and another was held in Paris in 1924, but the report of it has not yet come into our hands.

Sir Francis Younghusband gave the opening address, in which he laid stress on the neutrality of political power in matters of religion, and this largely accounts for our success in empire-building; for other Christian nations, such as the Spaniards and Portuguese, made themselves cordially hated by their Oriental subjects through their policy of persecution and proselytism. And no doubt the early rulers of the East India Company

were worldly-wise in their early discouragement of the zeal of English missionaries, just as a later British Government has found it advisable to limit their activities among the fanatical inhabitants of the Eastern Sudan. But when Sir Francis proclaims religion to be the basis of imperial unity he makes too sweeping an assertion, and it would have been more prudent to have substituted for religion religious toleration. He goes on to say: "We are aware that included in the Empire are more Muhammadans than Christians, and at least twice as many Hindus as Muhammadans; and that there are also many millions of Buddhists; and in addition to these followers of the great main religions, very many millions of adherents of primitive religions of every grade. And we note, too, that even in the oldest of these religions there are signs of vigorous life. They are living religions, re-examining fundamental dogmas, fighting for further freedom and throwing out new sects, which may or may not be recognized by the parent body, but which, in any case, show that religion is alive. And we are anxious to hear at first hand what men in the distant parts of the Empire are thinking on religion."

The first meetings of the Conference were devoted to a series of papers on the various religions of the Empire, and to modern movements arising out of them. "Each of these papers was contributed by a scholarly adherent of the particular religion, who touched lightly upon creed and dogma, and gave his chief attention to a matter-of-fact description of his religion as it worked in personal and social life."

The religions described included Hinduism with its modern developments of the Brahmo-Samaj and the Arya-Samaj; Islam with its two main divisions into Sunnis and Shiyas, the Persian Sufis, and the modern reformers, Babis and Bahais, and the Ahmadiya sect in India; Buddhists in Burma and Ceylon, and Jains in India; Taoists among the Chinese in Hongkong and Penang; a Note on Primitive Religion by Professor Alice Werner, LL.A.; the Beliefs of the Maoris, of the Bantus and other East African natives; and of the West African negroes. The latter papers were contributed by Englishmen—the Venerable Archdeacon Williams of New Zealand, Mr. St. Barbe Baker of Kenya Colony, and Captain L. W. G. Malcolm, late of the Nigeria Regiment.

"It will hardly be questioned," says Dr. A. S. Geden in his Historical Note on the Religion of the Hindus, "that within the British Empire the most vital and influential faiths, apart from Christianity, are those of the Hindu and the Muhammadan." Orthodox Hinduism was described to the Conference by Pundit Shyam Shankar, M.A., who contrived to compress his review of the system into some twenty pages of printed matter—a sufficiently surprising feat, for Hinduism is not a religion with a definite creed and a body of doctrine like the revealed religions, but a vast system, combining and regulating religious, social, and philosophical ideas and principles in one confused and bewildering mass of contradictions, as undefinable, unknowable, and indescribable as the universe is said to be in its sacred books, of which, again, there is a large miscellaneous collection. The Hindu Pantheon contains myriads of gods besides the supreme Trinity of Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiva the

Destroyer ; yet if you question a Hindu on his religious belief, he will tell you that he believes in only one God, of whom all the others are merely manifestations. And it is a strictly national religion, a Hindu denoting a native of India as well as a professor of Brahmanism, and it seeks to make no proselytes, excluding all people of other countries from its pale, and regarding them as unclean. Pundit Shyam Shankar nevertheless speaks of its broad toleration. When the Christian religion was first preached in India by the Danish and English missionaries sanguine hopes were entertained of the conversion of the masses of India to Christianity ; but these hopes were not fulfilled, and Hinduism remains intact and unassailable. The conquests of our missionary societies have been made wholly among the non-Hindu communities, the pariahs of the Tinnivelly and Madura districts, the hill and jungle tribes of Central India. Yet there exists curious coincidences between Hinduism and Christianity, though the former was flourishing at least two thousand years anterior to the first appearance of the latter.

The belief in a Trinity, the rite of Baptism, at first symbolical and later ineffectual, the doctrine of the second or spiritual birth, are common to both religions ; and Renan suggested that these ideas might have been carried into Western Asia and as far as Palestine by the missionaries sent out by King Asoka before the time of our Lord. If this be so, the whirligig of time has brought about its revenges, for Christianity has certainly inspired new movements in Hinduism. Foremost among these is the Brahmo-Samaj, a most interesting account of the inception and development of a revolt within Hinduism itself against its grosser forms of idolatry and superstition, written by Mr. N. G. Sen, O.B.E., a son of Brahmanda Keshub Chunder Sen, the third in succession from the founder, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, who was born in Murchidabad, Bengal, in A.D. 1774. He proclaimed his object to be the establishment of the universal worship of the one supreme Creator, the common Father of mankind. He established a Unitarian Hindu Church in India, and afterwards came to England, where he died in 1833 in the sixtieth year of his age.

He was succeeded in the government of his Church by Debendra Nath Tagore, a gifted and pious youth of birth and wealth. He died in 1905 at the age of eighty-eight, and was the father of the famous poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore. His mantle fell upon the shoulders of the young minister, Keshub Chunder Sen. This latter exhorted the Brahmans "to accept truth wherever you find it, and from whosoever may give it to you, without prejudice ; and act up to it without compromise. Manfully direct your energies against caste, and pull down the strongholds of idolatry to the utmost extent of your power. There is before you a wide field for reformation." In 1870 Keshub Chunder Sen came to England, became the lion of the London season, and was graciously received by Queen Victoria, who presented him with her portrait and a set of books. He was invited to preach in many pulpits, and addressed numerous gatherings. The Brahmo-Samaj movement in Hinduism may be compared to the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century, and the result has been the same : the establishment of a reformed Church, and the division of

that Church into several separate branches, separated only by some minor differences on points of doctrine and ritual.

The sect of the Arya Samaj is another attempt to reform Hinduism. It originated in 1875 with Swami Dayanand, a Brahmin youth, clever and well educated, and brought up in the Shivaite sect. At the age of fourteen, while observing the Shiva-râtri vigil, he saw a mouse run over the image of Shiva and eat the rice and sweets offered to the idol. "This god that cannot protect itself from the attacks of a mouse cannot be," thought he, "the great Lord and Protector of the Universe." And he started a Reformation with such success that his followers now number a quarter of a million. The tenets of the Arya Samaj are the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the abolition of caste, and the substitution of conduct for ceremonial as the test of true religion. It appeals to the pariah and outcast classes, and has made many converts among them. But its founder, Swami Dayanand, was not only a religious reformer; he was also a patriot, and with him national reform went hand in hand with religious reform.

The Religious Aspect of Hindu Philosophy is the subject of a paper by Pundit D. K. Laddu, PH.D., etc., of Poona. The title is tautological, for, as the learned Pundit explains, "In India the Hindus do not separate religion and philosophy, as is customary in Western countries. We regard religion and philosophy as but two aspects of one thing, which must equally be grounded in reason and scientific truth. To trace the origin and development of Hinduism is therefore to trace the origin and development of Hindu philosophy."

It is to be observed that in the expositions of Hinduism by its professors its cardinal doctrine of the transmigration of souls is hardly touched upon; and, indeed, it may be said that all the exponents of the various religions have taken pains to dwell upon those features of their religious systems that might be expected to appeal most powerfully to the sympathies of their Western hosts.

The Sikh religion is another offshoot of Hinduism, originating in a revolt against the superstition of polytheism and the tyranny of caste. It is a singular instance of a religious sect developing into a separate nation, with marked national features, a proof of the soundness of the Darwinian theory as applied to human evolution. Its founder, Baba Nanak, preached peace on earth and goodwill towards men; but his well-meant attempts to compose the differences between Musalmans and Hindus only resulted in their aggravation. Repression led to revolt, and religious reform was merged in political and military activity; and the simple sect that Babu Nanak had founded became the instrument of the ambition of Ranjit Singh.

Among living religions Buddhism comes next to Hinduism in point of priority, for it had become the dominant religion all over India three centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. Its ethical code resembled that of Christianity, and Ernest Renan suggested that its germs were carried into Western Asia by the missionaries sent forth from India by King Asoka, where they may have taken root in Galilee of the Gentiles.

But Buddhism was overthrown in India by the hostility of the priests (Brahmins) and warriors (Kshatriyas), who were bent on recovering their former power and privileges; just as in Europe in the Dark Ages Christianity was perverted to the support of monastic and military institutions. But the interposition of the sea saved Burma and Ceylon from the reaction that had befallen India, and those provinces of the Empire are dominated by the faith of the Buddha to this day.

Jainism, which bears a strong resemblance to Buddhism, and is often ignorantly confounded with it, is expounded by Rai Bahadur Jagmandar Lal Jaini, the Chief Justice of the State of Indore, who describes it as one of the greatest and most ancient religions of the world. He says that "whereas most of the ancient religions born in India have been extinguished, assimilated, or expelled by other religions, Jainism has survived all shocks and attacks, political or otherwise, since at least from 1000 B.C. . . . Through centuries of tradition and discipline, it has become impossible for a true Jain to hurt anyone in any way by thought, word, or deed." To the uninitiated, the path of the soul in Jainism, as in Buddhism, appears to lie through a long sequence of tribulations and transmigrations to ultimate perfection in absorption into the universal soul, or the supreme Deity, or Nirvana, or by whatever name one may choose to call it. There are not many more than a million Jains in India, and they form an intelligent and prosperous community. They are said to include a few English men and women also, who believe in Jainism as their practical creed.

The view of Zoroastrianism, the Religion of the Parsis, presented by Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Nushirvan, PH.D., High Priest of the Parsis in the Deccan, repudiates the idea generally held that it is a dualistic or Manichæan religion, with antagonistic forces of good and evil personified by Ormuzd and Ahriman, and declares that the religion preached by the prophet Zoroaster combined the monotheism of Moses with the ethical code of Christ. He says: "In view of the approximation between the Zoroastrian religion and the forms of modern thought, it is interesting to note how the former works among its adherents in actual practice."

And again: "His precepts approximate to the forms of modern thought." It is more probable that the forms of modern thought have influenced the mind of the writer, and it is in accordance with their guidance that he has translated the precepts of an ancient religion. In fact, the general criticism of these scholarly adherents of old religions, that might be urged, is that they tacitly ignore creeds, dogmas, and ritual, and fix their attention on general and incontrovertible assertions and principles, such as the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the need for charity and righteousness, and so on.

Among the most expert are the apologists of Islam, though they may be perfectly honest and sincere in their accordance with the trend of modern thought. The Modernism which has made such inroads on the theology of the Protestant Churches of Western Europe has extended its revolutionary activities to the historic religions of Asia, and in fact Modernism is but a modern word for Rationalism. The Basic Principles of Islam, as expounded by Al-Haj Khwaja Kamalud-Din,

Imam of the mosque at Woking in Surrey, appear to us to bear a striking resemblance to the basic principles of Christianity. The obligation on Moslems of Jihad or Holy War for the conversion or extermination of infidels is not even alluded to. The Khwaja rationalizes the Qur'an. "The houris, upon whom so much stress is laid by our adverse critics, are no other than our own female folks, with hearts pure and eyes restrained from evil."

"The seven heavens of the Qur'an are seven evolutionary stages, but that is not the termination. The last heaven will be another starting-point for advancement till we merge into the Divine Essence." Mustafa Khan, of Lahore, is still more Modernist in his review of the Spirit of Islam. He says: "I believe that Islam has come to establish real peace in the whole world. In every Islamic institution, whether it is associated with the private life or public, the chief object aimed at is to bring about the eternal peace between man and his Maker, between man and man."

It is interesting to turn from these generalities to the presentment of the beliefs and practices of the Shiah sect or branch of Islam, contributed by Shaikh Kadhim el Dojaily of Bagdad, whose account is not influenced by the spirit of Modernism. The difference between Sunnis and Shiahs really arises from a racial antipathy, for the Persians were the only Aryan nation converted wholesale to the Semitic religion of Islam at the point of the sword of their Arab conquerors. And the Shiah (separatist) schism or heresy is the result of the natural revolt of the Aryan spirit against the sterile monotheism of a Semitic faith. The Aryan is a born man-worshipper; and the Persians found in Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, an object of admiration, and even of adoration, as a perfect type of humanity. Doctor Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali of the Punjab, in his paper on Sufism, tries to controvert the theory of a reaction of the Aryan spirit against the system of Islam, and asserts that the whole warp and woof of Sufism is Islamic; but it is a fact that Sufism is to be found chiefly in Persia or in districts contiguous to Persia, and its literature is predominantly Persian. The mystical speculation of the Sufis engaged in a continual search for absolute truth is in striking contrast with the directness and simplicity of the affirmation of the creed of Islam: "Praise to the name Almighty! There is no God but one! And Muhammad is His prophet, and His will shall ever be done!" Many a Christian missionary has wished that he was equipped with a creed at once so simple and so comprehensive.

Much of the time of the Conference was occupied by the latest religious movement in Islam in the Ahmadiyya sect, founded in 1890 in British India by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who claimed to be in his own person both the Mahdi or Guide foretold by Muhammad, and the Messiah foretold by the Hebrew prophets. His eloquence and piety gained him a considerable following, and when he died in 1908 his death, as in the case of the late Mahdi of the Eastern Sudan, did not discount his pretensions nor discourage his adherents, and his mantle descended upon the shoulders of one of his disciples, Maulvi Nur-ud-Din. He in turn was succeeded by the present Khalifat al Masih (Deputy of the Messiah), who attended

the Conference in person at the head of twenty green-turbaned disciples, and explained his position and his views.

Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifat al Masih—for such is his full name and title—has his headquarters at Gadian in the Punjab, and claims that his disciples number about a million of souls, mostly residing in the British Empire, but some also in Persia, Bokhara, Egypt, France, Algeria, and the United States of America. Some of these Ahmadiyya or Gadiani Moslems have lately been rewarded with the crown of martyrdom by their fellow-Moslems in Afghanistan, to whom they had rashly propounded their views.

The Maori religion can hardly be called a living one; it had already been killed by the contact of Christianity when political events led to an attempt at its revival, but it has no longer any vital force. The beliefs of the various tribes of East and West Africa are rapidly being undermined and modified by the contact of Christianity and Islam and the advance of European civilization. The account given of them at the Congress was highly interesting as a study of primitive religion, but we have, unfortunately, no space for such a wealth of detail. The greatest achievement of religion in the Empire in the present century, the conversion of the kingdom of Uganda to Christianity, was not alluded to.

The last hundred pages of the volume, about one-fifth of the whole, are devoted to papers on the Psychology and Sociology of Religions, contributed by eight writers, working more or less as a team, and the reading of these occupied the two days of the scientific section of the Conference.

Sir Francis Younghusband, the leader of the first expedition to the mysterious city of Lhasa in Tibet, the headquarters of Buddhism, made the traveller's approach to religion.

Professor H. J. Fleure, the author of "*Human Geography in Western Europe*," made the geographic approach.

Professor J. Arthur Thomson, who holds the Regius Chair of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen, described a naturalist's approach to religion.

Mr. Victor Branford's contribution, entitled "*The Primitive Occupations: their Ideals and Temptations*," served as the economical and also the anthropological approach.

Mrs. Rachel Amand Taylor's paper, "*The Idea of a Sacred City*," approached religion from the standpoint of a poet.

Mr. Christopher Dawson, the Oxford historian, attempted the historic approach to religion.

Professor Geddes, known as a versatile pioneer in many fields both of science and practical affairs, and the designer of the Zionist University at Jerusalem, recently opened by Lord Balfour, wrote mainly from the sociological approach.

The volume is handsomely turned out and clearly printed by the publishers, Messrs. Duckworth of London.

We may appropriately conclude this survey of the religions of the Empire in the words of a Sufi Persian poet, who compares the different forms of religion to the different shapes of the vessels which contain the

wine of the spirit and of truth, in the following passage, translated by Professor Browne of Cambridge :

“ Beaker or flagon, or bowl or jar,
Clumsy or slender, coarse or fine ;
However the potter may make or mar,
All were made to contain the wine :
Should we this one seek, or that one shun ?
When the wine, which gives them their worth, is one.”

ORIENTALIA

SOMADEVA'S KATHĀ SĀGARA, OR THE OCEAN OF STORY. Translated by C. H. Tawney, C.I.E. Edited by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., in ten volumes. Vol. III. (London : published privately by *Sawyer*, Grafton Street.) Price £2 2s. per volume.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

DR. M. GASTER has written an exceedingly interesting Foreword to Mr. Penzer's third volume. He refers to the difficulty of his task caused by the Oriental learning of the writers of the first two Forewords—Sir Richard Temple and Sir G. Grierson. Fortunately, however, Dr. Gaster has discovered some points not yet touched upon, and he bases his observations upon these. He discusses at length whether or not Indian folk-lore was the origin of the tales which have survived in many nations and lands. Benfey considered that Indian literature influenced mediæval fiction, but such stories were not known in the West before the sixth century, and only some centuries afterwards did the actual books reach Europe. Somadeva collected his stories about A.D. 1070, five hundred years later than the German version of the “Panchatantra,” and this further complicates the enquiry concerning the antiquity of Somadeva's stories, for his collection included tales from the “Panchatantra,” a much older book. There is also the theory that Western influence was found in the Indian tales. One is apt to forget that in those remote periods there was considerable intercourse between the East and the West, and travellers repeated stories by word of mouth which were thus carried backwards and forwards. In the jumble of chronology it becomes increasingly difficult to follow one distinct line of data, and the new archæological discoveries appear to be continually upsetting previous conclusions.

This volume contains two appendices. The first refers to *Sneezing Salutations*, which are no longer associated with good or evil omens, for the fact of sneezing is itself caused by an involuntary action of the body. The exclamation of “Bless you!” by one who hears a sneeze is, as Mr. Penzer tells us, of ancient origin, and he traces this and other forms of benediction. One story is taken from the *Gagga-Jataka* in which Buddha is represented as “reprimanding his disciples for crying ‘Long life!’ after a sneeze. The Brethren then ask: ‘Sir, when did people begin to

answer "Long life!" by "The same to you!"? Said the Master, 'That was long, long ago'; and he told them a tale of the olden time when Brahmadatta was king of Benares."

Sneezing might also be caused by a Bhuta either entering or leaving the nose. Muslims incline to the latter view, because one of their traditions, traceable to the Prophet, is that the nose should be cleansed with water, as the devil resides in it during night-time. They also say that when the first man, Adam, awoke to life he sneezed; and it will also be remembered that when Elisha performed his miracle upon the dead child, the latter sneezed seven times and afterwards opened his eyes. Among Hebrews the benedictions used were "May you live!" "For life!" and "God bless you!" Christians in very early times crossed themselves when sneezing to be protected from evil influences. And the custom of saying, "God bless you!" was revived during the plague at Rome, 589-590. Mr. Penzer speaks of customs connected with sneezing amongst various tribes in Africa, the Melanesians and Polynesians.

The other appendix consists of a long statement about a very different subject—the Indian eunuchs—to which is appended a list of books dealing with this subject, including "the amazing history of Chinese and African eunuchs."

The *motifs* in this volume are numerous and of extreme value, throwing as they do a flood of light on very diverse subjects, such as *Cross-roads*, *Automata*, *Over-hearing*, *Mandrakes*, *The Letter of Death*, etc. *Cross-roads* in these days are closely associated with matters of everyday importance to the motoring world, specially when cross-roads are not four main roads, but two by-roads crossing the main road. The old Teutonic custom of erecting altars at the cross-roads for the execution of criminals seems to have been followed by the practice observed in Christian times of choosing the same spots for burying suicides and condemned criminals, and not because the roads formed the Christian symbol of the cross. The *motif* on *Automata* contains allusions to matters familiar to students of Indian literature. It was a Greek philosopher, Archytas, living about 428 B.C., who constructed a flying machine set in motion by air escaping from a valve; the mechanism was apparently an anticipation of the hot-air balloon. With regard to other automata, a traveller, Friar Odoric (1286-1331), in his description of the palace of the Great Khan writes: "In the hall of the palace also are many peacocks of gold. And when any of the Tartars wish to amuse their lord, then they go one after the other and clap their hands; upon which the peacocks flap their wings and make as if they would dance. Now this must be done either by diabolic aid or by some engine underground." The Jews also had legends relating to automata. The Czech word *Robot* expresses a being that can work but not think. Karel Kapek adopted this word and used it at Prague (where it was believed the broken pieces of the Golem still reposed) to describe the people crowding in and out of the suburban trains, for to Kapek they appeared like machines without any will or originality of their own. The note on the *Hand of Glory* contains information about customs connected with the mandrake and their resemblance to other customs obtaining in

North Britain. We are told that the term "Hand of Glory" is obviously a translation from the French "Main de Gloire," and this again is a corruption of "Mandegloire," from which come mandragore, mandragora and mandrake. European folk-lore was concerned with the root of the plant, which resembles the lower part of the human body.

In tracing the original sources of folk-lore contained in the *motifs*, Mr. Penzer does not allow his enthusiasm to run away with him, and this is specially noticeable in the *motif* on *Magic Obstacles*. The idea of such obstacles is ingrained in fairy stories all over the world, and therefore its prevalence cannot be attributed to migration. It is a natural wish of the pursued to stay the pursuer, and only in nightmares are there no obstacles with which to protect oneself! Students of folk-lore are referred to Macculloch's "Childhood of Fiction," which describes the beliefs on this subject amongst the Basuto, Aino, Siamese, and Samoans. It is an interesting fact that no folk-lore has been associated with the *Asvins* as such—the twin deities of light. Their name is familiar to all Sanskrit scholars, to whom they are known also as *Sasatya*, meaning "true, not false." Mr. Penzer informs us that the cuneiform tablets at Boghaz-Koi, in describing treaties made between the Hittites and the kings of Mitani, about 1400 B.C., say that amongst the gods present was one called Na-sa-at-ti-ia—i.e., *Sasatya*. The last of the *motifs* which can now be noticed deals with the *Letter of Death*. Descriptions are given in this volume of three letters of death: the "Uriah Letter," from the familiar story in 2 Sam. xi.; the "Bellerophon Letter," described in the "Iliad"; and the "Mutalamis Letter," having its origin in an event in early Arab history. As these letters vary in their circumstances the one from the other, neither can be cited as specifically giving its name to the *motif*. The different results of these letters are given: in the first, the victim meets his fate; in the second, the letter is delivered, but owing to his divine origin, Bellerophon escapes; whilst in the third, Mutalamis destroys it. It seems that other versions of these letters of death are known in many parts of the world.

This volume also includes a good index of Sanskrit words, besides an index of the general contents. The latter impresses upon the reader the enormous variety of subjects touched upon as well as the variety of books bearing upon them, making in itself alone an interesting study.

THE RE-MAKING OF THE NATIONS. By J. H. Nicholson, M.A. 276 pp.
(Kegan Paul.) 1925. 12s. 6d.

(Reviewed by MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

The author enjoyed the privilege of receiving one of the Kahn Travelling Fellowships in connection with the London University. The holders of these fellowships must possess a certain academical standing fitting them intellectually for deriving the best results from their year of travel and for appreciating the standpoint of the inhabitants of the countries visited.

Other nations, including Japan, have also established similar fellowships, and we commend this idea to those in authority in India. It is, therefore, from the point of view enjoined by the founder of these travelling fellowships that this book takes a wide-world survey of the various movements affecting Asia and Europe, which are explained as a "curious blend of orthodoxy and rebellion." In common with other writers, Mr. Nicholson alludes to the conflict between the culture of the East and West, and he uses a new word to emphasize this—"prestige-suggestion." In cases where European domination is resented, the word "counter-suggestibility" may be used. The nation-group and the religious-group, so far as these are implicated, are open to such influences, and the Indian Muslim's spiritual loyalty can be put to a severe strain. Mr. Nicholson spent two months in travelling in Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the remaining ten months were spent in the East, U.S.A., and Canada.

He submits a question which admits of interesting study and investigation—*i.e.*, why the East has adopted certain features of Western life and rejected others—and in considering this the East must not be identified only with India. The famous Japanese writer Mitsakuri divides Japan from the rest of the Eastern world, and in his book on social life in Japan contrasts the culture of Japan with "Indo-European civilization," a combination calculated to cause much surprise to both English and Indians! The chapters on China will be read with great interest, and they enable one to realize what are the special difficulties confronting the Chinese educated classes, and the problem of how best to adapt the methods of the West to the special needs of China. The Americans appear to exercise the greatest influence; they are not dependent on their political and military power, and they have an extraordinary belief and confidence in themselves and their methods.

As regards the United States and Canada, the author considers that they will be the focus of a new world-order. It was a very useful experience to visit those two countries after Japan, helping, as it did, to visualize the fundamental differences between them—one so typical of the East, and the others of the restless, hurrying activities of the West. Canada cannot altogether resist being partly Americanized, and this influence may in time affect her own national life. She has resisted so far the officialism so apparent in the States, and is developing her own "prestige-suggestion." In both countries the dollar forms the basis of all values. America and Canada possess in common the tonic of youth, from which will come in due course new force and vivacity, regenerating the worn-out rivalries and controversies common to both Asia and Europe.

INDIAN EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY

PRESENT-DAY BANKING IN INDIA. By R. Ranchandra Rau, M.A., L.T.

Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. (*University of Calcutta.*)

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE. By H. L. Chablani, M.A. (*Humphrey Milford.*)

Neither Mr. Rau nor Mr. Chablani has attempted any very serious independent inquiry into the post-war problems of Indian currency and finance. Both have drawn copiously on the materials and conclusions available in the work of earlier authorities, official and non-official, who have had set to them, or have set themselves, the duty of studying the problems of Indian banking, Indian State finance, and of the Indian currency and exchange systems. Mr. Rau is, indeed, quite frankly descriptive. Mr. Chablani proceeds from a statement of the general principles of currency and exchange, and of their application to India, to a critical analysis of the past policy of the Indian Government and of the recommendations of the various Commissions which have, from time to time, sat on these questions; and concludes by looking for a correction of the mistakes of the past in a rupee convertible into gold bullion. We are, however, given no practical details as to how this desirable result is to be achieved, and we doubt whether Mr. Chablani or anybody else could furnish a workable scheme to this end. There have been minted since 1835 no fewer than 6,475 millions of silver rupees. Granted that as much as half of this enormous quantity could, for one reason or another, not be tendered for conversion into gold bullion, does Mr. Chablani seriously suggest that any Government should undertake the gigantic liability involved in his project? Manifestly, no discrimination could be made between the different issues of the coinage; the liability of the State to give out gold bullion in exchange for silver rupees would necessarily extend, in theory at any rate, to the whole mass of rupees now extant. We readily admit that the menace of a currency famine would at once operate to slow down the demand for gold; but there has been sufficient experience in the past, and even more recently, of the tendency of the Indian to hold gold as a store of value, to cause us to pause before embarking on such a liability. Writing as recently as June of this year, the Controller of Currency observes, with reference to the enormous import of gold in 1924-1925, that "it is not unnatural that, in a country where the tendency to invest savings in bullion has always been strong, the surplus money in the hands of the people should, to a very much larger extent than usual, have been put into gold," and he ascribes the return of rupees from circulation in Bombay mainly to the substitution of gold and silver bullion for rupees. Mr. Denning, it is true, was writing with reference to a period when the rupee value of gold was rapidly falling: the fall was no less than 16.9 per cent. in the year, and gold was over 8 per cent. below the pre-war level. The contrast between the cheapness of gold and the dearness of other imported articles undoubtedly influenced purchases of the yellow metal, and this may be only a temporary phase. But political and economic

conditions might at any moment set in which would encourage or drive Indian holders of rupees to present them for exchange into gold bullion. The danger is a real one, the liability enormous, and the practical complications which Mr. Chablani's scheme would involve almost insuperable. These latter might be avoided if the rupee were convertible into sovereigns, or into an Indian gold coin. But Mr. Chablani will have nothing to do with the British sovereign, and he is silent as to the latter alternative.

Mr. Chablani has an undisguised preference for a return to the silver standard, but reluctantly dismisses it because he recognizes that the shock which such a step would cause would be fatal. We do not for a moment doubt that the reopening of the mints to silver coinage will be pressed, and vigorously pressed, before the Royal Commission which has just been constituted. The Commission has been given a very wide reference: it is required to inquire into the present Indian exchange and financial systems and to advise what recommendations, if any, are desirable in India's interests. Such a mandate would cover a recommendation to return to the silver standard and to reopen the mints to the coinage of silver. It would equally cover the introduction of a rupee whose gold content would vary with price levels, on the model of Irving Fisher's stabilized dollar. It would also be legitimate for the Commission to advise that a "managed" currency and exchange system, such as gave India a practically stable rupee between 1900 and 1914, should be replaced by a system under which Government would operate in exchange only to the extent of its own requirements, leaving it to the movement of gold to and from India to correct a rise or fall in exchange. Indeed, with such terms of reference there is no scheme of currency and exchange, and no policy in these matters which could not be recommended by the Commission, and the evidence which it will collect in India and in England should prove of the greatest interest. The constitution of the Commission has met with sharp criticism in India on the ground that the European members outnumber the Indian. It is not curious to find that there is no representative on the Commission of London financial interests: for years and years the cry in India has been that Indian financial interests have been deliberately subordinated to those of London; and the absence, for the first time, of any London banker on a Royal Commission instituted to consider Indian exchange problems is a significant concession to Indian public opinion. Whether, in the event, Indian interests are best and truly served by such a Concession is open to doubt. India no more than any other country in the world can afford to dispense with the experience and advice available in centres of international finance, and London still remains a centre, if not the most important centre, of such finance.

The Royal Commission will meet with a situation in the Indian exchange market not wholly dissimilar from that which confronted the Babington-Smith Committee. Four years of good harvests have restored India to her pre-war position of being a large creditor country in her annual international trading account. In 1923-24 India exported 144 crores more of merchandise than she imported; in 1924-25 the balance was still greater

at 155 crores, the two years leaving her a creditor to the extent of nearly 300 crores. Gold and silver were brought in to correct this credit, and these imports, stupendously large as they were at 145 crores, still left a balance in India's favour of 155 crores. Government's intervention in exchange resulted in the balance being reduced to 91 crores; and after making such adjustments as are capable of being traced, the Controller of Currency arrives at a credit balance in India's favour in the two years' trading of 66 crores. For this amount no corresponding cover in exchange can readily be suggested. Invisible imports, other than those which official statistics on inquiry can trace, may account for some portion of this cover; but the problem remains as baffling now as it was in pre-war years of finding a satisfactory and full explanation of how India's international trade accounts are finally adjusted.

The position was very similar in 1919, when the Babington-Smith Committee sat. Without going into details, it may be said that the balance unaccounted for in India's favour in the quinquennium ending in 1918-19 averaged 35 crores annually. There is, however, this important difference to be noted between the conditions of to-day and those of 1919. Silver was then beginning its phenomenal rise to 88d.; to-day it is over 33d. The silver reserves in the Indian currency system are ample, and there is not now the dread which haunted the authorities in 1919 of the Currency offices being unable to implement their legal obligation to pay out silver rupees against notes tendered to them. For the moment, then, the pressing question is whether the rupee can be kept from rising to beyond its present level, and whether the Royal Commission during its sittings will find itself confronted with a rising rupee, just as the Babington-Smith Committee found in 1919. It is common ground with all who have had to follow daily the movements of the rupee market that, save for the intervention of the Government's purchases of sterling, the rupee last busy season must have reached higher levels. Reactions would, of course, have at once occurred after the demand for rupee-exchange had been temporarily satisfied at each of these higher levels: and in so far as a reasonable degree of stability has been achieved in the last eighteen months in the rupee exchange, this has only been due to the Government's purchases of sterling. Will these, if repeated on last year's scale, have a similar effect in the coming busy season? Gold and silver imports assisted very considerably in providing the cover required to balance India's exports; and, as we have already noted, these were on a stupendous scale in 1924-25. The official figures give for the official twelve months' period no less than $73\frac{3}{4}$ crores of gold and over 20 crores of silver, and there are official suggestions that India is well stocked with gold for some time to come. The Controller of Currency states: "The imports of treasure in 1924-25 were extraordinarily large, and not only were the stocks in the hands of the bullion merchants very heavy at the close of the year, but also private purchasers throughout India seem to have anticipated their demands for subsequent years to a large extent."

Should this anticipation prove correct, the brunt of providing the cover required for the exchange of goods exported from India will fall

almost exclusively on the Indian Government. They have stated that they do not desire to see the rupee rise above $1/6\frac{3}{16}$ d.; and provided that their resources are equal to their professions, it may be expected that this level will not be greatly exceeded. The resources of the Government are bound up with their ways and means programme and the attitude of the Legislature towards the further overbuying of sterling on account of the Paper Currency Reserve. As the law stands at present, the Government could increase the fiduciary issue of the Paper Currency by some 22 crores to 100 crores; and presumably they would fall back on this reserve power to buy sterling in furtherance of their policy to keep exchange at near its present level. Once this reserve is exhausted, the problem before Sir Basil Blackett will become increasingly difficult, and no satisfactory solution will become available until a final decision can be taken, on the Royal Commission's report, as to the rating of the rupee, the methods to be adopted for its maintenance and support at such rating, and the ways and means for the full provision of exchange at this rating.

A NATION IN MAKING: BEING THE REMINISCENCES OF FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC LIFE IN BENGAL. By Sir Surendranath Banerjea. Pp. xv. + 420. (*Oxford University Press*, 1925.) Price 16s.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS.)

The reminiscences of a life of fifty years' distinguished public service are in themselves a sufficient guarantee of the value of a publication like this. Sir Surendranath Banerjea was undoubtedly one of the makers of modern India, and his contribution to the political amelioration of his country cannot be easily estimated. The book has been published at a most opportune moment, when his prophetic utterances seem likely to be realized by the apparent desire of the extremist section of Indian politicians to co-operate with the Government towards attaining the ultimate goal of self-government through progressive stages, as laid down in the reform scheme.

It is interesting to read the recollections of Sir Surendranath's early days. The environment of an orthodox *kulin* Brahmin family did not restrain his father from giving the son a liberal education in Calcutta. He was sent to one of the best colleges in that city, and afterwards came to England to qualify for the Indian Civil Service. Although he passed the examination creditably, there was some difficulty in obtaining an appointment, owing to some confusion about his age. An appeal was made to the Queen's Bench against the decision of the Civil Service Commissioners, and he was fortunate in winning the case. It was, however, not long after his appointment as Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet that he was dismissed from the Service on account of some seeming irregularities in the administration of justice, which were considered serious by his immediate superior and by the committee appointed to enquire into the matter. The sequel of the case reflects upon the relative position of the European senior and the Indian junior officer in those days. The petty annoyances which were in the power of the senior officers to inflict would in these

days effectually hinder the operation of the reforms and the growth of mutual goodwill. Many years afterwards, one of the members of the committee of enquiry told a friend that the young Magistrate's dismissal might have been avoided by the alternative of passing a severe censure.

Sir Surendranath turned to educational and political work almost immediately after ceasing his connection with the Service, and his self-imposed tasks were continued till his death. As an orator and a public man his position was unrivalled amongst his countrymen. Although he found many obstacles in his endeavours to improve the political condition of India, yet he pursued his noble object with great courage and tenacity of purpose. His activities were not confined to his own city and province; their influence was felt all over India.

Invaluable to all students of history is the sequence which the book gives of important political events in India, with their developments extending over half a century. At the same time it must be said that the book has no first-class literary value. The author's repetition of favourite words and phrases detracts from the graces of style of the book. Nor can his excessive use of adjectives and superlatives in the reminiscences of his friends be overlooked. His proneness to self-glorification (which was alluded to in *The Times* obituary) obscured the dignity of his personality; he should have left posterity to do him justice.

Besides his own reminiscences, the book contains frank criticisms of men and of Government policy in India. These may not be welcome to everybody, but they afford means of rightly understanding the causes which lead to such actions. In relating the details of his eventful life, it is a matter of surprise that Sir Surendranath has omitted all reference to his knighthood. It is indeed sad that he should have in his last days lost much of his influence with his fellow-countrymen, after having accepted the position of Minister for Local Self-Government—an acceptance fully vindicated by the manner in which he carried out the spirit of the reforms.

INDIA AS I KNEW IT. By Sir Michael O'Dwyer. (London: *Constable*.)
18s. net.

(Reviewed by J. C. JOHNSTON.)

The earnest student of current Indian affairs is often struck, when perusing the abler exponents of the dyarchic school, by their astonishing grip of European—that is, of English—constitutional history. Sir Michael O'Dwyer knows probably no more European constitutional history than befits the average educated Englishman or Irishman of the upper classes; but he knows, and in his higher-minded way he loves, India. After all, as has been said, the first duty of a Government is to govern, the second duty, also to govern, and the third duty, to govern well. This book, "India as I knew it," is a kind of swan-song of the old régime, the Nicholson-Lawrence tradition, which, in emergency, blew many sepoys from the guns, but which also has instilled certain principles—of fair dealing, clean-handedness and public spirit—that appealed, from their very singularity, to the Oriental simplicity

of the Indian *ryot*; and the *ryot*, even to-day, is fully nine-tenths of India. The reviewer feels a certain diffidence in dealing with this book. Born and bred in the older Anglo-Indian tradition, his mind turns as easily towards its obsolescent ideals and ideas, as uneasily it envisages the blood-red precursors in the eastern heavens of that millennial dawn which is diarchy and self-determination. If, therefore, he welcomes this book, let it not be accounted to him for unrighteousness. It is a book of high faith, high purpose, high courage, high industry, high ideals. These possess, surely, a value which is absolute, nor wholly determined by use and wont, by practical and political considerations, by the operations, in short, of the discursive intelligence or reason. It is a truthful book, and it is more than a truthful book: it is a true book; it is a true book, because its writer possesses sympathy, not less than vision; within the limits of his horizon he has complete vision. Other interpretations may be given to the facts which he has assembled, other lessons may be drawn from them. The craftsman is not always most competent to discern the ramified implications of his own work. At the least he is a craftsman; he has made something; he has made it well. Hitherto the East has irrevocably been guided by what is termed the "Great Man" theory; its ideas have been shaped, its events moulded, in religion by the Mahatma, in politics by the Maharajah—or often, indeed, through some subtle blend of the two, for as the Hindu possesses no Sunday upon which to worship his God, so also has he no six successive week-days set apart exclusively to the pursuit of material ends. Nevertheless, the ferment is at work, the Thames has flowed into the Ganges; for better or for worse we English in India are committed to the new ways. On the one hand, industrialism, democracy, diarchy, self-determination. On the other:

"By working steadily on these lines, confidence was gradually restored, cultivation increased by leaps and bounds . . . the deserted villages were reinhabited, and scores of new villages were founded in the lands which had been abandoned owing to the impoverishment of the old owners or the depredations of the thousands of wild cattle in the central areas."

The *ryot*, who is nine-tenths India, has indeed had cause for gratitude to the old-fashioned *Sirkar*. Will self-determination do more? Or can it?

THE PUNJAB PEASANT IN PROSPERITY AND DEBT. By M. L. Darling.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 14s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR PATRICK FAGAN, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.)

If information on Indian subjects is to secure the attention of the ordinary English reader—and it is difficult to see how otherwise British responsibilities to India can be effectively discharged—it must be presented in attractive literary form; the dulness of the inevitable statistics must be relieved by vivid yet delicate touches of local colour, while the living human element must pervade it throughout. Mr. Darling's excellent volume satisfies these conditions to the full; and, if we mistake not, it is likely to rank as a classic in the growing library of Indian economic literature.

It comprises a **very** interesting study of the indebtedness of the virile peasantry who till the Punjab plains; its extent, its history, causes and conditions, and the methods by which it may be relieved or remedied.

In the first seven chapters Mr. Darling conducts us over the six tracts into which he conveniently divides the province for the purposes of his enquiry; and in doing so, while giving a clear view of prevalent agricultural and economic conditions, he arrives at estimates of the comparative extent of indebtedness, which, while necessarily rough, are probably in some close relation to facts. Mr. Darling's general conclusion for the province as a whole is that the total debt of its seven million agricultural proprietors amounts to some £50,000,000 sterling, 17 per cent. only of the whole number being free of liability; while of the total debt, which represents three years' net income from the land, less than one half is secured by mortgage. The results are reached by a process of induction from a careful investigation into the individual circumstances of more than 50,000 members of rural co-operative societies in various parts of the province. How far the results can claim accuracy depends, of course, on the degree to which the entire group of individual cases examined constitutes a fair average sample of the rural domestic economy of the province. The matter is not free from doubt, for it appears that the special investigation embraced ten only out of the twenty-nine districts of the province, and none of the three western districts, which, as Mr. Darling shows, are agriculturally the most insecure and economically the most backward. In these, however, co-operative societies are few, so that the means for investigation were wanting. But after discounting inevitable defects in statistical data Mr. Darling's results are doubtless sufficient to indicate the general scale and distribution of agricultural indebtedness.

The causes of that indebtedness and the conditions which foster it are accurately and suggestively summarized in Chapter VII. and again in Chapter XI.: they issue logically from the wealth of material arrayed in the previous portions of the work. Especially enlightening is Chapter X., with its account of the rural moneylender, his system and methods. Perhaps the most lamentable feature of the large, though not alarming, extent of indebtedness is that a high proportion of it is unproductive, being largely due to the accumulation of compound interest and to improvident and extravagant expenditure on marriages and such like. Incidentally Mr. Darling repeats in a convincing form what has often been demonstrated before, that permanent agricultural indebtedness is very rarely, if ever, due to land taxation; while he shows clearly that it often accompanies and is encouraged by prosperity and the consequent expansion of credit. But when all has been said debt is and must remain an inevitable adjunct of peasant agriculture. Yet it should be and can be confined to debt incurred under a healthy system of organized credit and devoted to productive processes rendered progressively more efficient by organized agricultural improvement, both on its technical and economic sides. How such a result can be and is being secured Mr. Darling shows in his arresting chapters on Agricultural Progress and Co-operation. They contain matter which is little known, and perhaps even less appreciated, by those who

confine their vision to the sphere of political development. Co-operation itself is probably the most effective process of economic continued with moral transformation which is at work in India to-day.

It is impossible within the limits of a short review to do justice to the contents of this remarkable volume. We can only commend it heartily to the attentive perusal of all those who are interested in India's welfare. Sir Edward Maclagan, recently Governor of the Punjab, and himself thirty years ago an early pioneer of the co-operative movement, and later President of the Indian Committee on Co-operation, contributes a highly suggestive and illuminating prelude to the volume.

NEAR EAST

THE CALIPHATE. By Sir Thomas Arnold. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by LOUIS MASSIGNON, Paris.)

This important work is the most complete handbook of the present day on the Caliphate question from the *historical* standpoint. The author has taken up and expanded the thesis of Barthold (1912) and Nallino (1916) showing the continuous canonical illegitimacy which has been a feature of the Caliphate since the four Rashidoun Caliphs until the late Pseudo-Caliphate of the Ottomans. Sir Thomas Arnold adds to the thesis of Barthold and Nallino, which we may assume here to be known, important developments which are the results of his studies, and which may here be summarized :

1. The equation "Caliphate=Papacy," which Barthold tolerated only as an approximate description of the parallel situation in Rome and at Baghdad during the eleventh century, is definitely stated as intrinsically false, because the processes leading up to the formation of the two ideas have been different: at Rome, there was the deliberate reconstruction of the old Roman Empire; at Baghdad, a definition *a posteriori*, as governed by circumstances.
2. The "Islamic Caliphate" is a myth formed under the influence of three factors in the situation: (a) *political*—the opportune invention of traditions (Hadith, "sayings" attributed to the Prophet or to his companions) regarding the mode of designation of the Caliph; (b) *judicial*—the theoretical construction of the attributes and ideal qualities of the Caliph set up from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, from Mawardi to Ibn Khaldun without taking account of the realities of the situation; (c) *ethical and philosophica*—the admission of Hellenistic data, about the virtues and moral qualities of the "Pambasileus," due to the influence of the philosophers.
3. The Ottoman Sultans were very late in taking advantage of their "rights" to a kind of Caliphate: between their usurpation of this title and that of others (Delhi, etc.), the only difference is one of time and degree, and not of principle.

These three theses serve to show the whole purport, which is new, of this book of Sir Thomas Arnold, who, in spite of his denials, supplies here a thoroughly critical survey of the historic idea of the Caliphate.

I may add some further details on thesis 2: these "hadith" were invented, doubtless for the Omayyades—*e.g.*, the hadith on the necessity for the Caliph to be born a Qurayshite, so that they could oppose the *Hashimite* hadith particularized in favour of the Alide and Abbaside rebels. In the development of thesis 3, it may be kept in mind that, even under a usurped, thence *illegitimate*, Caliphate, all canonical institutions maintaining social life were, nevertheless, considered as *regularly* enforced in their daily achievements, according to the views of moderate Sunni canonists, such as Ghazali in the eleventh century and Rashid Rida in our present time. The "secularization" of the Islamic notion of sovereignty is merely beginning now: in Turkey since 1908, and in Egypt, since the beginning of the present year, with the ominous book of Shaikh Ali Abdul Raziq, where Sir Thomas W. Arnold's researches are quoted.

THE TRADITION OF ISLAM. By Alfred Guillaume. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by LOUIS MASSIGNON, Paris.)

This work is a clear and convenient introduction to the study of *hadith*. The author tells us that he was influenced chiefly by Goldziher's classical book "Muhammedanische Studien." Moreover, he has frequently checked his conclusions by consulting the *Kanz al Ummal* of Muttaqi and the *Mishkat al Masâbih* of Walî al Din (one of the sources of Hughes' old and valuable "Dictionary of Islam").

The order he has chosen is: The evolution of the Sunnite hadith until the date of the writing of the "six classical books" (Sahîh) in the ninth century of our era; the accretions of the Omayyad and Abbasid periods; the Islamic methods of criticizing the hadith; selected extracts; the Christian origin of some hadith; the traditional type of Muhammad. This is followed by two appendices, the first entitled "the Caliphate according to tradition," which title, however, does not strictly describe its matter, as it is merely a summary of Nallino's *Appunti*; the other is a useful translation of the *Kitab al Qadar*, being a section of the sahîh of Bukhari. The book ends with a bibliography and a glossary.

On the whole the presentation of the facts, though somewhat formal, is correct. It is to be hoped that there will be a second edition, which might be furnished with two additional notes, one on the hadith of Shiism, and which would make use of certain indispensable sources, such as the *mizan al i'tidal* of Dhahabi (for Chapters I. to IV.), "die Person Mohammeds" of Tor Andrae (Chapter VII.), and the *Taqrib* of Nawawi, annotated by Marçais (for the glossary).

MODERN TURKEY: A POLITICO-ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION, 1908-1923.

Edited by Eliot Grinnell Mears, M.B.A., F.R.ECON.S. (New York: Macmillan Company.)

This book commences with the account on that memorable day in July, 1908, when, at last, the power of the Ottoman Sultans was broken, and goes through all the various stages of further development, concluding

with the establishment of a Turkish Republic in 1923 at Angora. The editor also provides at the end of his volume, comprising 779 pages and over twenty illustrations, a full chronology of external and internal events which give a clear insight into the various forces that were at work during the years under notice. A remarkable feature are the various chapters contributed by Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Jewish authors, furnishing their respective standpoints. His Eminence Halm Nahoum, who writes the chapters on the Jews in Turkey, quotes a remark attributed to Sultan Bajazid II. on the occasion of signing in the year 1492 allowing the Jews, expelled from Spain, to enter Turkey: "By decreeing the ejection of the Jew, Ferdinand has impoverished his country and enriched mine." One of the consequences of the Spanish Jewish settlements in Turkey was the establishment of wide commercial connections, particularly with the various Italian States. The importance of the influence exerted by highly cultivated Israelites is also mentioned in this connection, as well as the fact that the city of Hamburg owes its prosperity to a large extent to the first bank founded there in the year 1620 by some Jews from Spain, Portugal, and Holland. There is no doubt that Turkey has benefited through financial credits secured by her Jewish inhabitants on account of their connection with their co-religionists in Europe. The banking house founded by Doña Garcia Mentezia, the mother-in-law of Don Joseph Nasse, is a case in point. Stress is also laid on the influences that the Spanish Jews had on the intellectual life of Turkey in bringing with them manuscripts in various languages, in Arabic and Spanish script, a literature which embraced all branches of knowledge. The Jews, moreover, installed the first printing press in the country, imported by Abraham Usque, a Jew from Italy, and another printing plant was installed in the so-called Belvedere, situated on the European side of the Bosphorus.

The science of medicine received a fresh impulse through the well-known family of Amon, whose descendants received for many years from the Sultan the title of Hekim Bashi (chief doctor). Here it is interesting to note that, with the arrival of the persecuted Jews from Spain, Portugal, and Italy, a new conception began to prevail in the minds of the Jewish people in Turkey, who hitherto were content to remain by themselves, striving only after security; this new scheme was the formation of a Jewish religious community in the historic land of Palestine. It was Don Joseph Nasse who gave the first impulse to this movement, and the Sultan Selim, who had a special sympathy for Nasse, gave orders to the Governor of Syria to help in this enterprise. It was Nasse's plan to make Tiberias an industrial centre, and within a year a city was built with the help of Arab workmen. Mulberry-trees were planted to start the manufacture of silk in the manner in which it was produced at Brussa. But, unfortunately, after the death of Don Joseph Nasse, there was no one to continue his work. His Eminence Halm Nahoum ends this illuminating chapter with the following remark: "To-day, as in the past, the Jews of Turkey are marching in the path of progress, and participating in every movement which tends to raise the intellectual and commercial standards of the country that has given them shelter in their hour of distress. They, however, do

not fail to co-operate with all their might with the rest of the Jews in the intellectual, economic, and commercial restoration of Palestine."

The Greek journalist and author, A. T. Polyzoidos, contributes an essay, showing how the Greek race played an important part in the development of the Ottoman Empire. It is well known how these Sultans Osman and Orkan, who made Brussa their capital, knew how to profit from the civilization they encountered in the lands they conquered. Their policy of toleration—nay, even of friendship—is one of the arguments that Pierre Loti brought forward in the defence of the Turk as ruler. The Armenian and Arab question is very ably considered by the editor himself. The last chapter is devoted to the Kemalist Movement, which has for its avowed purpose "to oppose all efforts to dismember Turkey." Its main objects, as is well known, relate to the abolition of the Sultan and the diminished power of the Khalif. The recapture of Smyrna by the Turks has most effectively raised the prestige of the movement, and proved to the Allied Powers that there are still qualities in the Turk which give them a right to maintain themselves as a nation. The great deep-felt patriotism, devoid of all self-seeking, which inspires Kemal and his adherents, can be compared with that of Mussolini, and we may say that both these men have, until now, worked greatly for the benefit of their country. Before concluding, it will be of interest to bring before the reader the chapter on women, written by Miss Mary Mills-Patrick, President of the Constantinople Women's College. If the writer of this review hears of Turkish women's clubs, of the Society for Defence of the Rights of Women, organized at Constantinople, which has the following aims: to ameliorate the rules of marriage according to the exigencies of common sense, to fortify the women in the home, to render mothers capable of bringing up their children according to the principles of modern education, to encourage women to earn their own living by their own work and to educate them accordingly—she wonders how all that she had been advocating during some fifty years previously has come about. In her novel—"Melita: A Turkish Love Story"—she described how the position of Turkish women was in 1880; certainly very different to what it is now.

We must still mention the far-famed Robert College, built by the Americans, which is attended by students of all nationalities and religions. "Students are being prepared for leadership by being trained along the lines of service in mechanical engineering, scientific farming, medicine, business and other administrations. There, young men and women, living in college dormitories, are freed from the incessant conversation of hate, and learn to sink suggestions of racial distinction in the common cause." It is interesting to know that Ismet Pasha has sent into this environment as a student his own brother.

A chapter on archæology is contributed by the late Howard Crossby Butler, the well-known director of American excavation at Sardis in Asia Minor. An art lover is repaid by a visit to Constantinople merely to see the exquisite Alexander sarcophagus, the only authentic stone from Herod's temple in Jerusalem, the Silvain inscription from the time of Hezekiah, and the beautiful ancient glass from Syria, etc. At the end of one wing of

this museum is a special historical art library presented to the museum by Jevdet Pasha. Hamdi Bey, until his recent death, was the able director of this museum. He was a well-known artist, whose pictures were accepted in *salons* at Paris and London. Haleb Bey, his brother, is the present director.

Rightly Mr. H. C. Butler says, in the opening sentence of his article, that no empire or other nation since the breaking up of the Byzantine Empire, to which the Ottoman Empire became successor, has ever controlled so much territory that is of vital importance to the history of religious institutions and art. "History and archæology are hungering for the huge hoards of knowledge that are stored up and hidden away beneath the soil of these early homes of culture in Asia Minor, Syria, and Macedonia." He hopes that America should assume the burden of supplying these needs, and unlock the prisons in which historic truth and art have been shut away hitherto from the eyes of men.

L. M. R.

ART SECTION.

INDIAN ART AT THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION, 1924. (*The India Society*.) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by J. C. FRENCH.)

In the Indian Pavilion at Wembley, under the somewhat formidable title of "Retrospective Art," there were shown a number of paintings and drawings, the art of India in older days. The present work is its memorial. The Foreword, all too short, is marked by that deep and sympathetic insight which characterizes all Lord Ronaldshay's Oriental studies. The illustrations are excellent; the appreciation is by Mr. Lionel Heath, of the Lahore Museum.

Mogul painting was represented in this exhibition by many charming examples, but it is unnecessary to dwell long upon them, as this school of Indian art is by now fairly well known to the West. The peculiar and striking, indeed one might say hitherto unique, feature of this collection of paintings is that it introduced the ordinary English visitor to an entirely fresh field of art—the art of Rajasthan and the Himalayas.

The term "Rajasthan" is the archaic word for Rajputana, and so it is peculiarly appropriate to denote an archaic art. Mr. Lionel Heath rightly points out the savagery and the appeal to the indigenous traditions of Hinduism which characterize it, and traces these qualities to an instinctive antagonism to the Mogul art of the Muhammadan rulers which was contemporaneous with it. There is indeed something wild about this Rajasthan art, something of a wild animal at bay and fighting for its life. And where else outside Rajasthan would Hinduism be expected to make its stand, Rajasthan which throughout the centuries has stood up like a rock in the continuity of the traditions of Hinduism, and round which invasions have surged as waves wash round a rock? But in spite of the wildness and even savagery of these pictures, what a magnificent art they contain, and how intensely Indian! What splendid design, what

deep rich colouring, what mysterious significance of form ! In this art, as in the art of Ajanta and Ellora, one finds one has got to the very heart and essence of the art of India. When one looks at this elemental art, how idle seems the talk of Chinese and Japanese influence ! The writer recollects the unstinted admiration of M. Migeon, the great French critic, on first seeing this art. "One inevitably thinks of mural painting in looking at these small pictures, for they have none of the characteristics of miniature art, which tends to be precious and to dwell on details ; here there is a large abstraction, a simplification of form, together with what Dr. Coomaraswamy calls 'a savage vitality' and inventiveness in design. Both form and colour are emphatic. It is as if the artist had been accustomed to designing on a large space, with forms and colour that are to tell at a distance, and was now reducing his composition to the small dimensions required for the new fashion of painting on paper. We feel something primitive, something 'of the heroic age' in these small pictures."*

Now the Rajputs, the principal champions and defenders of Hindu religion and tradition, have two main strongholds in India. The first is the hills of Rajputana—Rajasthan. The second is to be found in still higher hills, the Punjab Himalayas. As the danger of the crushing of Hindu by Mogul culture grew less and less, so the art of Rajasthan became impregnated with the insidious allurements of the showy and superficially attractive Mogul style, till at length in the eighteenth century the two schools are practically indistinguishable. It was not so, however, in the Rajput states of the Himalayas. Here the line and superficial technique of the Mogul school were successfully absorbed by the older tradition and employed in the expression of the older art. The reason is not far to seek. Rajputana proper was surrounded on all sides by Mogul provinces and Mogul culture, and the Rajput art insensibly yielded to the seductions of the Mogul style. But the vast barriers of the Himalayas protected the Rajput states of the Hills, and, even nowadays, if one would seek to recapture the spirit and life of the older India, it is to the Himalayas that one should go.

This Himalayan or Paharia school of painting (it is unnecessary to remind the reader that the word "Paharia" means "of the Hills") is one of the most charming aspects of Indian art. But there is something more here than mere prettiness, graceful decoration, delicate line. The mystic art of India here finds expression. Indeed, it might be said that these pictures are the last flower of a tree whose roots go deep into ancient times.

It is interesting to note the profound difference which separates Himalayan from Mogul art. At first sight there are resemblances in style and technique, but on closer observation what profound divergences appear ! It is the difference between Muhammadanism and Hinduism, prosaic representation and mystic idealism, prose and poetry. The sources of the two arts are utterly divergent and indeed opposite. Mogul

* Laurence Binyon, *Rupam*, January, 1925, p. 10.

art is derived from the Persian miniature. Extreme delicacy of line is one of its chief merits. Enlarge a Mogul miniature and you spoil it. Himalayan art, on the contrary (and the same is true of the art of Rajasthan), is derived from the old Indian art of fresco painting on walls. The paintings of Ajanta and Bagh are the best-known examples. This peculiar characteristic, the sense of a fresco being reduced to the size of a small sketch, is especially noticeable in the earlier Himalayan paintings, though traces of it are to be found throughout the course of the art. Plate XII. is a good example.

As the art goes on, Himalayan painters tend to borrow more and more liberally from the Mogul art, sometimes even taking complete scenes for their own purposes. But this is no mere copying. "A Kangra Valley artist takes some dull and commonplace scene from the Delhi or Lucknow schools, and behold, in his hands the figures acquire life and grace, the branches tremble in the wind, and the breath of the Himalayas blows through the picture."

YEAR BOOK OF ORIENTAL ART. Two vols. (*Benn.*) Five guineas.

The publishers deserve great credit for their enterprise in producing this work, and it is to be hoped that sufficient support will be forthcoming to ensure its future development. The volume of text contains twenty-one articles by experts in Asiatic Art, and the companion volume, which is in portfolio form, gives a wide choice of illustrations. The contribution with the widest appeal for the reader who takes a general interest in Oriental Art is perhaps that by Mr. Alfred Salmony on the Summer Exhibition at the Musée Cernuschi in Paris, describing *inter alia* the finds of Léon Wanniek and those of Osvald Sirén. In the same category may be placed the article by Thomas F. Carter on the Westward Movement of the Art of Printing. The book is further embellished by the scholarship of A. Coomaraswamy, S. C. Bosch Reitz, G. Elliot Smith, K. A. C. Cresswell, Leigh Ashton, Will H. Edmunds, R. A. Hobson, and A. F. Kendrick, to mention only those most familiar to English readers. A special word of praise is due to the Editor, Arthur Waley, for the general arrangement and choice of articles.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK IN JERUSALEM. By E. T. Richmond. (Oxford.)

The author, who is consulting architect to the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem, has written this volume which is the result of a somewhat detailed examination made during the autumn and winter of 1918. The object has been to describe the present condition of the building and suggest the nature of the work needed for restoration, as well as the means for carrying it out. It may be recalled that the building was set up about A.D. 691, its founder being the Umayyad Caliph—'Abd al Malik ibn Marwân, whose ambition it was to make Jerusalem a place of Islamic devotion instead of Mecca. Built for this purpose on a magnificent scale, and from materials ready at hand amid the Byzantine churches, it later suffered during many hundred years from neglect which the author

attributes to the fact that Jerusalem lay removed from the stream of life's usual business. He claims that in the preservation of the Dome of the Rock all civilized humanity must be interested. It cannot but be admitted that in this volume he makes good his claim.

GHAZNI, by André Godard; LE DÉCOR EPIGRAPHIQUE DES MONUMENTS DE GHAZNA, by S. Flury. (Paris: *Geuthner*.)

The above is a reprint from the review "Syria" (1925), which the publisher has done well in making available for the general reader. M. Godard (who was a member of the Foucher mission) explains that the historians of Muhammadan architecture in India have agreed to locate its origin at Ghazni in Afghanistan. . . . Mahmoud on his return from India wished to give to his country a new capital, and, influenced by the splendour of the marble edifices he had seen in Hindostan, decided to copy it. Gradually a new art was evolved at Ghazni by intermingling Iranian architecture with Indian details of ornamentation. When in 1149 the Afghans of Ghor destroyed Ghazni, this art had already travelled to India "where a prodigious development was in store for it." M. Godard's article is followed by a detailed description of Ghazni, contributed by M. Flury, and accompanied by illustrations.

Messrs. Jarrolds, whose publication on North Africa was reviewed in the last issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW, have added a companion volume entitled "Picturesque Italy," with 304 photogravure plates, and Introduction by W. von Bode, dedicated to the King of Italy. The illustrations show the great importance of architecture and decorative plastic art in their relations to the landscape. It is in every respect equal in quality to the previous volume.

LA PEINTURE CONTEMPORAINE AU JAPON. By S. Eliséeév. (Paris: *Boccard*.)

During the summer of 1922 there was held an Exhibition of Modern Japanese Art in the Grand Palais, which excited much interest and admiration among the French public, and created a demand for a short account of its scope. The present volume is the result, the work having been entrusted to M. Eliséeév, who holds a diploma of the Tokyo University, and spent several years in Japan studying its art and literature. After a brief survey of Japanese painting, followed by a valuable chapter on the position at the commencement of the Meiji era, the author, in the course of some seventy pages, describes the characteristics of the modern school. His main divisions are (i.) the Yamatoé school, (ii.) the Chinese (Kanga) school, and (iii.) the Southern School (wanga). The modern Japanese painter, he declares, is not the same as his predecessor, but the old habits continue, and nature for him is still something different from the Western conception. Many of the examples chosen for the illustrations are paintings on silk.

ORIENTALIA

OXFORD EDITIONS OF CUNEIFORM TEXTS: LETTERS OF THE FIRST BABYLONIAN DYNASTY. By G. R. Driver, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (*Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford.*) 1924. 4to. Price 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* WARREN R. DAWSON.)

The celebrated Tell el Amarna letters are often called the oldest letters in the world. Old as they are (about 1450 B.C.), others are known which are far older. From Egypt we have the letters found many years ago by Sir Flinders Petrie at Kahun, most of which date from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (about 2000-1750 B.C.), and a few years ago some still earlier letters, belonging to the Eleventh Dynasty, were discovered at Thebes by the excavating party of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. A new batch of ancient correspondence from Western Asia has recently been published. These documents date from the earliest dynasties of Babylon, and many of them are official letters sent by no less a person than the famous sovereign Ḫammurabi, who reigned in the First Babylonian Dynasty, nearly 2,000 years before Christ.

Speaking generally, the correspondence both of Egypt and Assyria was formal in style, a number of definite epistolary phrases being employed again and again. In Egyptian correspondence it often happens that in a letter of a dozen lines, no less than eleven of these lines are occupied by the polite formulæ which good breeding demands, and the real subject of the communication is summarily disposed of in a single line. The Babylonian letters, which likewise make use of stereotyped formulæ, are, nevertheless, more sparing in their employment.

The new letters now presented to us come from two different collections: (i.) a series presented by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and (ii.) a similar collection in the Yale University. Most of these letters are business documents, and deal with the tenure, cultivation, and irrigation of land, and with the sale and delivery of various commodities, such as grain, wool, or metals. Some few are military in character, and one deals with shipbuilding. Among these, however, some purely private correspondence stands out.

The letters open with the same introductory formula, "Speak unto N. saying. . .," or in the case of letters from the king or from high personages—in which case the letter was written by a secretary—the formula was modified: "Speak unto N. saying: Thus says Ḫammurabi," etc. As in the case of Egyptian letters, so also in the case of the Babylonian, when a superior writes to a subordinate, all introductory courtesies are dispensed with and the letter proceeds to deal curtly with its subject. But when equal writes to equal, or a subordinate to a superior, the opening of the letter generally takes such forms as these:

"Speak unto the gentleman to whom Marduk (a god) has granted life, saying: Thus says N: May the gods X. Y. Z. grant thee life unto an eternity of days! Mayst thou live long, and mayst thou prosper. Mayst thou live for ever!"

"Speak unto N. saying: Thus says M.: May Shamash for my sake grant thee life for thousands of years!"*

The terminal formula varies according to the mutual status of the sender and the recipient. In a few cases the letters end with the expression *ap-pu-tum*, "Please," or by an appeal to good feeling: "Let me see in this thy fatherly kindness," "Let me see in this thy sisterly affection," "As in truth thou lovest me." In one case, the writer of a letter, in order to enforce his appeal, ends his communication with these words: "And regard my young family, be favourable to me for their sake." When a superior writes to a subordinate, he often uses the phrase, common in Egyptian letters, "be not indolent" or "be not negligent," or occasionally something more emphatic, such as "the affair is urgent."

The letters from Hammurabi are usually instructions to viceroys or other officials in distant provinces in reply to questions put by them, or in answer to petitions addressed to him by persons with a grievance. Many of these letters are instructions to restore to their owners land or other property of which they have been deprived by some self-seeking local grandee, or which the petitioner has voluntarily given up but for which no compensation has been paid.

"Render to him in the meadow land, therefore, a substitute for the field which he has given up, a field for a field."

We are often at a loss to understand the subjects of the letters, as we have not before us the originals to which they are the replies. Sometimes, however, it is made plain to us by the happy custom of quoting sentences from the originals when replying:

"You have written, saying: 'The dates have been delivered for the offices.' Thus we have ourselves answered, saying: 'We do not know anything about it.' He has answered, saying: 'Write to them to investigate the history of the affair for you and send back your orders.' Write to us that we may know what to answer."

The subjects of the letters vary greatly. Some of them are polite requests, or servile petitions; others, again, are stern commands, or vigorous complaints against negligence and dishonesty.

"Speak unto A, B, C, D and the secretary of the ten commissioners, saying: Thus says N: This is a fine affair! The gardeners have repeatedly broken open the date-granary and repeatedly taken the dates, and you yourselves repeatedly conceal these things and do not write to me. Now I am having my tablet delivered to you; after making good the dates, have the men fetched to me. . . ."

As we have already mentioned, a few of the letters deal with military matters. In one of them a local commandant writes to headquarters thus:

* In the quotations from the translations of Mr. Driver given in these paragraphs, I have substituted letters for the unfamiliar-sounding Babylonian proper names. I have also omitted brackets and other critical signs from the texts in order to make them more easily readable. The gods invoked in the letters vary in number, but Marduk and Shamash are the most frequent.

"Speak unto my lord saying : The city and the fort are in good condition. The forts have been strengthened and the guard-posts made secure."

This is a despatch from the seat of war :

"Speak unto my lord saying : Thus says N. thy slave—A second time have the enemy come and driven my best troops out of possession and, owing to the lack of officers in Sakdainpa, no one can hold the fort. Let my lord despatch to me officers from among the officers that are at thy disposal, that the 500 soldiers from Sakdainpa and the 500 soldiers from Adab may hold the fort. The fort shall not be surrendered. Please."

We may now quote one or two letters of a private order. A certain man writes to his friend Babâ, begging him to execute a small shopping commission for him :

"Have 1 copper pot delivered to me. I myself will pay thee back the silver for the copper pot. . . . As in truth thou lovest me, have 1 copper pot delivered to me."

Here is another, of a totally different kind. A husband, who leaves home ostensibly for a few days, protracts his stay unduly and his neglected wife is moved to rate him soundly, and not without provocation, it would seem :

"Speak unto N. [the husband], saying : Thus says M. [the wife] : May Shamash for my sake grant thee life !"

Thus far, the letter is quite polite, but not so the sequel :

"The deed thou hast done is a fine thing ! Originally thy journey was for five days, but now I have not seen thy face since two months ! Thou hast filled me and my household with anxiety. . . . Thou hast a boy to run messages ; yet, whether thou likest it or not, thou hast sent me no message, and my heart is not at ease. . . . Whether thou likest it or not, thou shalt come to me this month ; write to me that my heart may be set at ease. Have an answer to my tablet conveyed to me."

The erring husband has not merely left his wife in loneliness, but he has neglected his business responsibilities, as the conclusion of the letter shows :

"No one has given thy rations unto my mother. Thou hast not hastened, and the men are taking thy wool away ; I have received no money for it."

Finally, she makes a Parthian shot by sending her letter "carriage forward"—

"and I am not giving any fee to the man who conveys this sealed tablet to thee ; give him one sixth of a shekel of silver."

It is by documents of this kind that the ancient East is brought to life. To read a history of Egypt or of Babylonia based solely upon the formal monuments would convey the impression that the world was peopled solely by kings and priests, and that they lived for no other purpose than the

service of their gods. These letters give us a peep into the daily life of those far-off days and make us realize that clustered in the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, were human beings, and very human at that.

Mr. Driver has worthily accomplished his difficult task. In a series of thirty-one plates the Cuneiform text of the letters is clearly reproduced, and in the letterpress all that are legible are transcribed and translated, with a philological commentary. The book is a worthy compliment to its author, to its editor, and to the great University under whose auspices it has been published.

A BOOK ON RUSSIA.

A PETROGRAD PENDANT LA RÉVOLUTION. By Vera Narischkine-Witte. (Paris: *Baudinière*.) 10 fr.

The author, a daughter of the famous Russian statesman, returned to Russia in 1915, and worked in one of the most important military hospitals in Petrograd before, and as long as she could after, the revolution. For this reason and on account of her social position she came in touch with many of the actors in the great drama. Of the Empress she says that she took a deep interest in the work of tending the wounded, but that, "unfortunately, she did not know how to make herself popular, nor how to thank the patients in the manner they expected." The author tells a harrowing tale of the privations of the Frédéricz family after the revolution, and emphasizes the rapidity with which chaos came in 1917.

FRENCH BOOKS.

PIERRE LOTI'S JOURNAL INTIME. Edited by his son, Samuel Viand. (Paris: *Calmann-Lévy*.) 6 fr. 75 c.

Pierre Loti is known to most readers interested in the Orient by his books on India, Egypt, etc. He combined great literary talent with strong political convictions regarding France's future on the sea. He proved a powerful stimulant for colonial adventure to the generally stay-at-home bourgeois Frenchman. He has painted the East in vivid colours, and described it as a never-ending pageant of brightness and gaiety. If he did not succeed in making a considerable number of his readers expatriate themselves and seek fortunes overseas, he at any rate created an interest in the art and literature of French colonial possessions and the East generally. The letters that are here published show him again as the great word-painter and descriptive artist. They are dated from 1878 to 1881 at Rochefort or at Brest or at sea, and therefore reveal him as he was before his greatest literary achievements saw the light.

LE GÉNÉRAL MANGIN. By Gabriel Hanotaux. (Paris: *Plon-Nourrit*.) 6 fr.

Mangin, whose sudden death at the age of fifty-eight, has deprived France of one of her ablest generals, will be remembered, apart from his

achievements during the Great War, chiefly as an ardent advocate of a strong colonial army, and as the author of several books on war and foreign policy, which reveal also considerable literary facility. He had, therefore, not only definite opinions, like many soldiers, but also the means to bring them home to the best advantage. The present volume is the homage paid to his memory by one of France's leading historians. Mangin, it is explained, was not a favourite of fortune, and at critical moments in his career fate intervened against him: at Fashoda, in the dark days of 1917, and again on the Rhine.

CAMBODGE ET CAMBODGIENS. By Paul Collard. (Paris: *Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales*.)

The author is a former governor of the province of Indo-China he describes, where he resided for twenty-five years. He has not only the necessary experience to provide the present volume, but also a very deep sympathy for the people he was called upon to rule. Besides historical chapters, there are others devoted to religion, education, and military matters. Of particular interest to the general reader is what he has to say about opium and the menace of Chinese immigration. As regards the former, he insists that the drug has far less harmful effects on Asiatics than on Westerners, and that therefore the evil in the Far East must not be measured by European standards. The latter is to be feared not so much on political grounds as because of the competition with which they threaten the Cambodians themselves.

LA SYRIE. By Dr. George Samné. (*Bossard*.) 48 fr.

Those who in view of recent events in Syria are looking for a reliable handbook of information regarding that country will find that Dr. Samné's book of over 700 pages, with thirty illustrations and six maps, amply covers the ground. The author is a Syrian himself, and writes with enthusiasm about the future of his country. History, geography, commerce, industries, communications—all alike find a place. The chapters on the different religions of Syria give an idea of the complexity of the problem the French administrators have to face. There is a very good account of the Druses, some of whom have lately shown restlessness. The claims of the Central Syrian Committee are given in full detail, which may be summed up as a federation to ensure local autonomy under the initial supervision of the Mandatory Power.

LE LIVRE DU ZOHAR. By Jean du Pauly. (Paris: *F. Rieder*.) 9 fr.

The above is the second of a series on Judaism, the first of which was a translation of the Scholem Orlei'hem. The present volume is a translation of the "Zohar," being a summary of the Cabbalistic doctrines and fables as current in Jewish thought during the Middle Ages. M. Fleg, in a learned Introduction, explains that at one time experts considered the Zohar to be equal in sanctity to the Bible. A decisive reaction set in,

however, in the seventeenth century, at the time of Sabbatai Levi and Jacob Franck. The extracts are well chosen.

LA PERSE ANTIQUE ET LA CIVILISATION IRANIENNE. By Clément Huart. (Paris: *La Renaissance du Livre*.) 20 fr.

The present is the twenty-seventh volume in the well-known series, "L'Évolution de l'Humanité." Volumes on India and China are to appear shortly. The opening chapters deal with the geography and language of Persia. The author then deals with the times of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, followed by the era of the Achemenides. He then passes on to the Parthian and Sassanidan revivals. Much space is rightly accorded to the development of Persian art and literature, and the aim of the work is rather to give a series of pictures of the various civilizations than a dry narrative of chronology.

PRÉCIS D'HISTOIRE LITTÉRAIRE DE L'EUROPE. By Paul van Tieghem. (Paris: *Félix Alcan*.) 12 fr.

The author has set himself the difficult task of describing in 300 pages the development of European literature from the Renaissance to the present day. Of English novelists he gives the palm to Charles Dickens, finding Thackeray too cold, and too great a moralizer. Due credit is also awarded to England for her pre-eminence in tales of adventure (Stevenson, Kipling, and Wells). A very useful volume for reference, provided with a complete index.

GENERAL LITERATURE

SIXTY YEARS AGO. By Alexander Hill Gray. (*John Murray*.) 15s.

The author, who at twenty years of age was acting as Volunteer Interpreter on the Military Train at the Relief of Cawnpore, here relates his reminiscences, which extend over Europe, the Near East, Central Asia, the Malays and Borneo. In fact, he has been practically everywhere in Asia, and besides being delightfully written, his book is a mine of information on every conceivable political question. Thus, he has something to say of the Druses and of Mosul—to apply to the work the test of the ephemeral interests of to-day! And the author knows the secret of summing up his impressions briefly and effectively.

GREATER FRANCE IN AFRICA. By William M. Sloane. (*Scribner*.) 12s. 6d.

The author was a member of a group invited by the Committee France-America to make a tour of Northern Africa. The general reader will naturally turn to those chapters which are devoted to Morocco. The Resident-General Marshall Lyantry is quoted as saying: "The con-

ception of the protectorate is that of a country retaining its institutions, governing itself, and itself, with its own agencies, administering itself, under the simple control of a European Power, which, replacing it in foreign representation, takes over the administration of its army and its finances, and directs its economic development." The author has had special facilities for making observations, and his conclusions are, on the whole, favourable to the administration.

FICTION

KAMLA. By the Hon. Sirdar Jogendra Singh. (*Schwyn and Blount*.)

Books written by Orientals in our own language are always readable. This story of Kamla proves of great interest. Those who are eager to learn of the manners, customs, ceremonies, and festal days of India will find pleasure in perusing this love story. The author, as usual, describes his heroine—a maiden of extraordinary beauty, whose every movement, look, and gesture has enslaved two close friends to equally fall in love with her. Kamla's mother has taken the girl with her to perform the *Shradh*, or memorial service, embodying certain rites that will secure Paradise for the dead husband. Two men, Rama and Raja, sitting together by a window watching the crowd, eventually succeed in spiriting Kamla from her mother, assuring the maiden that "THE MOTHER GANGES" will the better protect her for the rest of her life.

After much romance, passion, and tender solicitude of these two lovers, Kamla finally marries another suitor of her own choice, and the friends, Rama and Raja, who were each willing to sacrifice their personal happiness for the sake of the other, resolve, when the marriage has been accomplished, to end their own lives and die together.

This book is full of pathos; it also teems with vivid descriptions of beautiful Indian scenery, of glorious sunsets and forests, and winding rivers and all those charms of Nature which provide endless themes for word-painters and authors of romance. It acquaints the reader with the Oriental's method of love-making, and of the deep-seated passion that takes possession of his heart. It is a charming departure from the everyday novel: it is flavoured with political ideals. A work of wholesome literature full of beauty, and a volume that can be placed in the hand of readers of any age.

C. M. S.

PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.

The April issue of this periodical contains a valuable contribution by Mr. D. N. Bannerjea, sometime member of the International Commission on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, on Indian Irrigation and the Punjab Canal Colonies. After reminding us that it was to mitigate the worst effects of recurring famines that the great irrigation systems of India have been constructed, the author draws attention to the

Lower Chenab Canal which had converted a wilderness into a garden, and whose revenue account showed up to January, 1924, an accumulated profit of £16,500,000. He then gives a sketch of the productive irrigation works of the present century, since the appointment of the Commission of Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff and the effect on land values (about the year 1870 unirrigated land had practically no sale value). The final section of the article deals with recent developments, including the influence on the minds of Punjab ex-soldiers of their contact with the thrifty peasants of France, and the rise of the co-operative movement.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- RUSSELL, A. D., and SUHRAWARDY: *Muslim Law. An Historical Introduction to the Law of Inheritance.* (Kegan Paul.)
- RICHARD COKE: *The Heart of the Middle East.* (Butterworth.) 18s.
- WADDELL, L. A.: *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered.* (Luzac.) 10s.
- MOBERLY, F. J.: *History of the Great War: The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914-18. Vol. II.* (Stationery Office.) £1 1s.
- WILLOUGHBY, W. W.: *Opium as an International Problem; the Geneva Conferences.* (Johns Hopkins University.) \$4.50.
- LEONARD STEIN: *Zionism.* (Benn.) 6s.
- The Mathnawi of Jalalu'ddin Rumi*, edited by R. A. NICHOLSON. *Persian Text with Critical Notes. Vol. I.* 1925. (Luzac.)
- CAMPBELL THOMPSON, R.: *The Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians.* 1925. (Luzac.)
- DRIVER, G. R.: *Grammar of Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine.* 1925. (Probsthain.) 12s. 6d.
- China Year Book, 1925-26*, edited by H. G. W. WOODHEAD. (Tientsin.) (Simpkin.)
- NIZAMI: *The Heart-Breaker, or the Seven Beauties*, translated from the Persian with commentary by Professor C. E. Wilson. Two volumes. (Probsthain.) 32s.

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT

DR. PLATON DRAKOULES, founder and President of the Greek Garden City Committee, *ἐταρεία ἀγροπολεων*, writes that he has just been received by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Athens, who had assured him of all assistance possible. It will be recalled that Dr. Drakoules, impressed by the seriousness of the housing problem in Greece, aggravated by the arrival of the Asia Minor refugees, visited America as a delegate of the International Town-Planning Association last June, and toured the country to awaken sympathy for the movement. The project now is for the Greek Government to grant at least 20,000 acres for founding three garden-cities, and a State guarantee to enable a loan of \$10,000,000 to be contracted. It is hoped in this way to find a solution for a grave problem, and at the same time further a movement which has proved so beneficial to the public health in many other countries, including Roumania.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT, MYSTICISM, AND
MAGIC

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

MAGIC, ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL

SHAMAN, SAIVA, AND SUFI: A STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF MALAY MAGIC. By R. O. Winstedt, M.A., D.LITT. (OXON.). (*Constable and Co., Ltd.*, London, Bombay, Sydney.) 12s. net.

A MAGICIAN AMONG THE SPIRITS. By Houdini. Illustrated. (*Harper and Brothers*, New York and London.) 18s.

In his Preface the author of "Shaman, Saiva, and Sufi" tells us that his book is the outcome of a close study of the Malay language and beliefs during a residence of twenty-two years in the Malay Peninsula, that its object is to "unravel a complex system of magic in the light of historical and comparative data." In itself this system is "a tangle, every thread of which scholars, working in Europe, are led to term Malay, although even the native distinguishes this thread as Indian, that as Muslim."

Few writers succeed in carrying out their intentions, but Mr. Winstedt has fully achieved his object as defined by himself. Fortunate in acquiring the requisite material and in possessing the knowledge, sympathy, and insight adequately to deal with that material, he has produced a volume worthy to rank with the classical works of such writers as Tylor and Frazer.

Chapters IV., VI., and VIII. are based almost exclusively on manuscripts written by Malays for Mr. Winstedt and checked by his own observations. Gods, Spirits and Ghosts; The Malay Magician; The Soul of Things; Magician and Muslim; Magician and Mystic—are headings that indicate the scope and trend of his inquiry.

The Malay is a magician in the Eastern and true sense of the term, "a worker of marvels through supernatural power." His development is traced and confirmed historically and anthropologically. Indonesian animist, shaman, sufi—such were the phases through which the Malay magician passed on his way to become "a disciple of the crude form of Sufism derived from India."

Among certain Proto-Malay tribes the commoner chief is priest and judge as well as magician. Like the raja ruler he has a taku language, "for under paganism, Hinduism, and Islam magician and raja dead and alive have been credited with supernatural powers."

The American magician is simply a conjurer. "A Magician among the Spirits" is not easy to review by one who knows its author. For Houdini the man so far transcends the author of "A Magician among the Spirits" that it is difficult to believe he is responsible for the volume as it appears. Yet he signs the Introduction and the Preface, so one must take these pages at least as his own considered utterance.

When Houdini calls himself a "magician," he uses the word in the Western sense of an illusionist, a conjurer, and declares that "the marvellous mysteries of the past are laughed at by the full-grown sense of the present generation." When he denies the existence of spirits it is open to the critic to deny the existence of the magician, for it is as a conjurer, not as a magician, in the true sense of the term that Houdini set out to investigate.

A "mystical entertainer" from his early days, he interested himself in "Spiritualism as belonging to the category of mysticism." Here again, as in the term magician, there is a misuse of words, a confusion of thought. Mysticism is used as a synonym for mystery, a totally different thing. And as a side-line to his own "phase of mystery shows" he associated himself with mediums, and "held seances as an independent medium, to fathom the truth of it all."

Later realizing that trifling thus with the reverence that the average human being bestows upon the departed bordered upon crime, he became a serious investigator of the occult.

But twenty-five years of ardent research finds him farther off than ever from all possibility of belief in the genuineness of "spirit manifestation."

Houdini laments that this is so, and regards it as a proof that there is no foundation for the alleged facts of psychical research, that everything that he has come across up to the present time is the "result of deluded brains, or those which were too actively and intensely willing to believe."

Does not Houdini guess from his own experience in other directions that his case may be a typical illustration of being blinded by one's brains, of not being able to see the wood for the trees!

I should like him to spend a week with that wonderful industrial "magician" Henry Ford, whom I had hoped so much to meet when in America during the City-planning Conference last May. I consoled myself for the disappointment by reading "My Life and Work." Says Mr. Ford (page 86):

"None of our men are experts. We have most unfortunately found it necessary to get rid of a man as soon as he thinks himself an expert —because no one ever thinks himself an expert if he really knows his job. . . . Thinking always ahead . . . brings a state of mind in which nothing is impossible. The moment one gets into the 'expert' state of mind, a great number of things become impossible."

All the wise people Mr. Ford met demonstrated, to their own satisfaction, that his internal combustion engine could have but a limited use, that it could never compete with steam. That he found to be the way with wise

people—"they always know to a dot just why something cannot be done. They always know the limitations." Hence Mr. Ford never employs "an expert in full bloom."

This, too, is the trouble with Houdini. He is very wise, learned after his own fashion. He has genius and, better still, one of the kindest of hearts. His book is dedicated to the memory of his sainted mother, who was an angel, if "God in His infinite wisdom ever sent an angel upon earth in human form." He is loved and revered by those in nearest contact with him, yet he can pass judgments on a par with the wise men who condemned Mr. Ford's internal combustion engine. He can be so blinded by the fallacy that because a phenomenon can be produced a certain way, therefore it *was so produced*, that parts of his book form pitiable reading for those who regard him as their friend.

If one is to judge his discernment by his verdict on cases one knows, then the scientific value of the "Magician among the Spirits" is poor indeed. On p. 172 he writes: "I believe that Eva's feats are accomplished by regurgitation. If not, the work she is reputed to do is 'an inside job.' I regret that I do not think Mme. Bisson entitled to a clean bill of health." In other words Mme. Bisson is an accomplice.

I have seen Houdini's magnificent library of works on magic and psychical research. It is scarcely believable that he has not kept himself up to date, and read both sides of the case of this most wonderful of mediums and her devoted protector, Madame Bisson; that he is not acquainted with the physiologists' certificate that disposes once for all of the theory of regurgitation as an explanation of the ectoplasmic phenomena testified to by over one hundred medical men, as well as other scientists of European reputation!

But enough of adverse criticism. Houdini is a case in point of the "blindness in part that hath happened to Israel that the fulness of the Gentiles might come in." He warns the unfit off dangerous ground, and causes enquiry on the part of the truly intelligent. If this is the best that a gifted opponent can bring against psychical research, then it is worth investigation, and by the help of knowledge gained from such works as those of Mr. Winstedt and other philologists and anthropologists, one learns that, as Mr. Winstedt puts it, many survivals of magical beliefs and practices are "gracious and beautiful and full of historical interest."

Modern psychical science is slowly, but none the less surely, winnowing the chaff from the wheat. Even Houdini was able to present to me "one honest sensitive," but as he has never seen any evidence of genuine phenomena, how did he discover his friend's sensitiveness?

He also has a good word to say of the Zancigs (p. 210):

"Mr. Jules Zancig is a magician, a member of the Society of American Magicians, of which I have been the President for the past seven years. I believe he is one of the greatest second-sight artists that magical history records. In my researches for the past quarter of a century I have failed to trace anyone his superior. *He never at any time claimed telepathy*, and as he has not, to my knowledge,

obtained money *by pretending telepathy or spirit presentations*, it would not be fair to disclose his methods," etc.

The italics are mine. That is the height of offence in Houdini's eyes. If the medium claims to produce genuine phenomena, Houdini will explain how it could be fraudulently simulated. If he can reproduce the phenomena, *under any conditions*, as in the "Margery" case, then, despite all testimony to the contrary, they were so produced. And so the conflict rages, but when Houdini once sees the truth, he will fight for it as vigorously as he now contends for its negation.

THE STATUS OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN
COMMUNITY UNDER THE REFORMS
SCHEME IN INDIABY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. GIDNEY, M.L.A., F.R.S. (E.),
I.M.S. (RETD.)

THE term "Anglo-Indian" has an interesting history. It was originally employed as a name for the Britisher long resident in the country who had adopted Indian manners and customs in the way of food and costume and general lavishness and display in his mode of life and living. The first Anglo-Indians were men like Sir David Ochterlony, who so greatly shocked Bishop Heber in 1823 by appearing in a *choga* and turban and sitting on a divan like a Raja, while obsequious attendants fanned him with fans made of peacock's feathers. Later on this same worthy Bishop met many civilian officials who also had adopted Indian habits and customs such as seemed suitable to their rank and dignity. Indeed, soldiers as well as civilians succumbed to the attractions of the Indian *tenue*, and we find old Army Orders forbidding them to take part in Hindu festivals, and directing them to parade in European and not in Indian garments. Europeans in those days tended insensibly to become Indian, and there is no saying how far the process might have gone had not certain missionaries, men like Carey and Ward, so strongly opposed it that the Anglo-Indian found himself eventually compelled to abandon his acquired Oriental manners and return to the less picturesque if more proper fashions of his Motherland. The name, however, remained for some time to be applied to the Englishmen who had returned to their native country after perhaps half a lifetime spent in India, and, in fact, that is still the conception of the term "Anglo-Indian" with the less informed classes in England at the present day. Until the year 1911 the term "Anglo-Indian" was applied to pure Europeans domiciled and non-domiciled in India, whilst the term "Eurasian" was employed for those of mixed European and Indian parentage. It was in that year, however, and at a request made to the Government of India, that the term "Anglo-Indian" was for the first time *officially* used in the Census Report with reference to those of mixed parentage, and it has since then become both officially and non-officially a term with a definite technical meaning, and applied only to those of

mixed descent differentiating between those of pure European extraction—domiciled and non-domiciled Europeans. And here, perhaps, it is necessary to offer a definition as to the term “Domiciled Community.”

The “Domiciled Community,” from an ethnographical point of view, is made up of two classes of people: (a) The *Domiciled European*, who is of pure European parentage on both the paternal and maternal side, who is born in India and whose permanent domicile is India; but there are to-day very few domiciled families who have not married into what was formerly known as the Eurasian Community. Nor is it to be forgotten that there are non-domiciled Europeans, as also a few Americans, who have married Anglo-Indian wives, and whose permanent interests and domicile are consequently in India.

(b) The *Anglo-Indian* proper, who was originally of mixed European and Indian parentage, but who, marrying as they do to-day into domiciled or non-domiciled families have become more European than Indian. Thus it happens that domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians are to-day collectively known by the generic term “Domiciled Community,” and are for economic, social, political, and other purposes recognized as one—a class quite distinct from the non-domiciled European, for it is still, as it ever has been, the British in India who have insisted on this distinction. It is incredible that the greatest colonizing country and people in the world should be ashamed of and lose identity with the children born of the natives of the country, and so the term “Domiciled Community” synonymous with the Anglo-Indian Community exists to-day as a line of demarcation differentiating it from the pure European on the one hand and the pure Indian on the other. But the Anglo-Indians of to-day would have been a prouder race had the descendants of those early Britishers been as conscious of their responsibilities to their children born of women of the country. In those early days of the John Company it was a *corps d'élite*, and wielded such power and influence that it began to excite the suspicion of the directors of the John Company, and an order was issued from England prohibiting Anglo-Indians from holding any appointments, civil or military, except in such menial capacities as farriers, drummer-boys, and musicians. But, let it be said to their credit, the Anglo-Indian of that day refused to submit to such injustice and humiliation, and, leaving the employment of the John Company, found service in various Indian States. Indeed, the history of the development of

Feudatory India scintillates with the heroic deeds and administrative abilities of men like Skinner, Hearsey and others—men whose names also, despite that treatment, were found on the roll of honour of those dark days of the Indian Mutiny. Proud traditions indeed, which the Community never forgets and of which England also should certainly never be forgetful; even though the Community as a whole has never been accepted by the immigrant European as belonging to his own class, and in so far as the superior official employment is concerned, the Anglo-Indian has always suffered under racial disabilities, both from the European's and the Indian's point of view, and which the introduction of the Reforms has, unfortunately, accentuated still further. Yet, in spite of these many disappointments and rebuffs, Anglo-Indians have clung tenaciously to their British ideals, and though in speech, religious customs, and traditions they are Western not Eastern, they *are* one of the peoples of India. There is, under the circumstances, an undeniable pathos in the situation, and unless the Community makes a determined effort to claim and demand from the Government an official pronouncement and recognition of its status as a British settlement in India, or decides to assert itself in the new India as Indians, it will neither get nor can it expect any practical help or support either from the European or the Indian, or even find a place in the mosaic of the Reformed India. At the very outset the Anglo-Indian Community is faced with the fact that what it fails to obtain from the British it will hardly be accorded by the Indian. Our policy has perhaps until now been an uncertain mingling of extremist "Intransigence"—relying too much on the Government and the European—and of modern Opportunism—expecting too much from the Indian. For too long have we acquiesced in the decrees of the Powers that created us and of which we have been just the convenience—a Community without any weight or influence. But we can no longer remain unconscious or careless of the magnitude of the changes that are taking place in India to-day, and to the realization of ourselves in the position we shall have to occupy in the new orientation.

That our present position is due to our apathetic policy, conducted without relevance to the politics both of the European and the Indian, is undeniable, but that our interests, however lukewarm, must naturally be always associated with them both is equally undeniable. Loyalty to one can at no time spell disloyalty to the other, being,

as we are, descendants of both, a union from which *should* have sprung a great, powerful, distinct and independent minority Community, worthy and proud sons possessing the best traditions of both England and India; certainly *not* the suppressed and oppressed class that it is to-day, a position the Community would and should never have occupied had it seized that moment in the year 1858 when India secured her Magna Charta from Queen Victoria, which gave equality to her peoples, but had asserted itself as a distinct Community independent both of the European and the Indian, demanding and securing equal treatment and representation. But the cumulative effect of long years of subordination had so demoralized the Anglo-Indian as to have robbed him of almost all self-assertion, initiative and vision, so that the moment and the opportunity slipped by beyond recall. With the Indian he should have been ready to claim his rights to participate in the administration of India, his Motherland—and like him, too, determined to be content with nothing less than the control of his own destiny. Though, granting that it is primarily his own inaction, his own apathy, his *dolce far niente* attitude towards life, that has been his stumbling-block on the road to self-realization and advancement, Government cannot be held altogether guiltless in its studied policy of negligence, and indifference to our educational needs, not fitting us for appointments in the superior grades of employment—appointments which still, even to-day in the Reformed India, appear to be the special preserves of the imported European.

In the year 1870 Government, realizing and appreciating the fact that the Community was mainly dependent both politically and economically upon it, found it expedient to pass a Parliamentary Statute, giving Europeans and their descendants in India the definite status of "Statutory Natives of India," which status, among other advantages, gave a right of entry into the Provincial Government Services—an entry which was otherwise denied them. In those days we were looked upon and treated in most matters as British; indeed, Government by all its Acts confirmed us in that belief, and taught and encouraged us to regard ourselves not only as the "predominant partner," but as a special bulwark of help to Government in difficult times. As a result, the Community lulled itself into pseudo-security and safety as to its future, and so we find ourselves in a quandary, mainly because of the deference paid to the tradition of toleration, with our ideals British but our

interests Indian. In the pre-Reform days the conflict between the two did not necessarily affect the well-being nor jeopardize the future of the Community, which was protected against Indian competition both by legislation and by a sentiment which induced the Government to assume a certain responsibility towards those of European descent in India, and for whom it accordingly found employment—that this sentiment was not misplaced, nor unfairly exploited by those who benefited by it, is proved by their record of honest and faithful service in all Government departments, including the great railway administrations.

The years 1920-21 saw, however, the introduction of the Reform Scheme which, when put into practical effect as far as the Anglo-Indian Community is concerned, is this : The 1870 Parliamentary Statute defines us as “Statutory Natives of India” ; the Reform Scheme specifically classifies us as “Anglo-Indians,” *vide* paragraph 346 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report ; while the Army defines and accepts us in the auxiliary force as “European British subjects.” The confusion resulting from the enjoyment of this mixed nomenclature must be obvious even to the most disinterested observer ; but we, after having been given this trinity of existence, are now asked to choose between our status as Indians or Europeans, upon the choice of which our position either with the Indian or the European will depend. When, however, as Anglo-Indians, we make any demands we are told by the Government of India that we are Statutory Natives of India for occupational purposes ; but if we claim our rights as such, the Indian on his part questions our inclusion in his percentage of employment, and further demands that we should openly declare ourselves Indians before he is prepared to consider our claims, and this in spite of the fact that we are officially recognized as the Anglo-Indian Community, that our Members in the Legislative Councils are entered as representing the Community, and that our electorates are also officially recognized as such. We therefore ask whether our pre-Reform Status as “Statutory Natives of India” still obtains technically and legally, or whether the post-Reform term “Anglo-Indian” nullifies it ? We do not blame the Indian for his attitude towards us in this respect, for he has very naturally always associated us with the European, and he finds it very difficult to eradicate this idea from his mind, and this has led him to misinterpret the “Statutory Native of India” in its post-Reform significance and application to us

when we endeavour to obtain our rights as such. In this connection we cannot overlook the fact that with the steady devolution of power from the European to the Indian the time is not far distant when, if the Lee Commission Report is to be carried out in its entirety, within twenty-five years 60 to 75 per cent. of all administrative and executive appointments, including those in the I.C.S. and the Police, will be held by Indians ; in plain language, the Indian and not the European will be the dominant factor in the administration of India, and it will be to the Indian we, as Statutory Natives of India, shall have to look for our share in those appointments and percentages—a fact which must be taken into serious consideration by Anglo-Indians in their attempt to be established in a recognized status. On the other hand, the choice to throw in our lot with the European either as European British subjects or Statutory Natives would and could not satisfy our economic needs under the terms of the Lee Commission. As we are situated to-day, there would seem to be no place for us in the sun of Reformed India, and so it appears vitally necessary to the interests of the Community that the Government, who has placed it in this very anomalous position, should deem it a matter not only of justice, but expediency, to make a definite pronouncement on the status of the Anglo-Indian Community. The glaring fact, however, remains that neither the European nor the Indian is willing to accept us on an equality with him when sharing the percentages of employment, and this renders our position as far as our economic status is concerned a great delusion.

There is, probably, no royal road to the solution of our many difficulties, but the manner of encountering them is important, and we still look to Government to give a definite and distinct pronouncement as to our status, be it European or Indian, that will satisfy the economic needs of our Community in India.

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TOURIST SECTION

A TRAVELLER IN JAVA

BY PHILIP C. COOTE

(Editor of *The Netherlands Indies Review*)

BATAVIA, the principal town of the thickly-populated Dutch island of Java, is but thirty-six hours' journey by steamer from the great commercial centre at the south of Malaya—Singapore. In spite of its proximity to this port of call it is surprising how comparatively few people take the trouble to visit this island, which is one of the richest and most beautiful gems in Holland's crown. The people of Malaya, who at the present are none too well endowed with hill-stations, seek respite from the humid heat of the Peninsula among the mountains of Java and Sumatra, while, since the war, the influx of tourists from America, who have paid flying visits to the island with their proverbial haste, has increased.

Most travellers have their own tastes, for which provision must be made. This one is bored by archæological relics; that one has no eye for wonderfully beautiful scenery; while to another the climbing of mountains is anathema. It is difficult to please everybody on a ship. But in Java there is something for everybody, and the most exacting traveller will find things that will please in Java. There are mountainous volcanoes to climb; ancient monuments which are not surpassed anywhere in the Far East either for beauty or interest; the scenery is wonderful; the natives and their quaint customs will surprise and charm.

In the very early days the Hindus had settled in Java, and they left behind them some wonderful monuments. If we are to judge from archæological relics, East and Central Java were the strongholds of Hinduism, for it is in these districts that most of the traces of the traders from the mainland are to be found. In the western portion of the island there is a stone bearing the date A.D. 654, and recently discoveries dating even earlier have been made; but the colonists from India seem to have concentrated mainly in the east. Eventually the Hindu religion was embraced by most of the inhabitants of the island until a

wave of militant Islamism swept over the kingdom of Majapahit, by which name Java was then known, at the end of the fifteenth century, and since that time it has been the paramount religion among the heterogeneous peoples of Java.

Most travellers who visit tropical countries make a point of inquiring about the climate, and it is a question which deserves every consideration. In Java there are many climates, which, to a great extent, account for the wonderful and varied crops which thrive there. In the coastal districts the temperature is not abnormally high when the proximity of Java to the Equator is considered. The hill temperatures may be compared with those of the Riviera, while at higher elevations it is cold. In some of the towns, Sourabaya for instance, it is unbearably hot at times. From December to February the west monsoon brings torrential rains, and during the rest of the year there are regular downpours. White linen suits are invariably worn in the lowlands, while those who visit higher altitudes, such as Tosari or the Dieng Plateau, will find warm underclothing and an overcoat a necessity.

Java possesses an excellent system of roads by which the motorist may travel from one end of the island to the other. There are two main trunk roads running east and west; from each of these there are branch roads leading to the towns and villages in the interior. There is also an adequate railway service, but residents in Batavia who wish to visit Sourabaya, Semarang, or one of the other coastal towns, usually travel by one of the steamship lines, which provide a cooler and more comfortable means of transit. However, for the traveller who is bent on sight-seeing, the roads and railways will be found quite satisfactory, more especially as the tourist will probably have had his fill of sea journeying by the time he reaches Java.

Batavia is approached from its port, Tandjong Priok, by road, rail, or canal. Modern Batavia possesses some fine buildings, which are not surpassed anywhere in the East, while the older part of the town is picturesque and quaint, and is peopled by the Oriental population. The old town, which is situated on reclaimed marshland, is also the centre of the commercial activities of Batavia, and in many parts there are strange mixtures of the old and new standing side by side—the old houses of the Dutch merchants of bygone days next to modern buildings with the latest refinements of the progressive Western architect and builder. Weltevreden and Meester Corneelis are the

residential quarters of the Java capital. These comprise modern dwellings, in which members of the business community and their families dwell, motoring to their work in the older portion of the city daily.

Buitenzorg, about thirty-three miles from Batavia, may be reached by road or rail, and the country, as one makes the gradual ascent, can only be described as typically tropical. From Buitenzorg there are magnificent views of Mount Salak and Mount Gedeh, two typically Javanese volcanoes, shrouded in mist. The botanical gardens at Buitenzorg are celebrated throughout the East, and the visitor may see virgin jungle in its primæval state, but without any of the discomforts usually associated with it, at the Tjibodas (mountain garden) which occupies 400 acres, and has never been touched.

At Batoe Toelis, in the vicinity of Buitenzorg, there are two archæological relics in the form of two stones, one being inscribed in Kawi characters, and the other having unmistakable footprints on it. From Buitenzorg the railway passes between the two great mountains, Salak and Gedeh, and by the inevitable padi fields, which are so essential for the life of the natives of Java. Rice is the staple food of the Javanese and other Orientals, and however much they may produce, it is not sufficient for the local requirements ; imports of the commodity from British India, Saigon, and elsewhere are consequently necessary to fulfil the requirements.

After a run of about six miles the health resort of Soekaboemi is reached, situated at an altitude of 2,300 feet above the sea-level. Although there is nothing of startling interest in Soekaboemi, its coolness affords a pleasant relief after the heat of the plains. Mount Salak may be visited from Soekaboemi, but the latter part of the journey to the crater must be performed on foot. The ascent of Mount Gedeh (9,690 feet) can best be achieved by spending the night at Kandang Batak, where there is a hut at an altitude of 7,874 feet. But too much of the night must not be wasted at this mountain hut, for the incomparable sight of witnessing the sun rise from the summit of the mountain is one not to be missed, and as there are nearly 2,000 feet to be negotiated between leaving the hut and the rising of the sun, an early start is necessary. The walk occupies about two hours, and it is well to remember that the key of the hut must be obtained from the curator of the mountain garden at Tjibodas, the fee being one guilder. Provisions and blankets must be carried, and are generally obtained at

Sindanglaya. Mount Gedeh is a volcano, which was last in eruption in 1899. From 1761 to 1832 there were no eruptions, but during the next twenty years there were seven outbursts.

Although Batavia is the capital of Java, it has a serious rival in Bandoeng, which is more pleasant in every respect. The average temperature is 71° F., and in every way the climate is more conducive to the satisfactory transaction of public and private business. It is not, however, so satisfactorily situated as regards its proximity to the sea. At the moment Bandoeng, which is the centre of the cinchona industry, is the fifth largest city of Java, and it is beautifully planned. The Regent of the Preanger Regencies has his palace here, while there is also a very beautiful mosque. Thirteen miles from Bandoeng is Lembang, from which the volcano Tankoeban Prahoe may be visited. The mountain derives its name from the fact that it is supposed by the natives to resemble an overturned prahoe, or native boat. The summit is approached through tea and cinchona plantations, and the way is long and steep, the latter part being overgrown with tropical vegetation. There are two craters, the Royal crater and the Poisonous crater, these having been caused by an eruption at some remote date. There is a sulphur lake in the Royal crater, while the Poisonous crater is of a swampy nature. Mount Wayang is another volcano in the vicinity of Bandoeng, and this may also be ascended by those who wish to specialize in mountaineering in Java.

From Bandoeng the traveller descends once more to the heat of the plains, and reaches the small city of Garoet, over which a high range of mountains, in which Mount Goentoer is prominent, towers. Near Garoet is Tjipanas, where are some hot springs, and the vicinity of this city abounds in beautiful and picturesque scenery, so that a long visit is necessary if all the features of the neighbourhood are to be included in the itinerary. For the ascent of the extinct volcano Mount Tjikoraj, 9,309 feet above sea-level, two days will be required. Telaga Bodas, the white lake, is one of the first beauty spots to be seen. Through coffee plantations and jungle the visitor rises to a height of 5,600 feet to find a circular lake lying amid steep cliffs and thick growths of trees and bushes. On account of the presence of large quantities of alum the water presents a whitish appearance, which is accentuated by the wonderful green of the overhanging foliage.

Wonosobo, which is reached by a light railway from the

main line, is the starting-place for excursions to the Dieng Plateau, which is both beautiful and interesting in view of the relics of Hindu life in Java. The plateau is at a height of 7,000 feet, and due preparation must be made for a chillier temperature than that to which one is accustomed in the lower-lying country. There is an hotel as well as a Government Rest-House on the plateau, but permission to use the latter must be obtained from the Assistant Resident at Wonosobo. There are many points of interest on the plateau, including the Valley of Death, the bottom of which is destitute of all foliage on account of the poisonous fumes which exude from the bottom, while the sides are covered with brilliant verdure. Near Dieng Koelon there is a tunnel with ventilation shafts, and this is supposed to be a Hindu relic, while the ruins of the Ardjoeno Temple are certainly of Hindu origin and must on no account be missed.

By motoring from Wonosobo to Magelang, the great Buddhist monument in Java, the Borobodur, may be visited, and it is certainly the most interesting and important archæological remain in the island. There is nothing of Buddhist origin in Java, or even in India, to equal the Borobodur, which is the finest extant example of this kind of work, and by many it is considered as second only to the Pyramids of Egypt as an architectural wonder. Its date is uncertain, but it seems probable that it was built in the thirteenth century. Its massive grandeur is unequalled, while beauty and general harmony have in no way been sacrificed to size. A general impression from a distance gives one the idea of a polygonal pyramid of massive stone, with a number of cupolas, over which towers a huge central dome with a spire. Actually the Borobodur is square, having equal sides of about 120 metres each. Every inch of this massive monument, which has four galleries, is carved with figures and scenes, and there are no less than 432 figures of Buddha ensconced in niches. There are also many historical carvings, representing the life of Buddha, and to write an adequate description of this amazing monument would fill a volume. It was not until 225 years ago that the existence of the Borobodur was known, while no European interest was taken in the monument until Stamford Raffles sent an antiquarian to survey and measure it in 1812. Two hundred coolies were employed daily for six weeks in unearthing the Borobodur and clearing away the tropical vegetation which had overgrown the hill. To-day, thanks to the care bestowed on the relic

by the Dutch, the Borobodur is in an admirable state of repair.

From Djokjakarta, the next place of importance as the traveller proceeds east, Mount Merapi is visible. Djokja, as it is usually called, is one of the healthiest places in Java, and the *kraton*, or Sultan's enclosure, is one of the principal sights of the town. The *kraton* may be visited if permission is obtained from the Resident. It is said that 15,000 persons, most of whom are relations of the Sultan, live in the *kraton*. The Water Castle, where in olden days the Sultans used to find recreation, lies to the west of the palace, and is one of the beauties of Djokja. Between Djokja and Solo are the Prambanan temples, more relics of the Hindu occupation of Java, and here there are some more beautiful examples of carving.

Solo, or Sourakarta, is ruled by the Susuhunan, and the customs of the natives in this part of the island have advanced less than anywhere else in Java. Finally, we come to the naval town of Sourabaya, which is the second largest in Java, and from here various excursions which are both of interest and beauty may be made.

It has been difficult in this brief survey of Java, an island which is almost exactly the same size as England (without Scotland or Wales), to convey an adequate impression of the tropical and sub-tropical beauties, or of the wonderful antiquities which abound. The only satisfactory way of realizing the attractions of Java is by practical experience, and no one who has the opportunity of visiting the island, if only for a few days, should fail to seize it. There is a ready welcome awaiting the tourist, and there will be no difficulties regarding accommodation, at any rate in the principal cities, where advice can be obtained as to hotels and rest-houses in the more remote parts.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

ASSYRIA AND EGYPT

(Some recent publications)

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

A YEAR ago Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, the well-known Assyriologist, published his researches into the medicine and botany of the ancient Assyrians.* We now have to welcome a new contribution by him to the history of science—namely, a monograph on the chemistry of the Assyrians.† The chemistry of the ancients has hitherto been dealt with in a loose and superficial way, but we now have before us a scholarly and deeply interesting treatise in which the numerous “stones” known to the Assyrians are enquired into and identified. Not only were these various mineral products used in medicine, but many of them played a part in manufacture and technology, in glass-making, as pigments, and as gems. Dr. Campbell Thompson has not approached his task solely from the philological side. He has made himself acquainted with modern chemistry, and acknowledges in the Introduction the aid of two well-known chemists.

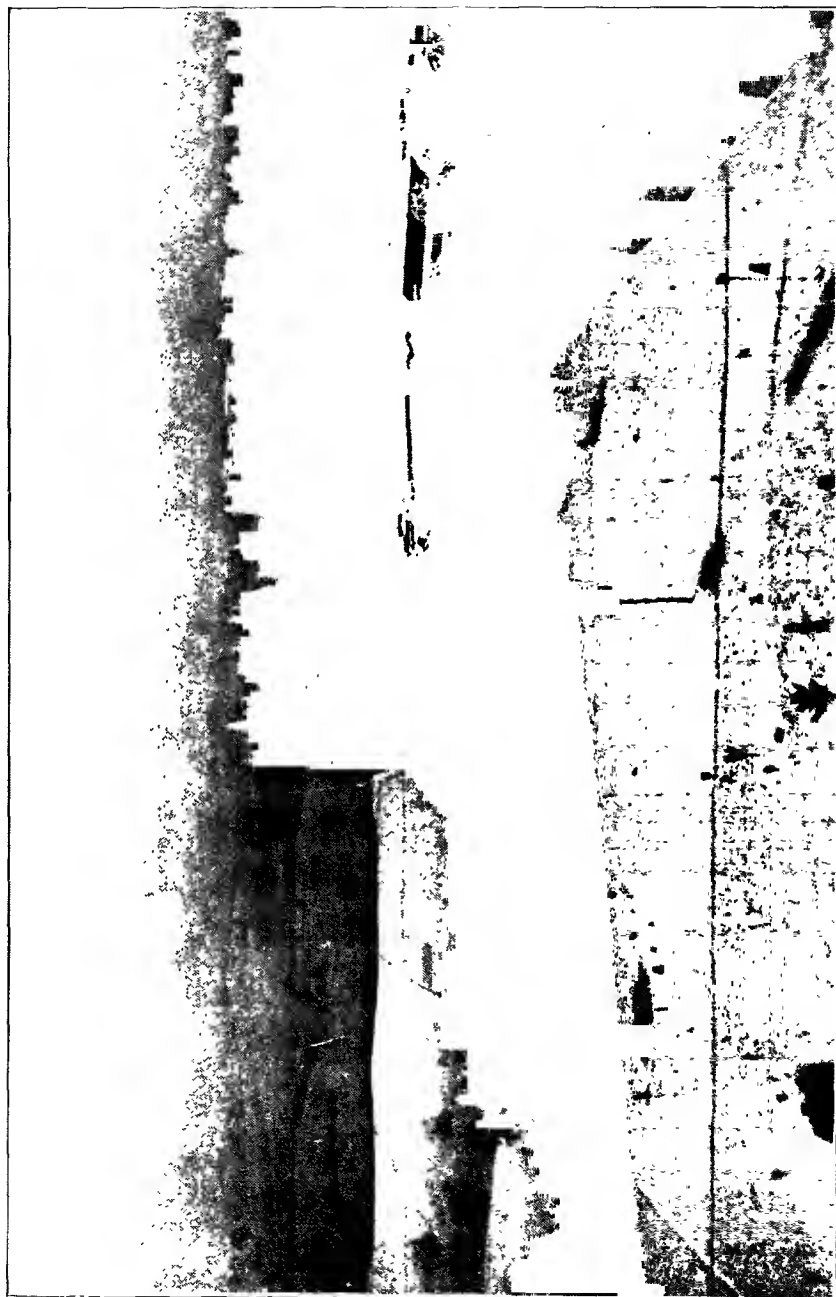
In the opening sections, the composition, manufacture, and decoration of glass is dealt with. A comparison between the modern methods of glass-making and the processes described in the Assyrian texts, and revealed by the examination of actual specimens, shows that the Assyrians had a very thorough and advanced knowledge of the chemical processes involved in glass-making. That they possessed the knowledge in very ancient times is proved by the glass objects and glazes which have been

* See ASIATIC REVIEW, vol. xx., pp. 522-526, July, 1924.

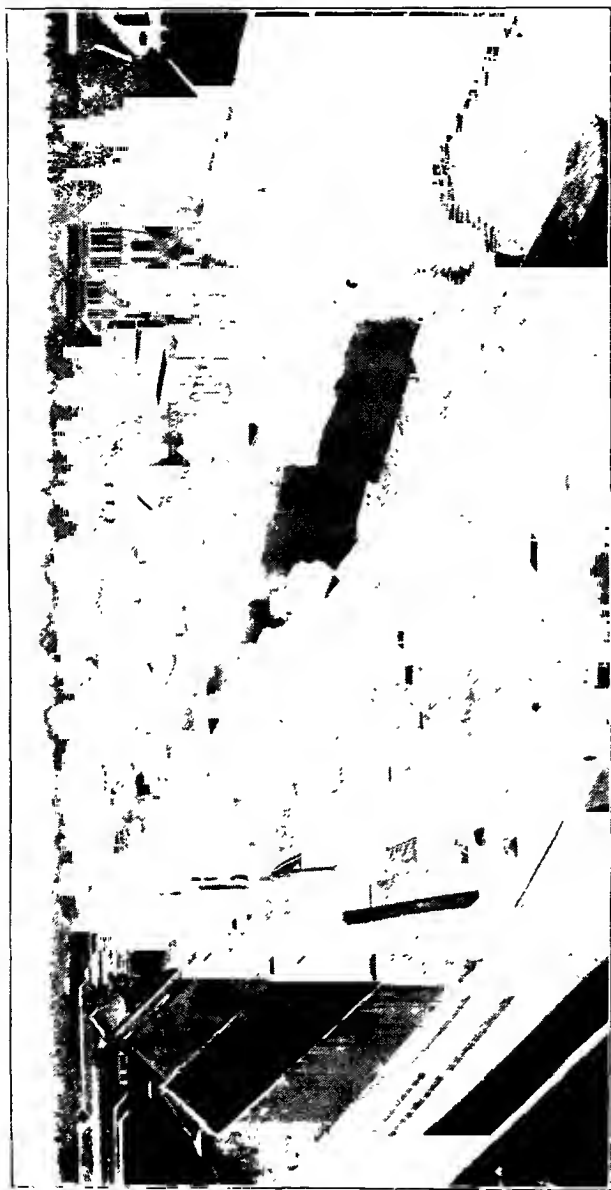
† “The Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians,” by R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A. London, Luzac and Co., 1925. Price 30s. net.

brought to light in the course of excavations. Glazed beads have been found at Ur on a site which dates from the middle of the third millennium before Christ, and glazed ceramics from Ashur, which date from the thirteenth century B.C., have been discovered, and a glass vessel dated in the reign of Sargon (eighth century B.C.)—all testify to the antiquity of glass-making. It is impossible in this place to follow out the details of ancient glass-making which Dr. Campbell Thompson describes, it would take us too far. The ingredients—alkali, sand, lime, and the rest—the technical processes of fusion in crucibles and the manipulation of the finished product, are all dealt with *in extenso*. The native texts here published form part of a technical library. Directions are given in detail for the preparation of the ingredients, the crushing, cleansing, or other processes to which they are to be submitted, and minute particulars as to the melting, fixing, and casting of the resultant product. A very advanced knowledge of chemistry must have been acquired by experiment. No better proof of this can be found than in the compounds used for colouring glass, where the substances employed in many cases acquire their colouring properties by chemical action or by the action of heat. It is a mistake to presume, as is so often done, that the mineral products used by the ancients in building, painting, glass-making, and many other processes were mere mechanical mixtures. A perusal of Dr. Campbell Thompson's book reveals the fact that a real knowledge of chemical action was brought to bear in very many cases.

As in the case of the plants, the author has here again corrected many former interpretations that were erroneous, and has succeeded in identifying a great number of substances. So extensive, indeed, is the list of chemicals known to, and used by, the Assyrians, that a glance at the index might almost persuade us that we were here considering, not the chemistry of pre-Christian ages, but a modern technical hand-book.



A TYPICAL JAVA TEA ESTATE.



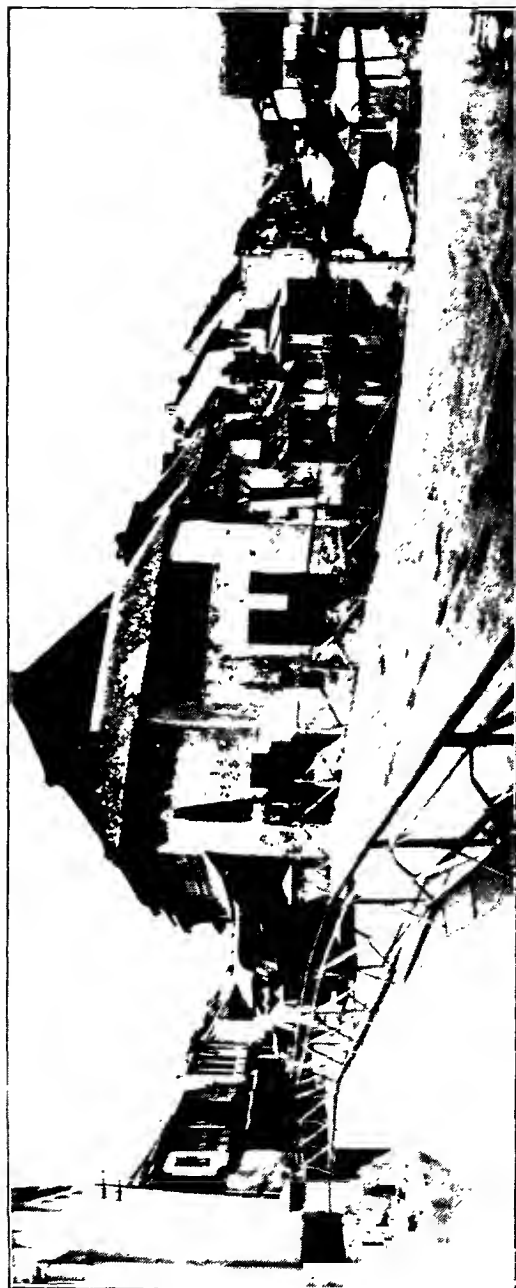
IN OLD BATAVIA—THE KAI I BI SAR.



A TYPICAL COAST SCENE IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES.



THE ANCIENT BUDDHIST MONUMENT, BOROBUDUR.



THE CHINESE QUARTER OF BATAVIA.

Dr. Campbell Thompson, in producing these admirable monographs, is not merely conferring a benefit on the comparatively small circle of Assyriologists, but he is reconstructing on the soundest lines the history of science. It is much to be hoped that he will now, having dealt with the botany and mineralogy of ancient Assyria, give us a similar study of the fauna and animal products of that remarkable country. The book should appeal strongly not only to archæologists, but to chemists, technologists, and to all who are interested in the history and development of science.

Belgium has played a prominent part in the development of Oriental archæology. As a nation the Belgians have for years past given their support, not only to their own countrymen engaged in research, but to the British societies which carry out excavations in Egypt and elsewhere. The Egypt Exploration Society, for instance, and the British School of Archæology in Egypt have long had their sympathy and support, and have been pleased to acknowledge this aid by gifts to the National Museum at Brussels, which contains one of the finest and most select collections of Egyptian antiquities in the world. The renewed impetus which the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen gave to archæology led to the creation of a Belgian institute of Egyptology, and the Queen, who visited the tomb and the other historic sites of Egypt, gave the newly-formed institute her royal patronage. This patronage was no mere formal compliment, for the Queen takes the deepest personal interest in Egyptology, and the institute appropriately bears her name—Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

We now have before us the first publication of this society in a sumptuous and admirably produced volume, worthy in all respects of the auspices under which it has been published.* No better subject could have been

* "Thèbes : La Gloire d'un Grand Passé," par Jean Capart avec la collaboration de Marcelle Werbrouck. Bruxelles, Vromant et Cie. 1925.

selected to create and foster an interest in Egypt than that of Thebes, her ancient capital, the most wonderful city in the world. Professor Capart has the rare gift of being able to present even the most abstruse and technical subjects in a charming and readable form. The many books which bear his name have ever retained their popularity, and several of them have been translated into English and other languages. The present volume has brought to the aid of a clear and delightful letterpress upwards of 257 admirably produced photographic illustrations. It is not a chronological history of Thebes, nor a topographical guide-book: it is a record of facts and impressions associated with the great monuments and the great men who erected and animated them.

All have heard of the great temple of Karnak, founded in the "Middle Kingdom" (about 2,000 B.C.), and altered and added to by generations of succeeding Pharaohs, right down to Roman times. We all know that this temple is very large, but its size is brought home to us and appreciated when Professor Capart tells us that, if placed in London, it would fill the entire space between Piccadilly Circus and Hyde Park Corner. By this homely comparison the immense bulk of Karnak can be appreciated in a way which no mere figures and measurements could convey. The taste for the colossal was a characteristic Egyptian trait. The word "colossal" seems quite inadequate to convey the vastness of the monuments of Thebes. We hear of obelisks, carved out of single blocks of stone, over 60 feet in height, and weighing hundreds of tons. The famous "Colossi of Memnon" are 65 feet high. Their width across the shoulders is 20 feet, and the length of the middle finger is 4 feet 6 inches! The architraves which are upheld by the gigantic pillars in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak are each single blocks of stone over 30 feet long and weighing sixty tons apiece. The greatest giant of all is the mighty colossus of Ramesses II., which now lies shattered in the courtyard of the Ramesseum at Thebes;

the weight of this monument, calculated from its cubic capacity, exceeded one thousand tons. These vast monuments were hewn in distant quarries, transported by river, and erected at Thebes, an undertaking which modern engineers, with all the advantages of present-day machinery would hesitate to attempt.

Professor Capart tells us the history of Thebes in the great days of her glory, when the city was the capital of the world. We have a vivid picture of the king and his court, the daily life of the population, and the clash of warring powers. Other chapters deal with architecture, art, and mythology, and with the destinies of the dead in the world beyond the tomb. The book can be read with fascination by all. It is not too technical to scare the layman, nor too "popular" to shock the specialist. It is one of the most notable contributions of recent years to a subject of ever fresh and inexhaustible charm.

We cannot let this opportunity pass without mention of the fine publication of the papyrus of Nefer Renpet in the Brussels Museum.* This fine production appeared during the war, and has consequently not received the notice it deserves. M. Speleers, who is Assistant Curator of the Brussels Museum, assigned the papyrus, which is a copy of the celebrated "Book of the Dead," to the eighteenth dynasty, that being his opinion at the time when the book was published. He now agrees with me, however, in referring it to the latter part of the nineteenth dynasty, or possibly even to the twentieth, a conclusion at which I arrived from a study of the text and technique of the document. It contains fifty-two "chapters" or spells, from the "Book of the Dead," and a large number of charmingly painted vignettes. These vignettes should take their place in the history of miniature-painting. The editor has provided a valuable Introduction and a commentary upon each chapter. A long appendix deals with

* "Le Papyrus de Nefer Renpet," par Louis Speleers. 110 pp. of text and a portfolio of 29 plates. Bruxelles, Vromant et Cie, 1917.

the religious and mythological aspects of the book, and finally a concordance of all the chapters with other editions of the "Book of the Dead" makes it very valuable to students. The plates are admirably produced collotypes (one is in colours), and the greatest attention has been paid to lettering and numbering the lines, etc., to facilitate reference. M. Speleers has done much research into ancient Egyptian religious literature. We have already noticed his translation of the "Pyramid Texts,"* and we may now briefly mention two special studies which deal respectively with the 181st and 182nd chapters of the "Book of the Dead."†

We must pass now to the results of British excavations in Egypt.

In the winter of 1920-1921 the British School of Archæology in Egypt, under the direction of Sir Flinders Petrie and Mr. Guy Brunton, explored a district about seventy miles south of Cairo, in the neighbourhood of Gebel Sedment. The results of this campaign have been published in two quarto volumes with a large number of plates.‡ The work at Sedment is a good example of what can be achieved by well-planned and systematic exploration of an unpromising site, for the district had been ransacked both in ancient and modern times. In spite of this, a large and valuable series of antiquities, dating from the Pyramid Age to Roman times, was brought to light. Special mention must be made of a group of wooden statuettes of the sixth dynasty, which portray the same individual at three different ages, from youth to manhood. The technique is marvellous, and the detailed attention to anatomical accuracy in the rendering of the muscles, collar-bones, knees, etc., shows an advanced artistic ability which is comparable with the best work of Memphis, the capital

* *ASIATIC REVIEW*, vol. xx., pp. 663-668, October, 1924.

† "La Stèle de Mai du Musée de Bruxelles" and "Le Chapitre CLXXXII. du Livre des Morts." Paris, Édouard Champion.

‡ "Sedment," Parts I. and II., by Sir Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton. London: British School of Archæology in Egypt, 1924. 25s. net each (21s. to subscribers).

of Egypt in the Pyramid Age. Some interesting painted and inscribed coffins of the early Middle Kingdom were discovered, and as these were too fragile to be moved in many cases, accurate copies of them have been made, one, of special interest, being beautifully reproduced in colour. Special mention must also be made of a beautiful painted stela, also reproduced in colour, which was found in position, with the canonical altar in front of it. This stela, which is of painted limestone, dates from the eighteenth dynasty. A host of smaller objects was discovered of wood, alabaster, pottery, basket-work, and leather. These have been distributed to various museums, their present whereabouts being noted in each case.

Finally, reference must be made to one of the most striking discoveries of recent years—the earliest Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of St. John. This was discovered near the village of Hamamieh, between Cairo and Asyut, by Mr. Guy Brunton when excavating for the British School in 1923. It is a book which has been much used and worn, made of leaves of papyrus. Owing to its fragile condition, it was brought home to England as it was found, and Sir Flinders Petrie succeeded in separating and mounting the leaves under glass. The manuscript has been deposited in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, and has been photographed and published by the British School, and edited and translated by Sir Herbert Thompson.*

The manuscript dates from the third quarter of the fourth century, and extends from chapter ii., verse 12, to chapter xx., verse 20, so that a few pages are missing from the beginning and the end. The original is reproduced on photographic plates and opposite each column the Coptic text is transcribed into printed type. The discovery is of the highest interest and importance in the textual history of the Bible.

* "The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript," edited with a translation by Sir Herbert Thompson. London: British School of Archæology in Egypt, 1924. Price 25s. net.

DYNASTY OF HARYASHWA OR
THE SUMERIAN URUASH ("UR-NINA") AS
IMPERIAL KINGS OF KISH, EREK
AND LAGASH IN MESOPOTAMIA
ABOUT 3100-2900 B.C.

BY L. A. WADDELL

IN my recent book on "The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered" I adduced a mass of new concrete and consistent historical evidence to prove that the "Sumerians" were the early Aryans in race, speech, religion and tradition; that their kings were generally identical in their names, relative sequence and achievements with those of the early Aryan kings preserved in the Indian Epic king-lists; and that in particular the early Sumerian dynasty of *Uruash-the-Khād*, hitherto arbitrarily called by Assyriologists "Ur-Ninā," and dating to about 3100 B.C., was identical with that of the early Aryan king *Haryashwa-the-Khattiya* (or "Kohattiya") of the Indian Epics, which styled itself "The able *Panch*" (*Panch-āla*) or *Phœnic*-ians, who also called themselves *Kad*, or *Qadi*, the *Cedi* of the Indian records.

This identity of this early Sumerian dynasty of Uruash with that of the Aryan dynasty of Haryashwa of the Indian Epics was absolutely established by the complete and detailed agreement of the names and titles, number and relative sequence of the kings from the beginning to the end of that dynasty, in the Sumerian and Indian Epic lists respectively. The restorations of all the Sumerian king-names in their equation with the Sanskrit and Pali forms in the Aryan king-lists have the phonetic value for each syllabic word-sign fully authenticated from the standard Sumerian lexicons of Bruennow and Meissner, and are thus indisputable.

It was also found that this early Sumerian dynasty was not, as hitherto supposed, a mere petty line of kings of the city-port of Lagash or Sirlapur on the Persian Gulf, but

was from its beginning the imperial suzerain power of Mesopotamia, including Erech on the south-west and Kish on the north, with a distant colony in the Indus Valley which yielded the Indo-Sumerian seals of Vedic priests and princes. And the personal and place names and contents of those seals were found to be all mutually consistent in themselves with the Vedic and Indian Epic records on the one hand, and with the accepted facts of Sumerian history on the other hand.

These historical results are now further confirmed and established as regards that Uruash dynasty as kings of Kish—the earliest of all the traditional capitals of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia—by the following fresh observations, elicited since the publication of my book, and proving that the early Sumerian kings of Kish bear on their own extant inscribed monuments the identical names and titles of the kings of this Uruash dynasty, the Haryashwa dynasty of the Indian Epics.

The historical kings of Kish are known only through their own actually existing inscriptions—the most authentic of all sources—and are not named in the semi-fabulous Babylonian king-lists, which were compiled in the later period (Isin etc.). Their names have been more or less conjecturally restored from their inscriptions by Assyriologists, as “Ur-zag-ud-du or Urzage, Me-silim, . . . aga, En-ne-ugun or En-bi-ishtar, La- . . . shi-i . . . and Ud,” in addition to Bi(d)-ash-na-di (or “Eannatum”) and Tar-si, who we found were respectively the Pasenadi or Badhryashwa and “the divine Dāsa” (Divo-Dāsa) of the Indian Epic lists of the Haryashwa dynasty, which Indian lists now also supply us with the proper restorations of the names of those Kish kings. Nor has the chronological sequence of these Kish kings been hitherto known. “Me-silim” was conjectured to be the first, but we shall find that he was at the end of that dynasty, by our new evidence which recovers through the Indian Epics the chronological order as well as the proper names of this Kish dynasty.

The king of Kish, hitherto called Ur-zag-ud-du,¹ or Urzage,² records his name as "king of Kish" as well as king of one or more other places illegible, on a fragment of his votive alabaster vase unearthed from below the foundations of the great tower of the Sun-temple at Nippur, near where was found the still earlier Bowl of Udug, containing the earliest known historical Sumerian inscription, a relic which is now in my possession. His name as now revised in the light of the Indian Epic king-lists yields the form *Uru-ag Khad-du* or "Uruag-the-Khad" (see Fig. 1). This identifies him



FIG. 1.—SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION OF URUAG-THE-KHAD (OR HARYASHWA), KING OF KISH.

(After Hilprecht.)⁵

clearly with Uruash-the-Khād (or "Ur-Ninā") the founder of the Uruash or Haryashwa dynasty of "The able Panch" or Phœnicians or "Kad." The variation in the spelling of this king's name with *ag* (a vase sign) instead of *ash*, and *Khad* with the Sun sign instead of the usual Fish-house-father sign, is presumably to be explained by the circumstance that he was dedicating a vase to the Sun-god; and a favourite representation of Uruash on his plaques depicts him holding a vase.⁶ Phonetically also this *ag* is nearly equivalent to *ash*, as the *g* is found to have been generally soft in early Sumerian. This therefore appears to prove that Uruash-the-Khād (or "Ur Ninā"), the founder of the Haryashwa dynasty, was king of Kish and a rebuilder of Udug's tower of the Sun-temple at Nippur; and I have formerly proved that he was king of Erech and of Edin in

¹ Radau, "Early Babylonian Inscriptions," 23 f.

² Thureau-Dangin, "Les Inscriptions de Sumer," 228.

³ Bruennow, "Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs," 5946.

⁴ Meissner, "Beiträge," 5747, etc.

⁵ "Old Babylonian Inscriptions," No. 93, 2, 51.

⁶ See my "Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered," Fig. 31, p. 26.

the Indus Valley, as well as of Eridu and Lagash or Sirlapur on the Persian Gulf.¹

This reading of the ethnical title *Khad* for the Sun-sign in the foregoing Kish inscription seems confirmed by the fragmentary inscription on a mother-of-pearl figurine lately unearthed at Kish by Professor Langdon and read by him as *lugal-ud lugal*, and translated "Lugal-ud, the king,"² although no king of the name of "Ud" or "Lugal Ud" of Kish or anywhere else is known in any list or other inscription. On revising, however, this inscription from its photograph, I find that several other word-signs are evidently engraved besides the three thus read (see Fig. 2). There are apparently two other unread

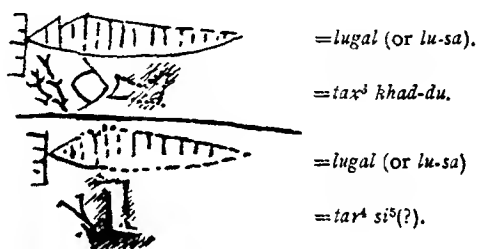


FIG. 2.—SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION OF KING OF THE KHAD (TARSI OR DIVO-DĀSA ?), FOUND AT KISH.

(After photograph by Professor Langdon.)⁶

signs in the second line—a distinct one before, and one, somewhat blurred, after the Sun-sign read *Ud*; and in a fourth line seem to be two more signs which appear to read *Tar-si*. I propose, therefore, to read the legend as noted in Fig. 2, with the translation: "The king of the combined⁷ Khad (or Khad-du) people, King Tar-si." In any case, the first two lines distinctly read, "The king of the combined Khad (or Khad-du) people," and thus confirm my new reading of the ethnical title of *Khad* in the previous inscription and in the name of the so-called "Ur-Ninā."

¹ "Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered," pp. 32 f., 129 f.

² Langdon, "Excavations at Kish," 1924, 4.

³ Barton, "Babylonian Writing," 180.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 581, Plates 141 and 178.

⁶ Langdon, *op. cit.*, Plate VI., 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁷ Bruennow, 4535.

"Me-silim," as the name of another king of Kish and of Adab and Lagash has hitherto been read,¹ now appears in the light of the Indian Epic lists and my revised reading of the first Erech dynasty of the Isin lists to be a misreading for *Me-di* (see Fig. 3), which is disclosed as the

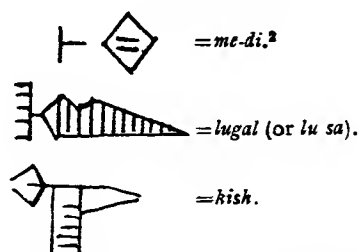


FIG. 3.—SUMERIAN INSCRIPTION OF KING MEDI (PALI *Mettiyo*), SON OF DIVO-DĀSA, OF KISH.

(After Hilprecht.)³

Sumerian original of *Mettiyo* of the Indian Epic lists, for the fifth king of this Haryashwa dynasty (see table on p. 686), and the son of "the divine Dāsa (Divo-Dāsa), "who we found was the Indian version of the Sumerian *Ene-Tarsi* or "Heavenly *Tarsi*," and identical with King Tarsi of Kish.⁴ In the Isin list Me-di is styled *Me-de* (or *Me-die*) *ash-na*⁵ wherein *ash-na* is presumably a title. The suzerainty of Medi (the so-called "Me-silim") over Entemena, the patesi or high priest of Lagash, in adjusting the boundaries between the two conflicting states of Lagash and Umma is now fully explained by the chronological position of the emperor Medi of Kish in the dynasty of Uruash or Haryashwa ("Ur-Ninā"), as he is found to be the son of Tarsi and grandson of Tarsi's father Bidasnadi, of whom Entemena was the nephew by a younger brother. And the phrase hitherto read "the goddess *Kadi* of King Me-silim," referred to by Entemena,⁶ now needs revision in view of the *Kad* or *Khad* title of

¹ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 228, and all subsequent writers.

² On *di* value, also spelt *di-e*, see Bruennow, 4568.

³ Epigraph xxxv.

⁴ My "Indo-Sumerian Seals," 32 f., 130 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 130 f.

⁶ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 62.

these Phœnicians, and the *Khād* title for the Fish or Vishnu form of their resurrecting Sun.¹

Another of the kings of Kish is called on a fragmentary inscription "King . . . -*aga*."² This is now seen to be clearly *Ki-aga*, the son and successor of the foregoing Medi or Medie, who, as king of Erech, was succeeded by King Ki-aga, the last member of that dynasty (see table on p. 686), and who, I have shown, was identical with Uru-Kagina or "Prince Kagina" of Lagash, and with *Cyawana* of the Vedas and Indian Epics, who also therein ends this dynasty of Haryashwa³ (see table).

And "King La . . . shi-i . . ." of Kish, whose name is inscribed on a statuette of a king unearthed at Kish by Professor Langdon,⁴ is now seen to be identical with King *La Bi-shi-e-ir*, the title of King Bi(d)-ash-nadi (or "Eannatum") as king of the "First Dynasty of Erech," with the meaning of "The Protector *Bishi*,"⁵ the latter name being presumably a contraction for Bi(d)-ash-nadi, the *Pasenadi* or *Badhryashwa* of Indian tradition, in which this dynasty is called "The *Protector* of the Countries."⁶ It would thus appear that Bidashnadi's recorded conquest of Kish, Umma, etc., was a reconquest of revolted states of his empire.

The king's name, hitherto read "En-bi-ishtar," also reads, I find, "En *Zax-Gun*,"⁷ and thus may possibly be a contracted form of Gish-zax, the "Caxus" of the Indian Epics, and surnamed in Sumerian Guni-tum, who was the father of Uruash or Haryashwa.⁸

The results of this new evidence for the imperial rule of the dynasty of Uruash-the-Khad or Haryashwa the Panchāla (or Phœnician) over Kish and Erech, as well as Lagash, are displayed in the accompanying table.

¹ My "Indo-Sumerian Seals," 123 f.

² "Cambridge Ancient History," 1923, I., 667.

³ My "Indo-Sumerian Seals," 130 f.

⁴ Langdon, *op. cit.*, 5.

⁵ My "Indo-Sumerian Seals," 130 f.

⁶ "Vishnu Purana," translated by H. H. Wilson, ed. Hall, 4, 145.

⁷ Bruennow, 6985.

⁸ My "Indo-Sumerian Seals," 132.

NAMES, TITLES AND CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF DYNASTY OF
HARYASHWA OR URUASH AS EMPERORS OF MESOPOTAMIA.

Date (Approximate). B.C.	At Lagash, in Inscriptions.	At Ereġ, in Isin List.	At Kish, in Inscryp- tions.	In Indian Epics (Lunar) and Vedas.
3100	1. Urnaš Khad, s. of Guni- tum. 2. A Madgal, s. of 1. 3. Bi(d)aš-nadi, s. of 2.	Uruaš Nun-gal, s. of Gišzax (or Gunnī). Abbi-unuma ("Herdsman of Land"). La Bišie-ir ("Protector Bisi"), [In-nun nad ašna].	Uruag Khad-du ("Urzage"). — Bi(d)aš-nadi La (Bi-)sé-i(r).	Haryaśwa Khat- tiyo, s. of Caxus. Mudgala ("Lord of Cattle"), s. of 1. Pasenadi or Bad- hryaśwa, s. of 2.
3000	4. Ene Tarsi ("Heavenly Tarsi"). 5. Medi "Mesi- lim"), as su- zerain.	Tacisu. Me-dei aš-na.	Lugal Tarši. Medi ("Mesi- lim").	Divo-Dāsa ("Di- vine Dāsa"), s. of 3. Mettiyo or Mi- trayu, s. of 4.
2900	6. Uru Kagina. <i>End of Dynasty.</i>	Kiaga. <i>End of Dynasty.</i>	(Ki)-aga.	Gyawana, s. of 5. <i>End of Dynasty.</i>

This comparative table thus strikingly confirms the evidence which I previously recorded, establishing the identity of the dynasty of the ancient Aryan king Haryashwa, the Panch-āla (or Phœnician), with that of the Sumerian king Uruash (or "Ur-Nina") in Mesopotamia from about 3100 to 2900 B.C. It also confirms my former evidence for this dynasty having been not mere petty kinglets of single city-states, as hitherto supposed, but the paramount suzerains of Mesopotamia with rule over Kish in the north, as well as Ereġ and Lagash, and a colony on the Indus; and further excavations at Ereġ (Warka), Umma and Ur may disclose their inscriptions there also. It moreover emphasizes again the necessity of revising the spelling of all the personal names of Sumerian kings by the light of the traditional Indian Epic lists of the ancient Aryan kings, which are disclosed to be, as far as they go, the unique key to the proper form of the names of the Sumerian kings, for the reason that the "Sumerians" were the early Aryans.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE MOSUL-IRAQ QUESTION

THE following letter for publication has been received from the Near and Middle East Association :

7, ST. JAMES'S TERRACE, REGENT'S PARK,
LONDON, N.W. 8.
September 8, 1925.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SIR,

We, the undersigned members of the Near and Middle East Association, beg respectfully to submit to your notice the following consideration in connection with the settlement of the Mosul-Iraq question.

In a letter published in the *Morning Post*, December 14, 1922, Haddad Pasha, the Iraq Minister, declared that "the two races (Arabs and Turks) have every interest, and should have every wish, to live on close terms of friendship."

About the same time the Angora Government issued a manifesto, in which they promised to respect the integrity and independence of all the Arab States, including Iraq, provided that the question of the possession of the Mosul vilayet was settled in accordance with Turkish sentiment and aspirations.

We venture to suggest that these two declarations form a basis for a solution of the Mosul problem which would at once satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Turkish people, secure the safety of Iraq, and relieve the burdens of the British taxpayer.

The suggestion is, that the League of Nations should invite Turkey to become a member of the League, and as a member to renew solemnly her pledge to respect the integrity and independence of Iraq in return for the acceptance by the League of the line of demarcation proposed by the League's Commissioners, or, failing that, the line of Jebel Sinja-Jebel Hamrin.

We believe that in the friendlier atmosphere created by such a settlement there would be little difficulty, on behalf of the British and foreign interests involved, in arriving at an equitable arrangement with Turkey in connection with the Mosul oil-field. Turkey has already offered to allow the British pipe-line to run along the Baghdad railway line to the sea, instead of through French Syria.

In any case, the oil-field itself would be far safer in Turkish hands than if left to the possession of a Baghdad Government faced by Turkish resentment and hostility, and exposed to raids by hostile Kurds.

We are convinced that the alternative solution put forward by the Commissioners, that Great Britain should maintain the Mandate over

Iraq, including the Mosul vilayet, for twenty-five years, would result in no permanent or satisfactory settlement, but would throughout the suggested period of years involve the Mandatory Power in serious responsibilities and formidable risks, both military and economic.

Signatories.

Right Hon. F. D. Acland.
 Mr. E. N. Bennett (Chairman of Committee).
 Lieut.-Colonel Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P.
 Sir Graham Bower, K.C.M.G.
 The Dowager Lady Boyle.
 Sir Henry Parsall Burt, K.C.I.E.
 Sir William Ovens Clark.
 Mrs. Cobham.
 The Earl of Derby.
 Sir Armine Dew, K.C.I.E.
 Captain C. F. Dixon-Johnson.
 Sir John Foster Fraser.
 Admiral Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle.
 Sir Park Goff, M.P.
 Dr. E. H. Griffin, D.S.O.
 Lord Headley.
 Sir John Prescott Hewett, G.C.S.I.
 General Sir Archibald Hunter, G.C.B.
 Right Hon. Lord Islington.
 Lieut.-Commander Hon. J. M. Kenworthy, M.P.
 Lord Lamington.
 Brig.-General Sir George Macauley, K.C.M.G.
 Sir Charles Campbell McLeod.
 Lieut.-Colonel D. C. Phillott.
 Right Hon. T. Shaw, M.P.
 Right Hon. B. C. Spoor, M.P.
 Colonel Sir Alexander Sprot, Bart.
 Brig.-General Conyers Surtees, C.B.
 Sir George Sutherland.

“TALES FROM THE MAHABHARATA”

3, VICTORIA STREET,
 LONDON, S.W. 1.
 July 24, 1925.

SIR,

To be told by an Indian critic that you have caught the spirit of his Epics is high praise indeed, and it may seem ungracious even to offer an explanation of a passage in his flattering review of my book “Tales from the Mahabharata.”* I venture, however, to permit myself the luxury. He is, of course, quite right when he says that some of the metaphors in the “Birth of Sakuntala” are Western, though why he singles out “the

* July issue.

moon " is not clear, seeing that it is not an uncommon simile, even in the Epics. But the "Birth" was what Tennyson calls an experiment in archaism, when writers put English girls into the Garden of Eden and Warwickshire peasants into Athens. The blunder was deliberate, and not due to the obsession of a Western mind.

I should have expected a reference to the phrase "playing with her ball," but was surprised to find a game of ball referred to in Bhasa or Harsha, I cannot for the moment remember which.

Yours, etc.,

STANLEY RICE.

SPIRITUALISM : THE FACING OF FACTS

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

THE LIFE OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA. Swami Mahavanda, 182*a*, Muktagam Baku Street, Calcutta. (Advaita Ashrama.) Cloth, Rs. 6.8.

NORTHCLIFFE'S RETURN. By Hannen Swaffer. (Hutchinson.) 4s. 6d.

The publisher of this most remarkable "Life of Sri Ramakrishna" reminds us that its subject, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, holds a unique position in the world of to-day as "a spiritual figure of the first magnitude."

His illustrious disciple, the Swami Vivekananda, was the bearer of Ramakrishna's message of the "Harmony of all Religions" delivered to the West at the Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893, while the first Western savant to introduce Sri Ramakrishna to the English-reading world was the late Professor Max Müller, by means of his well-known volume, "Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings."

The volume under review claims to be the first complete Life in English of the Eastern saint, and must prove a perplexing volume to all Western students save those acquainted with the facts of modern experimental psychology—*i.e.*, the scientific side of modern Spiritualism. Ramakrishna's personality was a combination of so many apparently conflicting elements, that it is almost impossible to present a picture that will satisfy all sections of his followers.

The biographer, therefore, can only "present the actual facts as they are, leaving it to the unbiassed judgment of the reader to form his own opinions of the Master," who possessed so many of the spiritual gifts attributed to the modern sensitives.

As to the free introduction of the "supernatural" element the publishers tell us :

"Our main reason is that we could not help it, for the domain of religion is, by its very nature, different from that of science. What the microscope or the telescope does for the scientist, a pure and highly concentrated mind does for the Yogi. Both reveal the wonders of the invisible world, which the uninitiated man would take to be a mere myth.

"This is the reason why the scientist and the saint stand on a different pedestal from the man in the street."

The so-called supernatural events recorded demand recognition as *facts*. Science, especially psychology, is but in its infancy, and progress will be hindered if facts are withheld simply because, in our ignorant groping, we are unable to explain them. Instead of ignoring them, the "seeker after truth will do well to work upon these data and (thus) arrive at new hypotheses of spiritual phenomena."

The stating of facts has always been the policy of the truly great, the childlike souls who trust that *facts* will ultimately bring forth their own explanation as parts of a comprehensible and consistent whole. Spiritualist

and materialist alike, these pioneers are loyal to the truth. A Crookes vouches for the phenomena surrounding "Katie King." A Richet stands for the fact of "Bien Boa," or recounts, in the quiet of the homeward drive from the Peace Banquet in Paris last month, the phenomena he had witnessed in the presence of the celebrated sensitive Kluski, who, as a child of ten, "materialized" animals for the amusement of his playmates. A Conan Doyle, at a World Congress, stands for the fact of having conversed face to face with an adored mother and a beloved son, after both had passed through the portals of death, and struggling thousands fight to obtain entry to his lectures. When regret was expressed that the Salle Wagram could hold no more, one retort was: "La Place de la Concorde would not hold all those of us who wish to hear the great Apostle of Modern Spiritualism."

Ramakrishna's birth was announced to Khudiram, his father, who in a dream felt himself transported to a temple in the presence of his forefathers, when the Divine Being addressed him thus: "I am well pleased at your sincere devotion. I am born again and again to chastise the wicked and protect the virtuous. This time I shall be born in your cottage and accept you as My father." While Khudiram was away from home his wife, Chandra Devi, had confirmatory visions. The horoscope cast of their son, Ramakrishna, who was born on February 18, 1836, predicted that he would be of a religious disposition, live in a temple, found a new religious sect and be worshipped as a great sage, all of which came true. From his babyhood to the day of his death his life was one round of so-called miracles, supernormal happenings, seeing, hearing and acting at a distance, without the intervention of the ordinary sense organs, faculties which we in the West are slowly accepting as the attributes of certain puzzling humans whom we term mediums.

I have met more than one staid Anglo-Indian official who had known Ramakrishna, and testified to his possession of strange supernormal faculties, as confirmed by personal experience.

On August 16, 1886, "the greatest man the nineteenth century had produced went back to the eternal state from which he had come for a short sojourn in this world of ours." In these words his biographer records the passing of Ramakrishna, and those students of psychology who can spare the time to go through the 765 well-printed pages of his Life will not feel that it has been wasted.

To the great army of those loyal to the *Facts of Experience* must be added the names of Mr. Dennis Bradley and Mr. Hannen Swaffer, for all who read "Northcliffe's Return" would do well to procure Mr. Dennis Bradley's earlier volume "Towards the Stars," in which much material explanatory of Mr. Swaffer's narrative will be found.

Aware of the unusual character of the story he had to tell, Mr. Swaffer appealed to Lord Beaverbrook as a "big practical man of affairs whom one might call a materialist" to vouch for his *bona fides* to those who might not know him personally.

"Besides being a brilliant journalist," writes Lord Beaverbrook in his Foreword, Mr. Hannen Swaffer possesses other unusual qualifications :

"That is to say, he disregards entirely such forces as influence and power and wealth. If he despised them, he would have the arrogance of intolerance. But he does nothing of the kind ; he simply acts as if they were non-existent.

"If the public desires a guide in a sphere of experiment and faith where I walk confessedly as a sceptic, they could not place themselves in safer hands than in those of Mr. Hannen Swaffer."

After the book was written, and the MS. was with the publishers, the title was given to Mr. Swaffer thus : On February 25, 1925, in the house of Mr. Dennis Bradley, during a direct voice sitting, a voice rang out loudly, "Swaff . . . Swaff, the Chief."

Recognizing the voice Mr. Swaffer replied :

"Chief, I have finished your book. I sent it to the publishers this afternoon. Can you give me a title for it?"

After a second or two the same voice was heard to say, "Northcliffe's Return."

"That's Northcliffe's voice !" shouted Mr. Swaffer to Dr. V. J. Woolley, Honorary Research Officer of the Society for Psychical Research, whom Mr. Swaffer was anxious to impress with a fact that he regarded as an important evidence of survival. "That is the voice as I remember it."

Mr. Swaffer had chosen a longer title, but accepted this one, remarking that such a man as Lord Northcliffe would know how well the title given would go in a headline or on a poster. At the same seance the Chinese wife of a member of the Chinese Legation received a message *in Chinese* from her late father. Mr. Swaffer claims to have heard the Northcliffe voice on various other occasions, once "in the daylight in a way that precluded any chance of fraud or trickery." Scores of persons, "some of them being among the best known people in the land," have likewise heard this same voice in Mr. Swaffer's presence. The voice has gained in strength and power since it was first heard, and it is now "impossible to mistake it."

This phenomenon of the production of a *recognized* voice at direct voice sittings is rare but not unknown. On at least three occasions, all present who knew him, of whom I was one, have recognized the voice of the late Mr. W. T. Stead. And the voice of the late Archdeacon Colley is most unmistakable. It may be noted that these three, Archdeacon Colley, W. T. Stead, and Lord Northcliffe, were all outstanding personalities in their earth-existence.

Again, the naming of a book by the spirit of the person whose Life was being dealt with is not without parallel. While Miss Stead was engaged on her father's Life she brought the chapters to read to me week by week. During these readings I was aware of the words "My Father" being impressed upon me with a certainty beyond that of any average sense impression. I had at first no idea of their import, but as the work neared conclusion Miss Stead said they were puzzled as to what it should be called. It was more than a sketch, but could hardly be designated a

"Life." I smiled, said I knew its title, but as it was so obvious some of them must guess it. Only at the last, when her mother, herself, and the publishers had failed to find a satisfactory title, did I tell her that her father had already named it. My only fear was that the name might have been already appropriated. But it was all right, and "My Father," by Estelle Stead, was accepted as the most suitable title.

The *Morning Post* objects that the Northcliffe of Mr. Swaffer's account is very different to the Lord Northcliffe of earth-life. "Since death he has become a convert of the League of Nations and has developed a leaning towards Socialism." Therefore the *Morning Post* is inclined to think that the memory of Lord Northcliffe is being exploited.

This raises a vital point. Another communicator tells us :*

"I have made a discovery. The world will never let the soldier get away from his sword, or the preacher desert his sermonizing, when they return from the unseen. After identity is established, this demand of unchanging character and unmodified tastes and proclivities really prevents progress in the knowledge of the life after death. I, for instance, have taken a great determination to leave the realm of metaphysical and spiritual disquisitions alone for a while. I am hungry for facts, facts, facts, of life, of experience, of touch with the realities revealed by the enlargement of the range of sense perception. I am the same man, but minus collar, status, and all that those two things implied in the world in which I moved and thought and lived and loved. I had built up round me a beautiful cage, gilded and garnished, but still a cage, out of which I dared not step, even after I had left the physical body. It is true I went further than others, but I did not get to my unbiassed actual self, shorn of conventions and shibboleths. Now that I attempt it, you do not feel I am here, that it is myself. I cannot help it, but I must grow. I must express myself, not as the late church dignitary, but as Philemon, as a newly-born spirit, with a wonderful vista of new life, new thought, new knowledge opening before him. He can say none of these things because he is shackled by the venerableness so long associated with him, against which he must say nothing, do nothing that would shock."

Mr. Swaffer has had the courage to present his facts to the world, to allow the post-mortem Northcliffe to speak for himself. He believes that in Spiritualism, studied with humble reverence, the Christian peoples of the earth will find the basic principles of their faith re-established, and will fathom the mysteries of other faiths, all working towards the one end of human betterment.

"But Spiritualism cannot save you. It can only point a way . . . out of the mud of his own creation Man must raise his own head. And of the stain of his own liking Man must wipe his own brow. Then, transformed, he must battle with his own destiny, until, god-like, because of his dauntless struggle, he can face Eternity, smiling and unafraid."

These are noble, wise words and form the fitting conclusion to a brave expression of personal experience and conviction.

* "Letters from the Other Side," pp. 76, 77. John M. Watkins, 21, Cecil Court, Charing Cross Road, W.C. 2.

GHOST AND VAMPIRE TALES OF CHINA

BY G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE, A.I.A.

"This is our *natural reason*, which is surrounded with a great mist, having yet the judgment of good and evil, and of the distance of truth and falsehood, though it be unable to fulfil all that it approves ; neither does it now enjoy the full light of the truth."

THESE remarks of a great European mystic were applied by him to the motives and actions of daily life ; but we do well to bear them in mind in examining the records of abnormal manifestations, whether here or in China.

In submitting my notes to this meeting, and citing examples of ghost tales, I must disclaim, to begin with, any intention of attacking or defending the subjective character of the phenomena. Those who see or hear strange things while suffering from excitement, fear, or illness cannot be expected to draw a firm line between fact and fancy ; it is the more surprising, therefore, that the ghost-lore of most races, local colour apart, has so much in common.

This similarity would appear to be due to the common sources to which anthropologists trace, more or less clearly, the folk-tales examined by them in Europe and the Near East—viz., *animism*, or the tendency to attribute life and personality to everything ; the contact of races of different *degrees and kinds of culture*, resulting in the *distortion of historical and geographical facts* ; *totemism*, or the semi-heraldic worship of animals and plants ; *magic* and the erroneous ideas of pathology which accompany it.

If we keep these four sources of folk-lore well in mind, we shall notice that China—almost a virgin land to the English-speaking folklorist—differs from the better-explored countries only in the greater wealth and variety of its popular mythology.

This variety will not surprise us when we find that there

are *three view-points* from which a Chinese may regard the ghost question—namely, the Taoist, the Buddhist, and the Confucian.

The Taoist view-point, being closely allied to the animistic beliefs common to most men in early times, may be considered first. The Tao, or original vital principle, operating through the Yang and the Yin, was held to be the cause of all existence, and to permeate every creature in varying degrees, but in much the same manner. Mystics of the school of Chuang Tzŭ, like the prehistoric rain-priests and the latter-day necromancers, drew but little distinction between stellar deities, *hsien*, or immortal men, ordinary people, and animals. Even trees, plants, and oddly-shaped stones were related to have done uncanny things at times, as in the folk-tales of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe.

The Confucian view—possibly of later growth, though far older than the master's teaching—is profoundly important. Confucius had a systematic mind; he was a man of hierarchies and categories, a true Chinese. Unquestionably a Monotheist, he laid great stress on the temporal rewards of good social morality, while implying, rather than teaching, that the other world, of which he said little, was one of principalities and powers, of spirits in higher and lower places. The emperor had the privilege of worshipping God; the people confined their attention to the shades of their fathers, and to the patrons of their cities, wards, or trade-guilds. The spirits of the earth, of grain, and of certain hills were also worshipped by princes and high officials; but the providence of God was delegated to underlings, as it were, in a kind of celestial Government service. In these matters, Confucius would have been the first to disclaim the rôle of an innovator; but the celebrated Chu Hsi, by his rationalistic comments, so attenuated the misty monotheism of his master, that he unwittingly fostered, by a natural reaction, an inordinate devotion to ghost and demon lore among the masses. Further, Chu

Hsi's theory that souls,* after death, are diffused and mingled not only with dust and vapour, but with other liberated souls, has been utilized as the groundwork of tales in which the souls of persons dreaming or apparently dead have found their way into the wrong bodies.

For example, we hear of a dying priest, a very ascetic Buddhist over eighty years of age, changing souls with a wealthy young official cut off in the flower of his youth. When the worthy old gentleman's soul woke up in the mandarin's body, he was puzzled and disconcerted at his luxurious surroundings, and grieved the wife, or widow, of the mandarin by failing to recognize her or her children.

The Buddhist point of view need be touched upon in very few words. The Buddhism of China and the adjoining countries accepted every manifestation and adopted every kind of ghost, demon, or monster that came in its path as a matter of course. *Karma*, the mathematically exact reward of every past action, good or bad, of every creature that ever existed, enabled the Buddhist to attribute all events to past causes, exactly commensurate with them, and inevitably linked with them. Buddhism also added Indian and Tibetan myths to the immense spirit world of China.

Buddhism, an alien faith, brings us to the question of "foreign devils."

Before China had contact with the West, shipwrecked sailors and others brought home to China tales of their adventures among the black-skinned head hunters and cannibals of the South Seas. These were summarily dubbed "devils." Islands inhabited by devils are constantly referred to in old Chinese travel books; and the same thing is true of early European writers. The Goths were so frightened of the Huns that they called them the "offspring of witches and devils"; vampires, in Hungary, Roumania, and the adjacent lands, were believed in some cases to be of similar ancestry.

* *I.e.*, the *hun*, or superior soul.

Here we have the well-known case of the contact of races, unlike in culture, producing folk-lore based upon inaccurate and prejudiced observation. Not only Europeans, but various Turkish and Ugrian invaders on the north-western frontiers of China, have been credited, at times, with certain diabolical powers; and propitiation of these malign entities, in various forms, is a matter of history. It is only fair, however, to say that when we speak of devils being "worshipped" in China, it must be remembered that such "worship" was intended to prevent, not to deify, evil. In this respect China has consistently taken a higher stand than ancient Greece and Rome, and Post-Vedic India.

Further, too great credulity about ghosts, or terror of them, is held to be discreditable. The brave, clean-living man who boldly faces or attacks a phantom, or who calmly pursues his studies in ethics or philosophy regardless of spooks, appears in a large number of Chinese ghost stories; while the craven, the secret sinner, the slave of drink or drugs, is held to be rightly punished by heaven through the agency of uncanny visitors, and sometimes even by the spectres of things in themselves harmless or useful.

"Conscience makes cowards of us all," or, as Chuang Tzŭ put it, "the open criminal is punished by law; the secret sinner is tormented by devils."

Hauntings, retributory or otherwise, would seem to be attributed to the following classes of spirits:

Shên, a term widely used for spiritual beings, including minor deities, and beneficent as well as avenging spirits. The *shên* are of Yang origin, while the *kuei*, although capable of good as well as evil, are of Yin origin, and connected with death and darkness. Many *kuei* are the ghosts of human beings, and are consequently both feared and respected; elves and goblins of other kinds may be included, with human ghosts, in the *kuei* class. *Mo*, a wicked spirit, probably identified with Mara the tempter,

the enemy of Buddha. *Ya-ch'a*, the Indian Yaksha, also a Buddhist importation meaning wild and ugly hill-devils. *Yao*, a wide term for prodigies and monsters, for any inexplicable sight or sound usually regarded as an omen of impending evil. Of such it is commonly stated that *yao yu jên hsing érh pu tzü tso*: "*yao* arise from man, and have no existence of themselves." *Yao*, with *hsieh*, evil or demoniacal things or happenings, come under the heading of *pu chêng chih ch'i*, "abnormal breaths," or *kuei ch'i*, "ghostly influences." *Hsiung*, "bad luck" in a general sense, is mostly associated with evil spirits. Seventeen other classes of spectres are mentioned in the K'ang Hsi Dictionary, but they need not be detailed here. All we need notice is that the traditions of older and presumably more credulous days are preserved in books and quotations innumerable, side by side with later legends.

We must now glance at a few typical cases, and hazard a guess, here and there, at the theories they appear to illustrate. Members are requested to supply their own atmosphere. Unfortunately, we are not seated around a dying fire, in a lonesome, draughty mountain hut, or gathered in the mouldering guest room of a derelict temple; we cannot hear the moan of the wind, the whispering and rustling of trees, or the stealthy scratchings and scurrings of nocturnal insects. The appropriate setting for uncanny happenings should be the dead of night; the third watch, from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m., when Yin, the dark principle, reigns supreme. Then one might expect to hear noises such as *ju*, the "moaning of ghosts," or *chin chin*, "ghostly warning cries" such as the *Shuo wên* (first century A.D.) describes, prognosticating war, famine, or pestilence. Before the Chou Dynasty was overthrown, before the Emperor and Empress both died in the Jên Shou period (A.D. 601-605), before a revolt was put down with great slaughter in A.D. 616, the ghosts are said to have moaned and cried with prophetic warning, like the "banshees" of Ireland.

In the small and ghostly hours, too, might be expected

the visit of a small paper effigy in the guise of a huge, fearsome demon. We know that, to obviate human sacrifices and to save expense, paper attendants were often fabricated and burnt at funerals, in order to supply retainers to the dead; thus, the association of paper men with death invested them with uncanny properties. For a small fee, a soothsayer would make a little paper man or devil, and launch it with a magic formula against one's enemy; but frequently the haunted one, if a clever or high-principled man, would keep his head, and force the demon to resume its diminutive size and harmless nature by boldly challenging or attacking it, or by repeating a Buddhist *dhâranî* or a passage from a good book. A weapon of iron or steel, as in European folk-lore, mostly reveals the nature of the visitation; its mere touch cancels the magic of the wizard, and deprives the spectre of its power. We shall notice this detail in other tales as we proceed. Iron, a later importation into the arts than bronze or stone, would naturally figure in a conflict between the cultures of unequally advanced races.

In Chinese folk-lore, demons sometimes have sufficient malice and *aplomb* to work mischief in broad daylight. Poor men sleeping on the roadside are found dead without a visible wound; healthy men develop a boil or tumour from some unknown cause and succumb to it. They are victims of "ghostly arrows"—or, as we should say, of germs whose infection was conveyed in ways incomprehensible to the untutored rustic. Diseases, of course, are attributed to devils in all countries to which Western medicine has no access.

Sometimes demons are bold enough to appear in gangs and hordes: in Chin-yang, province of Shansi, rumours of the approach of a spectral army were rife in the year A.D. 564, and the people gathered together and beat on copper and iron utensils to drive them away. Again, in 781, stories of cannibal demons or hairy men, coming from Hunan, spread through the Yangtsze valley; fires

were kept alight at night, and clamour of copper pans was raised to drive them off.

Invasions of savages are evidently indicated here; hairy, dark-coloured beings, with sharp teeth and glowing eyes, their natural ferocity of expression heightened by the frizzled locks and war-paint dear to the Melanesian islander.

The fact that the emperors sometimes addressed official memorials to them and even offered sacrifices, probably tribute, would appear to show that a vague tradition of landing-parties of savage islanders lingered for centuries in the popular memory. The data point to the contact of alien races as a source of folk-lore.

Rocky and hilly places are famous for *kuai*, for manifestations of goblins and elves of every kind. Generically termed "hill spectres" (*shan ching*), it would appear that many of them must have been animals or savages; in folk-lore they inevitably become hybrid monsters.

The *Shuo wén* describes one of them, the *k'uei*,* as a dragon with one leg, hands, a human face, and horns.

The *Shan hai ching* mentions a cow-shaped animal, with a blue body, no horns, and one leg. It had a loud voice, like thunder; it lived in a region of rolling waves, away in the eastern sea. Its hide was good for making drums. Probably a dugong or sea-lion is intended. A rain-priest's drum, made from the hide of an amphibious beast with a thunderous voice, would naturally be prized as efficacious for the purposes of mimetic magic, for imitating the effect it was hoped to produce.

The western mountains of China, says the *Shên i ching*, are haunted by unclad giants, more than a *chang* in height. They eat frogs and crabs. People passing through those hills light fires and explode joints of bamboo in the fires to scare them off. If these giants are attacked, they infect their assailants with fever.

* The *yao kuai* are by some writers identified with *asuras*.

This association of fever with spectres is important, and must be referred to again later on.

Another kind of hill demon, also very tall, wears a fur coat and a bamboo hat—doubtless a Siberian savage, and not a Melanesian islander.

Sometimes we read of these demons being rounded up with rings of bonfires and burnt to death or killed with spears; another statement supporting the theory that they were human beings of low culture, quite different from the wraiths of the departed or evil spirits in the Western sense, which have no mortal body.

A type of manifestation familiar to readers of European folk-lore has its parallel in Chinese were-tigers and were-wolves. The following is a fairly representative example:

Ch'ên Tsung, a native of Tan-yang, plied the trade of diviner near the capital city of the district. The governor of Ku-shu, adjoining, was a great tiger-hunter. One day, two men in rough fur breeches offered the diviner ten coins and asked him: "Must we go west to find something to eat, or would it be better to go eastward?" Tsung set out the divining stalks, and declared that the easterly direction was auspicious, but the westerly (which led to the dwelling of the tiger-hunting governor) unfavourable. The two men then asked for a drink, and put their mouths inside the cups like cattle: then they went off towards the east, and a few hundred paces from the house one of the men and the horse he was riding turned into tigers. Since then the district became infested with unusually fierce tigers. (Period, A.D. 405-419.)

About A.D. 556, the wife of one Huang Chien, a Kwang-tung man, went into the mountains with his younger sister, Hsiao Chu (Little Pearl), to gather certain seeds. Passing a temple on the way, Hsiao Chu felt an irresistible impulse to enter. When the wife tried to get her home she fled away into the hills, re-entered the temple, and hid there.

The girl's affianced husband, Li Hsiao, passed by with a friend some nights later, and as it began to rain the two

men took shelter in the temple. They found a fire in one of the rooms, and gladly entered to dry their clothes. Suddenly they heard footsteps outside, and feeling rather uncomfortable they hid behind a screen. A tiger bounded in towards the fire, took off its skin, rolled it up, and put on some garments which were lying ready by the fire. It was Hsiao Chu. Li recognized and spoke to her, but she would make no reply, so at daybreak she was conducted to the home of her married brother Huang and locked up in an outhouse. Raw meat was thrown to her, which she devoured without a word. A few days later she again turned into a tiger, so the villagers shot arrows into the outhouse, and she was apparently killed. During the following year the district was so intimidated by the ravages of a tiger that the people had to keep their houses shut up even in the daytime, and the prefect reported it to the Throne.

Another were-tiger story relates how a man, attacked by tigers in the mountains, wounded one in the fore-paw with his axe. It ran away with its companions. Next day he told the villagers, mentioning that the tigers had talked to one another, and that the wounded one was addressed as Chu Tu-shih. So they said, "Oh yes! A man of this name lives to the east of our district; let us visit him and see if it is he." When they called, he refused to see them and explained that he was suffering from a wounded hand. So the villagers denounced Chu Tu-shih to the prefect as a were-tiger, and the prefect sent some men to set fire to the house and kill the monster. But at their approach Chu Tu-shih jumped out of bed, changed into a tiger, charged at the besiegers and escaped, no one knew whither.

Similarly, in the folk-lore of Eastern Europe, were-wolves who had been wounded while in animal form were said to have been identified later by the finding of similar wounds on their human bodies. Some of these tales were told as late as the sixteenth century, and as far west as in France. It is impossible to explain them satisfactorily, and very strange that in countries so far apart as France and China

the agreement in details should be so close. In one of the Chinese tales, a young official of the Chin Dynasty, A.D. 376, confessed that, during a certain severe illness, he had taken the form of a tiger and eaten several people; he may, of course, have attacked or bitten someone in delirium, or have imagined it. The tales of European lycanthropy may have arisen in the same way.

Here is a Chinese were-wolf story on quite European lines. About A.D. 765, a certain old man, who had been ill some months, refused to take any food for ten consecutive days; then one evening he disappeared. Some nights later, a villager who had been out gathering mulberry leaves was pursued by a he-wolf. He climbed a tree, but the wolf reared up against the tree and seized his coat in its teeth. The villager aimed a blow at it with his axe, and wounded it in the forehead. The wolf crouched down, but stayed at the foot of the tree so long that the villager did not dare to climb down until daylight. He tracked the wolf to the old man's house, went in, and told the old man's sons what had happened. The sons looked at the old man's forehead and saw a wound just where the wolf had been hit. For fear of his attacking any more people, they throttled him, seeing him turn into an old wolf before their eyes as he died. They confessed what they had done to the district magistrate and were acquitted.

This power of turning into a wolf at will was particularly attributed to the Mongol or Hunnish peoples on the north and west of China—another example of the idea that foreigners were necessarily of a devilish disposition. The commonly used names, Ulf in Norse, and Vuk in Serbian, both mean "wolf": and the history of savage warriors in the Balkans and Scandinavia has a background, in both countries, of were-wolf traditions in great numbers and variety.

In A.D. 380, a poor man named Yüan Hsiang met a beautiful girl one day at dusk, and eventually married her. In five or six years their affairs improved; they had two

sons ; by degrees they became better off, and in ten years from the date of their marriage they were quite wealthy. Just then, a death occurred in the village. The night of the burial, Yüan's wife hurried to the grave, changed into a tiger, dragged the coffin out of the ground, opened it, and devoured the corpse. When the corpse was eaten, she resumed her human form and went home. A neighbour saw what she did and told her husband, but he refused to believe it. Later on, another villager died, and the same thing happened. So Yüan went out and watched her, and learned the truth. But his wife remained a tiger and took to the hills, scouring the district and devouring one corpse after another.

About the year A.D. 765, a village lad of twenty, after a severe illness, "lost one of his souls," which became a werewolf. Many boys were missed from the village from that time onward, and no one knew what had happened to them. One day, while passing the dwelling of a family from whom a child had been taken, he heard the father call out to him, "Come to-morrow. I have a job for you to do, and I'll give you a good meal in payment." He had worked for the father before, so he gave a loud laugh and replied, "Why should I? Do you think your son was so particularly savoury a morsel?" The father was astonished and questioned him. "Nature orders me to devour men," he answered. "Yesterday I ate a boy five or six years old; his flesh was most delicious." The father then noticed some traces of stale blood near the lad's mouth, so he attacked him fiercely with a stick; whereupon the lad turned into a wolf and expired.

(To be continued)



N.C. ✓

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